

104, 156, 176, 214

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MAP of INDIA,
together with a
CHART of the INDIAN SEAS,
to which the Operations of
Admiral Watson's Squadron
were Principally confined;
and shewing the passages made by
Commo. James from Madrats to Bombay
in the Years 1754 & 1755.
against the contrary Monsoons.
By Tho: Kitchin
Hydrographer to his Majesty.

V O Y A G E

From ENGLAND to INDIA,
IN THE YEAR MDCCLIV.

AND AN
HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

O F

The OPERATIONS of the Squadron and Army in INDIA, under the
Command of Vice-Admiral WATSON and Colonel CLIVE, in the
Years 1755, 1756, 1757; including a Correspondence between the
Admiral and the Nabob *Serajah Dowlah*.

INTERSPERSED WITH

Some interesting Passages relating to the Manners, Customs, &c. of
several Nations in INDOSTAN.

ALSO, A

J O U R N E Y

FROM PERSIA TO ENGLAND,

BY AN UNUSUAL ROUTE.

WITH

A N A P P E N D I X,

Containing an Account of the Diseases prevalent in Admiral WATSON'S
Squadron: A Description of most of the Trees, Shrubs, and Plants, of
India, with their real, or supposed, medicinal Virtues: Also a Copy of a
Letter written by a late ingenious Physician, on the Disorders incidental
to *Europeans* at *Gombroon* in the Gulph of *Persia*.

Illustrated with a CHART, MAPS, and other COPPER-PLATES.

By EDWARD IVES, Esq;
Formerly SURGEON of Admiral WATSON'S Ship, and of his MAJESTY'S
Hospital in the *East Indies*.

L O N D O N:

Printed for EDWARD and CHARLES DILLY.
MDCCLXXIII.

V O Y A G E

FROM ENGLAND TO INDIA

IN THE YEAR MDCCLXV.

SIR CHARLES WATSON, Bart.

The Gratulation of the Secretary and Army in India, under the
Command of Sir Arthur Watson and Colonel Giver, in the
Year 1755, 1756, 1757, containing a Correspondence between the
Army and the India Company's Directors.

INTERPRETED WITH

HAD I not been so happy as to have enjoyed a con-
siderable share of your Father's friendship, it is
probable I might never have visited the East Indies: it
is certain, it would not have been in my power to have
made those observations on Persia and Turkey that
appear in the subsequent Work.
BY AN UNUSUAL ROUTE.

To You then, as the Representative of my honoured
Friend and greatest Benefactor, this Testimony
of my Gratitude and Affection is made.
If, Sir, the perusal of the following sheets should
contribute to the amusement only of your vacant
hours, I shall have attained my present end: but if what
I have written of your excellent Father, and other de-
serving Officers under him, or of the Religion, Customs,



Printed for BARNARD and CHARLES DILLY
and

T O

Sir CHARLES WATSON, Bart.

S I R,

HAD I not been so happy as to have enjoyed a considerable share of your Father's friendship, it is probable I might never have visited the *East Indies*: it is certain, it would not have been in my power to have made those observations on *Persia*, and *Turky*, that appear in the subsequent Work.

To YOU then, as the Representative of my honoured Friend and greatest Benefactor, this public Testimony of my Gratitude and Affection is most justly due.

If, Sir, the perusal of the following sheets, should contribute to the amusement only of your vacant hours, I shall have attained my present end: but if what I have written of your excellent Father, and other deserving Officers under him, or of the Religion, Customs,

DEDICATION.

and Manners of Foreign Countries, shall contribute to your improvement, and set you forward in the paths of virtue, I then shall be beyond measure happy.

That you may long live an honour to your Family, a comfort to your tender surviving Parent, a Friend to Mankind in general, and to your Country in particular: in short, that your whole conduct may be great, generous, and good, such as may manifest to the world whose Son and Successor you are, is the sincere wish of,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful Friend,

Titchfield.

January 1. 1773.

and obedient humble Servant,

EDWARD IVES.

DEDICATION
[v]
and Manners of Foreign Countries, shall contribute to
your improvement, and be forward in the path
of virtue, I then shall be beyond measure happy.
That you may have an honour to your Family,
a comfort to your Parent, a Friend to
Mankind in general, and to your Country in particular:
P R E F A C E.

THE principal part of the First Book here offered to the Public, and the whole of the Second Book, were transcribed from original papers eleven years ago, merely for my own amusement, and for the gratification of my family and friends. Having however been lately prevailed upon to submit them to the perusal of two or three Gentlemen, distinguished in the Republic of Letters, they warmly recommended it to me to send them to the Press, giving it as their opinion, that they would not only be entertaining, but useful to the world. To them, therefore, and the partiality of their judgments, it is owing, that they now make their appearance in public.

The stile of the Second Book, so different from that of the first, may possibly afford just room for criticism; and I may be censured for not having new-modelled it, and given the whole in a continued historical narration. I once endeavoured to do it, but soon found myself unequal to the task: I therefore resolved to let the Second Book continue in the same form as when first committed to paper. However disagreeable or dissimilar this mixture may be, yet it will be attended with the following advantage at least;

least; the several incidents will be set before the Reader, just as they struck the Author's mind, and consequently in a more natural and easy manner. Besides, I was apprehensive, that to have curtailed, or enlarged on, my original sentiments, would have given reason to suspect the fidelity of the whole.

Should it be objected, that I have treated too minutely of myself and my own concerns; I have only to answer, that the man who writes his own journey, is under a necessity in some degree of making himself the hero of his own tale. But however trivial many of the incidents relating to myself, may now appear, at the time they happened they were felt by me with the most exquisite sensibility; and therefore hope the insertion of them will be either overlooked or pardoned by the candid Reader.

It becomes me to own also, that to enrich the First Book, I have made free with some of the Observations made on the *East Indians*, and on the Animal and Vegetable Productions of their Country, by my two late valuable and ingenious friends, the Rev. Mr. Cobbe and Mr. George Thomas, whose papers fell into my hands soon after their decease. However, though sensible of the obligation I lie under, in having those Gentlemen's remarks thus fortunately blended with my own, I shall think myself sufficiently happy, if even by some borrowed riches and beauties, I have been able to produce a work not altogether unworthy of the attention of the Public.

The general Map of the course of the River *Euphrates*, and of our route through *Asiatic-Turky*, which is inserted in the Second Book, must certainly prove very acceptable to the Reader, as it conveys an increase of knowledge in the geography of a country which hitherto has been but little known, and as the truth and accuracy thereof may be entirely depended upon, being done by the late ingenious Mr. Doidge, from his own, and the joint observations of Captain James Alms of the Royal Navy.

The other general Map and Chart, with the Copper-plates which are given in the course of the work, may also justly claim great merit. The three Views of *Geriab* the strong fortress of *Angria* the Pirate, were drawn on the spot by the late Captain *Northal*, of the King's Artillery: They give a clear and distinct idea of the importance of that place, whose Master for a long time had been the terror of every trader in the *East Indies*. The remaining Drawings relate either to matters of Antiquity or Modern Curiosity. To the impartial decision of the Public the whole of the Work is now respectfully submitted.

C O N T E N T S.

B O O K L

CHAP. I. The occasion of the voyage. The Author sails from *Spithead*, as Surgeon of the *Kent*, Admiral *Watson's* ship. The Admiral touches at *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, where two of the capital ships are disabled by a storm. He arrives at *Madeira*. The run from thence to *Madagascar*. A description of that island. Character of the people. Account of the king, his court and attendants. Anecdotes relative to the temper of the *Madagascarians*. Their religion, customs, and way of living. Animal and vegetable productions of the island, &c. &c. &c. Page 1.

CHAP. II. Admiral *Watson* leaves *Madagascar*, and arrives at *Fort St. David*. An account of that settlement, of the *Chamæleon*, animated Stalk, &c. Description of the inhabitants, their persons, habits and coins. List of the different *Casts* into which the *Indians* divide themselves, with a short account of their particular customs, &c. — — — — — p. 18.

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Rear-Admiral of the Red. *Mahomed-Ally*, Nabob of *Arcot*, arrives in the neighbourhood of *Fort St. David*. He is visited by the admiral, &c. He returns the admiral's visit; the manner of his reception on board the fleet. Account of some particular *Indian* customs on that occasion. Account of the land-wind, and its violent effects. — — — — — p. 65.

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- No. II. Indian Trees, Shrubs, Plants, and Medicines. — p. 456.
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E R R A T A.

Page 14. line 25. for *Tabularia*, read *Tubularia*.—P. 22. after copper-coin, add 27.—P. 28. for *Chezyvons* r. *Chezyvons*.—P. 50. l. 2. for 8, r. 3 pagodas: l. 26, after 6 fanams, add for the set.—P. 60. l. 15. for behind, r. before; and l. 16. for fore-parts, r. hind-parts.—P. 71. l. 9. dele staff.—P. 235. l. 30. dele or $\frac{1}{2}$ of and add for.—P. 248. l. 15. for strings r. stings.—P. 279. add the following note, to be connected with the word spits, l. 33. It afterwards appeared that this was the beginning of a consumption, of which he died in England, 24 December 1761.—L. 35. for *Gbec*, r. *Fee*.—P. 297. l. 10. for 50. r. 10.—P. 331. l. 10. for coffee-skins, r. coffee, skins.—P. 363, last l. for were, r. and.—P. 406. for *Velocis*, r. *Veloces*.—P. 445. l. 23. for 104, r. 344.—P. 481. l. 20. for carved, r. curved.

T A B L E.

TABLE of COINS, and MONIES, mentioned in the Work.

MALABAR.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 5 \text{ Rays, or Rez, equal to a Pice.} \\ 80 \text{ Pice} = \text{a Rupee,} \\ \text{A Rupee} = 2 \text{ s. } 3 \text{ d. to } 2 \text{ s. } 6 \text{ d.} \\ \text{A Pagoda} = \text{about } 8 \text{ s.} \end{array} \right.$
COROMANDEL.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 10 \text{ Cash equal to a Pice.} \\ 8 \text{ Pice} = \text{a Fanam.} \\ 10 \text{ Fanams} = \text{a Rupee.} \\ \text{A Rupee} = \text{about } 2 \text{ s. } 6 \text{ d.} \\ 36 \text{ to } 40 \text{ Fanams} = \text{a Pagoda.} \\ \text{A Pagoda} = 8 \text{ s. and sometimes to } 9 \text{ s. and } 10 \text{ s.} \end{array} \right.$
BENGAL.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 4 \text{ Pice equal to a Fanam.} \\ 3 \text{ Fanams} = \text{an Ana.} \\ 16 \text{ Anas} = \text{a Rupee.} \\ \text{A Rupee} = \text{about } 2 \text{ s. } 6 \text{ d.} \end{array} \right.$
PERSIA and TURKY.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 8 \text{ to } 10 \text{ Fluce equal to a Dunnen or Denim.} \\ 8\frac{1}{2} \text{ to } 10 \text{ Denims} = \text{a Marmooda.} \\ 4 \text{ Marmoodas} = \text{a Rupee.} \\ 2 \text{ Aspers} = \text{a Peraw.} \\ 40 \text{ Peraws} = \text{a Piastre or Dollar.} \\ \text{A Piastre} = 2 \text{ s. } 9 \text{ d.} \\ \text{A Sequin} = 7 \text{ s. } 6 \text{ d.} \\ 2 \text{ Marmoodas} = \text{an Abassee} = 12 \text{ s. } 4 \text{ d.} \\ 50 \text{ Abasseees} = \text{a Toman or Tomond.} \\ \text{A Toman} = 3 \text{ l. } 6 \text{ s. } 8 \text{ d.} \end{array} \right.$
ITALY.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A Paul equal to } 5 \text{ d. } \frac{1}{3}. \\ 40 \text{ Peraws} = \text{a Piastre.} \\ 60 \text{ Cruitzers} = \text{a Florin} = 2 \text{ s. } 3 \text{ d.} \\ 4 \text{ Florins, } 40 \text{ Cruitzers} = \text{a Zechin.} \\ 3 \text{ Piastrs, } 35 \text{ Peraws} = \text{a Zechin.} \\ \text{A Zechin or Ducat} = 10 \text{ s. } 3 \text{ d.} \\ \text{A Pistole} = 15 \text{ s. } 6 \text{ d.} \end{array} \right.$
GERMANY, &c.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 60 \text{ Cruitzers equal to a Florin or German Guilder.} \\ 4 \text{ Florins } 15 \text{ Cruitzers, to } 5 \text{ Florins} = \text{a Ducat.} \\ \text{A Ducat} = 10 \text{ s. } 3 \text{ d.} \end{array} \right.$

A
V O Y A G E
T O
I N D I A, &c. &c.
B O O K I.

C H A P. I.

The occasion of the voyage.—The Author sails from Spithead, as Surgeon of the Kent, Admiral Watson's ship.—The Admiral touches at Kingsale in Ireland, where two of the capital ships are disabled by a storm.—He arrives at Madeira.—The run from thence to Madagascar.—A description of that island.—Character of the people.—Account of the king, his court and attendants.—Anecdotes relative to the temper of the Madagascarians.—Their religion, customs, and way of living.—Animal and vegetable productions of the island, &c. &c. &c.

Immediately after the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, or as soon as our sea and land forces under the command of Admiral *Boscawen* had left the *Indies* and were on their return to *England*; *Monf. Dupleix*, governor of *Pondicherry*, began by his intrigues to sow the seeds of dissention among the country princes; and when he had so far succeeded as to set them at variance with one another, he sent a body of *European* troops into the field, as auxiliaries to those *Nabobs* who espoused the *French* interest; and who, by dint of this supply, gained several successive advantages over the other princes who were friends to our *East India* company. *MUSTAPHA-JING*, a powerful prince, and *CHUNDA-SAEB*, an enterprising general, were those with whom he was principally connected, and whom he made use of as instruments for bringing about his ambitious designs. Designs no less extensive, than of

1749

to

1753.

B

acquiring

1749 acquiring for his nation an absolute ascendancy over the whole *Carnatic* and
to *Deccan*, and for himself, immortal honour and immense riches. The *English*
1753. presidency were possessed of such convincing proofs of his insatiable avarice,
and thirst for power; that they prudently and resolutely determined to exert
their utmost abilities in putting a stop to his violent, and hitherto rapid
proceedings: for that purpose, they, under the character of allies, joined
their forces with the armies of a prince called *NAZIR-JING*, and of the
Nabob of *Arcot* named *MAHOMED-ALY*; against whom their enemies were
now taking the field.

Thus the *English* and *French* companies, though they could not act as
open and declared enemies, because of the peace which subsisted between
their respective sovereigns; yet under the assumed name of auxiliaries, they
for several years carried on an expensive and bloody war against each other.
And, although the *British* arms never gained greater glory, than in some of
the battles which were fought on this occasion, particularly in those, where
Major *Lawrence* and Mr. *Clive* commanded; yet, as the *French* had a far su-
perior number of *European* troops, and had been so artful as to form con-
nections with the most powerful princes of the country; with these ad-
vantages, they made so considerable a progress, as greatly to alarm the
whole of the *English* settlements, and to fill them with apprehensions, lest
the day might come, when *Monf. Dupleix's* ambition might be gratified in
its utmost extent. The governor and council of those settlements therefore
sent repeated accounts of their disagreeable situation, to the directors of the
English East India company, who petitioned government in their behalf; and
at length a small squadron of the king's ships, under the command of *Charles*
Watson, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and a regiment of infantry under
that of Colonel *Adlercron*, were granted for their relief.

1754. On the 22d day of *February* 1754, the *Kent* (of which ship I had been
appointed surgeon) sailed from *Spithead* to *Plymouth*, the place of rendez-
vous for the squadron; and on the 9th of *March*, Admiral *Watson* put to sea
with the following ships for the *East Indies*.

		Guns.
<i>Kent</i> , (with the admiral's flag)	Capt. <i>Henry Speke</i>	70
<i>Eagle</i> , (with a broad pendant)	Capt. <i>George Pocock</i>	60
<i>Salisbury</i> - - - -	Capt. <i>Thomas Knowler</i>	50
<i>Bristol</i> - - - -	Capt. <i>Thomas Latbam</i>	50
<i>Bridgewater</i> - - - -	Capt. <i>William Martin</i>	20
<i>Kingsfisher Sloop</i> - - - -	Capt. <i>Best Migbel</i>	16

The admiral's instructions directed him to repair to *Cork* in *Ireland*, and
there to receive on board his squadron, as many of the king's troops as
he could conveniently dispose of. This he attempted doing, but the wind
being unfavourable, he judged it necessary to put into *King's* road. On
the 12th he anchored there, and immediately dispatched a letter to Colonel
Adlercron

Adlercron, acquainting him of his arrival, and requesting him to march with his regiment to that port.

1754.

On the 19th in the afternoon, the wind blew very hard from the south east, accompanied with sleet and hail, and a very high sea poured into the bay, which occasioned the *Eagle* to part her small bower cable, and to drive a-thwart the *Bristol's* hawse. The officers of the *Eagle* so exerted themselves, that they soon cleared her from the *Bristol*, but not without the loss of this last ship's head and bowsprit. At night, both ships parted from their anchors, and drove very near the shore; their masts were cut away, and signals of distress were made; but unfortunately the sea ran so high, that no boats could lye along side of them, and consequently no effectual relief could be sent to their assistance. The wind and sea abating in the morning, gave the admiral an opportunity of getting off both the ships, by his sending all the boats of the squadron to assist them; but they were so much disabled, as not to be capable of proceeding on their intended expedition.

Mr. *Watson*, being by this accident deprived of so considerable a part of the force of his squadron, for some time debated with himself, whether he should immediately pursue his voyage with those few ships which were still fit for sea, or wait where he was, till the disabled ships could be replaced. His zeal for the service however determined him to embrace the former alternative, and he dispatched two expresses, one to the Secretary of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and another to Colonel *Adlercron*: he acquainted the colonel with his determination of proceeding with the *Kent*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater*, and *Kingsfisher* only; and desired him, that the division of his regiment which was intended for those ships, might embark with all possible expedition; and that the other division, might be put on board the two ships which were disabled, and proceed in them to *Plymouth*, where he did not doubt but other ships would be soon ready to receive them, and follow him to *India*. The remainder of the regiment was to embark in some of the *East India* company's ships, which of course would not fail to follow the admiral; but as they were not ready at the time he sailed from *England*, he had received orders not to wait for them.

On the 24th, some of the troops were put on board; and the same day, the admiral with his two ships, frigate and sloop, weighed anchor, and sailed; leaving the two disabled ships behind him, and appointing the *Garland*, Captain *Spry*, to convoy them to *Plymouth*.—April the 6th, we anchored in *Funchial* road, off the island of *Madeira*, a place famous for supplying not only *Europe*, but all our settlements in both the *Indies*, with a most excellent wine. This refreshing liquor however, like other things, of late years is greatly increased in its price. Ten or twelve years before, the best wine on the island was sold from 12 to 14 pounds the pipe; but at the time we were there, none could be got for less than 20 and 22 pounds.

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This island of *Madeira* is subject to the crown of *Portugal*; situated in a fine climate, in the latitude of $32^{\circ} 27'$ north. The face of the country is very mountainous, interspersed with vineyards, which form a most romantic and delightful prospect. The tops of the highest of these mountains are always covered with snow; some of the gentlemen of our squadron ventured to scale one of them, but found the air round the summit of it so exceedingly cold, that they were glad to get down again as fast as possible. We have a consul always residing here, and several considerable merchants of our nation live at *Fonchial*, which is the only place of trade in the whole island.

Whilst we continued at *Madeira*, we met with many disagreeable delays in supplying our squadron with wine and other refreshments, on account of the Passion-week, and the carnival that followed it; at which season all business there is at a stand, and strangers are sure to be entertained with much gaudy, superstitious mummery. The custom indeed of celebrating this festival with a great deal of religious pageantry, is observed in all Popish countries, but probably no where carried to so great an height as among the *Portuguese*, who are the most bigotted to the fopperies of their religion of any nation under the sun.

On the 19th of *April*, at 10 o'clock in the morning, we took our leave of *Madeira*, and on the 23d saw the island of *Palma*, one of the *Canaries*, distant from us four leagues. By the 25th, we were got into the trade winds; and in a day or two afterwards were in sight of *Bonavista*, one of the *Cape de Verd* islands. About the middle of *May*, our ship being too much crowded with stores and men, and consequently very hot between decks; the crew became so sickly, that in six days we buried seven men, and had 160 on the sick list, chiefly with putrid fevers. On the 3d of *June*, at the very hour Capt. *Speke* had calculated, we discovered the island *Trinidad*; and the next morning *Martinvas* was in sight. The latter is composed of inaccessible rocks; but the former, as I was informed, is well covered with woods, and has a sandy bay at the north-east end, where there is plenty of fresh water.

In our whole run from *Madeira* to these last mentioned islands, we saw nothing very remarkable; or only such objects as are always to be met with in those seas: such as great flights of different sorts of birds, near the land; and vast numbers of flying fish. We caught also some sharks in calm weather; to some of which were sticking several black fish, from eight inches to a foot long: the sailors called them the sucking-fish, but they are really the *Remora*. Some time in *June* the crews of the several ships of the squadron, with baited hooks, caught some *Pintado*-birds; they are about the bigness of a pidgeon, and when swimming on the water, very much resemble that bird. They are prettily mottled on the back and wings, their heads are of a dark blue colour, their bills are sharp and strong, their legs black, and their feet webbed. When caught, they cannot rise to fly from.

from the deck, but will most readily do so, out of a tub of water. An *albatrofe*, a sea-fowl, was shot off the *Cape of Good Hope*, which measured $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet from wing to wing. A *shark* was also caught, and brought on board the *Cumberland*, with 72 young ones in her belly, each from 6 to 14 inches long. Another was afterwards caught by the *Salisbury's* crew, which had the horns, skin, and many bones of a bullock in the belly. After it was dead and dried, a very large man passed through its jaws. 1754.

In the unsettled and hot weather we had, during our continuance near the line, the putrid fever raged among us; (owing in a great degree also to the stock-fish, which we had taken on board as part of our provision, turning putrid.)* Our people, when first taken, complained of violent headaches, pain in their limbs, and an universal restlessness. By the latter end of *June*, we had advanced far to the southward, and consequently were in a colder climate. On the 17th of *July*, at three in the morning, we discovered the long wished-for island of *Madagascar*. At four made the signal, wore ship, and brought to; and on the 18th we anchored in *St. Augustine's* bay, at the southern part of the island, latitude $23^{\circ} 42'$ south, in 16 fathom water. The 19th, we received on board fresh beef for the use of the several ships companies, who with eagerness and transport fed on this delicious fare. The next day, the admiral was so kind as to issue his warrant, by which I was appointed to take under my care the sick and wounded of the whole squadron.

The first care after our arrival at *Madagascar*, was to get our sick ashore. Those in the *Kent* alone amounted to 150: The complaints of some, were the same putrid fevers which had before given us so much trouble while in the neighbourhood of the equinoctial; but the greater part were now afflicted with the scurvy, and to so great a degree, that they had not strength enough to crawl upon the deck, and scarcely to breathe; we were obliged therefore to carry them out of the ship in their hammocks: but so salutary was the land, and the refreshments it produced, that in less than three weeks after they were put ashore, almost all of them happily recovered their former health and vigour.

This island, which lies between 12 and 26° south latitude, is of great extent, and very fruitful, abounding in most of the necessaries of life. It is governed by four or five kings, who frequently are at war with each other, when they make inroads into the enemies country, and carry off both families and cattle: the first are sometimes sold to the *Europeans*, as slaves.

The bullocks on this island are very large and fat, weighing usually from 6 to 700 pounds each, and are much valued by the several *European* na-

* Two thirds of the stock-fish which government supplied the ship with, we were obliged to throw over board.

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tions who have settlements in *India*. They send ships hither on purpose for them, which they kill and salt upon the island. These bullocks have all a remarkable protuberance, or portion of fat, seated between the two shoulders, weighing about twenty pounds; which in general is very much esteemed, after having lain some time in salt. For my own part however, I could not join in the extravagant praises given to this piece in particular, nor indeed to any of the beef of this island; for though the oxen are very large, fat and fair to look upon, yet the herbage they eat, gives their flesh a peculiar, and to me a very disagreeable taste. The natives have a very dexterous method of bringing the ox to the slaughter. They throw a rope, with a running knot, over the horns of that particular beast, which the purchaser hath chosen out of a great number, and with the same rope drag the victim to a tree; around the trunk of which, they take a turn with the rope, and draw the ox close up to it, where it is easily slaughtered by the butcher. The islanders themselves never strip off the hide, but feed on that with as much pleasure as on any other part of the beast. The sheep of *Madagascar* differ very little from the goats, being alike hairy, only their heads are somewhat larger. They have necks like a calf, and a tail that weighs at least ten pounds.

We had no sooner come to an anchor at this island, but old *Robin Hood*, and another of the king of *Baba's* people, whom they call purfers; *Philibey*, the General; and Captains *John Anderson* and *Frederick Martin*, came on board the *Kent*: these were some of the chiefs of the king's court, who prided themselves in being called by *English* names. And the king's own family likewise, in imitation of the court of *England*, is not without a Prince of *Wales*, a Duke of *Cumberland*, a Prince *Augustus*, and Princesses, distinguished by *English* names.

All the great men abovementioned, came on board naked, except a covering over their hips, and another over their shoulders, made of a certain grass growing on the island, which they had ornamented with small glass beads, by way of border or fringe. Their hair was not altogether so woolly as is the *Africans* on the coast of *Guinea*, but rather resembling the long black hair of the *Indian*: The *Madagascanian* wives take great pains with their husbands hair: They sometimes put it in large and regular curls, and at other times braid it in great order, making it to shine with a particular oil which the island produces. The men are rather tall than otherwise, and slightly made, yet strong; they always carry in their hands a wooden lance, headed with iron. This lance is in general made very neat, which they throw thirty or forty yards with great exactness, striking the smallest object. Besides this implement of war, they are commonly masters of a musket, which they get from *Europeans* in exchange for cattle; and this they are always sure to keep in the nicest order.—I am sorry to say, that the *English* are frequently guilty of great impositions in this kind of traffic, by disposing of cheap and ill-tempered gun-barrels, among the poor inhabitants,

who sometimes lose their lives by the bursting of these pieces. Such iniquitous practices as these, must in the end prove injurious to the nation; and has indeed already made the name of more than one of these traders truly infamous among the deluded, but hitherto friendly, *Madagascarians*, or *Malgaches* *. 1754.

They are a civil, good-natured people, but easily provoked, and apt to shew their resentment on the least provocation, especially where they think themselves injured, or slighted. An instance of this happened during our stay among them. A wife of *John Anderson* came to our tents, and purchased a clasp-knife of a common sailor; in her return home she had the misfortune to drop it; as soon as she discovered her loss, she ran back in the greatest anxiety towards our people; in her way, she observed a seaman to stoop, and take up something from the ground, which on her getting up with him, she discovered to be her knife, and demanded it as her property. The sailor refusing to part with it, she hurried home, and acquainted her husband with what had happened. Immediately, and in the greatest rage, he commanded his servants and slaves to arm themselves, and at the head of them he marched into our camp. Lieutenant *Carnac* of *Adlercron's* regiment, and our other officers on shore, were at dinner in their tent; and upon hearing a great uproar, they ran out and discovered *John Anderson* with fifteen other natives, armed with loaded muskets, and in violent altercation with our people. It is impossible to describe the fury which was visible in *Anderson's* countenance. The officers being upon the best footing with him, went to him, and desired to know the cause of this unbecoming behaviour. He gave them a short answer, and in a very peremptory tone demanded the knife. They, in return, calmly reasoned with him, and asked him how he could think of behaving in so outrageous a manner to his friends. He answered, "*they were no friends of his, unless they did him justice.*" They still went on soothing him, but at the same time gave him to understand, that his acting in this frantic manner was not only ridiculous, but dangerous to a great degree; for had they been as violent as himself, it was next to an impossibility that either he or any one of his followers could have returned back alive. He replied, "*that he would sooner die, than tamely put up an injury.*" At last, with great difficulty, they appeased him, prevailed upon him to send back his people, and to enter their tent. Here they gave him a dram, and summoned before them the sailor. The fellow frankly acknowledged that he had found a knife, and that it was very possible it might belong to *Anderson's* wife, but that as yet he had only her word for it. The woman, in answer to this, produced the person from whom she bought it, who proving it to be her property, the knife was presently restored, and the affair amicably settled to the entire satisfaction of all parties.

Another characteristic of the *Madagascarians*, is, the very high notions they entertain of the dignity of their king; which they carry to so great an

* A general term applied to the inhabitants of that island.

height,

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height, that they are never more sensibly hurt, than when they think you are treating him with any kind of incivility. We met with a most striking instance of this, soon after our arrival at the island, when the king's purfers made Admiral *Watson* their first visit. At the time these people entered the ship, it happened that the admiral was deeply engaged in business; he therefore desired Captain *Speke*, (who had been at *Madagascar* before, and consequently was acquainted with most of them) to officiate as his deputy, and entertain them in the ward-room, till he could wait upon them in person. This task, Captain *Speke* executed with the greatest hospitality and politeness; but notwithstanding all his endeavours to please, in less than twenty minutes they became quite impatient, and very serious; talked much of going ashore again, and of their king's dignity being greatly hurt by this delay, "*who* (they said) *was a great man, and would be much displeased, when he should be told they had waited so long before they had been admitted to an audience of the commodore;*" for so they called the admiral not only at his first arrival, but ever afterwards, it being a title they had been much accustomed to; nor had they before been ever visited by an officer of Mr. *Watson's* rank. Captain *Speke*, touched with their complaints, hurried away to the admiral, who immediately admitted them into his cabin, and made them happy. Before they took their leave however, they in very plain terms gave Mr. *Watson* to understand, that unless he made the King of *Baba* the first visit, no provision of consequence would be suffered to be put on board his ships.

The reader will excuse my giving him another instance of this kind, which still more strikingly displays the extreme sensibility of these islanders, in respect to their king's dignity. *Robin Hood* (who seemed to act as prime minister, and negotiated most of the king's concerns with our agent-victualler) was one day transacting business with another gentleman of the squadron, and they happened to differ so much about the value of a certain commodity, that high words arose, and at length *Robin Hood* in the greatest agitation started from the ground where he was sitting, and swore that he would immediately acquaint the king of *Baba* with what had passed. Our *English* gentleman, too much heated with this threat, and the violent altercation which had preceded it, unguardedly replied, "D—n the king of *Baba*."—The eyes of *Robin Hood* flashed like lightning, and in the most violent wrath he retorted, "D—n King *George*." At the same instant he left the spot, hurrying away towards the *Madagascanian* cottages. Our countryman was soon struck with the impropriety of his behaviour, followed and overtook the disputant, and having made all proper concessions, the affair was happily terminated.

Most of the natives near this bay, speak as much broken *English* as enables them to exchange their cattle, poultry, milk, fruit, rice, salt, purslain, potatoes, yams, fish, lances and shells, for our muskets, powder, bullets, flints, clouties (which include handkerchiefs and linnen of all sorts) beads, iron-pots, &c. Silver is in great esteem with them; they call it *Manila*,

nila, and make it into bracelets for their wives: they pay but little regard to gold; if you offer it to them at the same time with silver, they never hesitate to prefer the latter. 1754.

On the right hand as you enter the bay, lives one Prince *William*; he is related, and tributary, to the king, yet in most cases acts as an independent prince; and is always sure to use his utmost endeavours with the officers of the ships that touch there, to pitch their tents on his side of the country, and to buy their provisions of him, instead of the king or his subjects. In this prince's territories, not far distant from the sea, are the remains of a fort, built by *Avery* the pirate.

His majesty of *Baba* resides in a town built with mud, which stands up the country, about twelve miles from *St. Augustine's Bay*. About four days after our arrival, he came down with his family into our neighbourhood, and sent his heir apparent on board, accompanied by the duke of *Baba*, and other great personages of his court, to congratulate the admiral on his arrival at *Madagascar*, and to know on what day he intended paying him a visit. The admiral made each of these ambassadors a present of a pair of pistols, a gun, a sword, and some bottles of brandy; appointed a day for paying his respects to the king, and sent them all ashore in the highest spirits, and perfectly happy. On the day which had been fixed for his public audience, the admiral, attended by all the captains, and other officers of his squadron, walked about half a mile from our own tents down to those of his majesty, and was ushered into the largest of them by the beat of two drums, which by the particular desire of *Robin Hood* had been sent from on board the *Kent*; this prime minister declaring, that as the admiral was a great man, and the king of *Baba* a great man also, the admiral should bring his music to do honour to the king; and the king's music in return (which consisted only of two pair of great conch-shells) should sound in honour of the admiral. As nobody objected to this reasonable proposal, the admiral was received in the manner prescribed by *Robin Hood*.

The king was about sixty years of age, very corpulent, and had at that time a violent fit of the gout. He was sitting on a grass-mat spread on the ground, with a wrapper round his middle, and on his head he wore a *Dutch* grenadier's cap, a foot and a half high, faced with the arms of the *Dutch East India* company cut in brass. He took the admiral by the hand, and enquired how King *George* did: when he was told that he was now in health, but had lately been in great affliction on account of the death of his eldest son; he feelingly replied, "*Ay, I have likewise lost my Prince of Wales.*" He then enquired of the admiral, what presents he had for him. These, consisting of fire-arms, swords and spirituous liquors, were immediately given; but none seemed to please him so much as the brandy; he only found fault that there was not enough of it. His three queens, and many other ladies

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ladies of the court, attended this meeting. They too had their presents. And the admiral, to treat them, as he thought, the more genteely, ordered three or four dozen of bottles of white wine to be brought; but upon their tasting it, they spoke of it as insipid, and, like the king, preferred brandy as the better liquor. Mr. *Watson* apologized for his not having a greater stock of it; but assured them, and his majesty of *Baba* also, that the next time he made this voyage, he would not fail to bring them a much larger quantity. Before the audience broke up, the king asked the admiral, whether he had any doctor with him? who replied, yes. He then asked, "*Is he a great doctor? A king's doctor?*" to which the admiral replied in the affirmative. "Let him, (rejoined the king) give me some *mahomets* (that is, some medicines) for my sick knee." The admiral then spoke to me, who stood near him; when addressing myself to the king, I gave him my word, that he should not be many days without them. The admiral having mentioned to the king of *Baba*, the provisions he wanted for his squadron, the latter gave orders to his purfers, that we should immediately be supplied with them: Then the admiral, after thanking the king for his civility and assistance, took his leave.

Before I close this scene, I cannot omit describing the grotesque dress and figure of one of the favourites at this court, who in his younger days had been in *England*, where he acquired a taste for the *European* fashions. They called him Captain *Tom Hill*; he was a little old man, had neither shoes, stockings, breeches, nor shirt on, but wore a wrapper round his thighs, and an old silk-waistcoat next his skin, ornamented with a bugle-fringe: An old tattered blue coat, an old grey tie-wig, a silver-laced hat, and a sword without a scabbard, made up the remainder of his dress, and all together presented a most ridiculous figure.

The generality of my readers, will probably look down with wonder and pity, if not with contempt, on the rude simplicity and unpolished manners of the people now described: But let them turn back to the annals of our *English* history not two thousand years ago, they will have the mortification to find the ancient *Britons* equally unacquainted with the polite arts, and quite as barbarous and uncivilized as the present *Madagascarians**. And if our rude forefathers, by a persevering virtue, a noble disinterestedness, and a passionate love for their country, could erect a kingdom, so capable of exciting admiration as we have now the happiness to boast of; why should not the descendants of the brave *Madagascarians*, at some future period, emulate the glory of our ancestors, and lay the foundations of an empire great and extensive as our own, and as much celebrated for the glory of its arms,

* *Interiores plerique frumenta non ferunt, sed lacte & carne vivunt, pellibusque sunt vestiti. Omnes verò se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem; atque hoc horribiliore sunt in pugna adspectu: capilloque sunt promisso, atque omni parte corporis rafa, præter caput & labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, & maximè Fratres cum Fratribus, Parentesque cum Liberis. Sed si qui sunt ex his nati eorum habentur liberi, à quibus primum virgines quæque ductæ sunt.*

height of genius, and delicacy of taste?—The presumption is neither groundless nor extravagant; for the island of *Madagascar* is very fertile, and near a thousand miles in length, and at its widest part, three hundred miles broad, situated in a healthy climate, full of the finest timber, and furnishes many other valuable materials fit for shipping; by which her natives might be enabled to equip formidable fleets, extend their commerce over all the known part of the habitable world, and perhaps carry the terror of their arms into countries hitherto undiscovered. These islanders, likewise, are not at all deficient in that active and enterprising spirit so necessary for perfecting such glorious undertakings.

Whilst we continued on this island, we found ourselves frequently robbed of our linnen, as it was hanging out to dry; yet it was always stolen in so artful and dexterous a manner that we never had it in our power to detect one single culprit during the whole time of our being there. One poor wretch indeed, who was concerned in this kind of theft, making his escape with his booty over the river, unfortunately stuck in the mud, and was drowned. The following instance will shew the great presence of mind, and exceeding dexterity of these islanders, in thievish exploits. One evening, as thirty or forty of our men were sitting round a fire, boiling their victuals in their iron-pots, without the least suspicion of a thief's being near them; a *Madagascanian* with wonderful agility jumped over their heads into the circle, took one of the pots by the handle as it stood over the fire, and ran off with it towards the river: Our people, for a time continued looking on each other with amazement; but before any of them had so far recovered themselves as to think of pursuing the thief, the fellow had made such good use of his legs, as to be quite out of their reach.

Among the great variety of women, that daily resorted to our tents, I observed one, who, as to her make and symmetry of features, was a perfect beauty. The Dutchess of *Baba* was also handsome; but the king's two daughters were far otherwise. The eldest of these two ladies was extremely coarse in her person, and no less masculine in her behaviour. The youngest was not quite so plain or masculine as her sister, tho' she had not much delicacy to boast of: they were both unmarried. One of them had compleated her fortieth year; the other was not quite so old. They were of the company at court, when the admiral visited their father; and soon afterwards, the eldest of these princesses condescended so far as to call upon the agent-victualler at his tent: She carried a heavy musket on her shoulder, of which she appeared to be extremely fond, talked with great pleasure of the execution she had done with it in times past; but as the lock of it was now spoiled, she desired the favour of him to get it put in proper repair for her; and added at the same time, that she should be much obliged to him for his kindness. In short, our agent-victualler caused her musket to be repaired, and seemed to stand very high in her good graces. But not many

1754. days passed, before he unfortunately fell into disgrace, and too sensibly experienced the effects of her resentment.—It happened thus.—

The admiral had thought it necessary to give the chief men of the island an entertainment on board his own ship; and at the time appointed for their coming, he sent his barge to convey them to the *Kent*, giving orders, that none but men should be admitted. The king's eldest daughter, notwithstanding this injunction, was determined to make one of the company, and for that purpose repaired with the men to the water's edge. The agent-victualler had before told her, and now again represented to her the very great impropriety of a lady of her quality going on board the ship; and did not neglect to add, that as the admiral's commands were absolute, he could not possibly allow her to go: All his remonstrances availed nothing; for no sooner had the barge reached the shore, and the stool was put upon the beach, but she got upon it, and was advancing: The agent-victualler then took hold of her arm, and again remonstrated, intreating her to desist from her purpose; nay he offered to make her a present, provided she would peaceably retire. But all his pleading was to no effect; it seemed, that she had before determined what part to act: He then in positive terms declared, that she should not go, and with some difficulty pulled her from the stool to the shore. On this, she not only greatly abused him with her tongue, but also gave him so violent a blow on one of his eyes with her fist, that he declared it to have been the severest he ever felt in his life. At last, however, he got the better in his troublesome dispute with this royal virago; who returned home in such ill humour, that she was never afterwards thoroughly reconciled to the agent-victualler, tho' he took some pains to be re-instated in her favour.

The younger of these princesses (as before observed) had also accompanied the king at the grand audience; and at that time was pleased to take so great a fancy to the person of one of the admiral's attendants, that she signified her good liking the same evening, in a present she sent him of two couple of fowls, and some yams. The gentleman, to shew himself not insensible of so great a lady's favour, presented her with an handkerchief in return, which he sent by *Robin Hood*, who had been employed by her for the like purpose. The next day, the same messenger took the gentleman aside, and told him, that the youngest princess was in love with him; that she desired he would come to her cabin at a certain hour of the night; and that he himself would accompany him, to shew him where the cabin stood.—The gentleman answered, that he could not possibly go, for at that time, and indeed for the whole night, he should be particularly engaged. The following day, and for three or four days afterwards, the same ambassador was very importunate that due attention should be paid to the condescension of the princess, and expatiated very largely on the great honour done to the gentleman in the preference which was given him by a king's daughter. The favourite on this declared himself not insensible hereof; but at length finding common
excuses.

excuses availed nothing, and being entirely at a loss to frame new ones, he plainly told *Robin Hood*, that he need not give himself the trouble of coming any more; for to speak the truth, he was a married man, and therefore could not accept of the princess's favours, without being guilty of a breach of that solemn vow which he had made and ratified at the altar. He then repeated several religious maxims which he had before talked over with *Robin Hood*, and strengthened the force of those maxims by a present of a piece of silver, and two handkerchiefs; not doubting but that by this well-timed bribe, he should prevail upon him to become his advocate, and reconcile the princess to her disappointment. — *Robin Hood*, tho' he took the present, said very coldly, "that if it lay in his power, he would certainly pacify the lady's resentment; but it would be a matter of great difficulty;" and often insisted on the very important consideration, of her being the daughter of a great king. Several days passed after this, before any thing more was said upon the subject between the messenger and the gentleman: at length the latter asked the other, if all was right with the princess, and how she had taken his positive refusal? *Hood* replied, "I have been your friend, and told her your excuses; but she said, that she did not believe they were the true reasons." He then mentioned what had been this delicate princess's suggestions upon the occasion, which cannot be repeated; and added, "She was very angry, and called you bad names, but I have now, after a great deal of trouble, made her tolerably easy." — Thus ended this strange negotiation! —

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All the *Madagascanian* women, except those who are very poor indeed, wear a covering over their breasts and shoulders, ornamented with glass beads; and none go without a cloth over their hips. They commonly walk with a slender, long stick, or rod. The men are allowed to have as many wives as they please, or can support. The king has three; the Duke of *Baba* but one; *John Anderson* two. Their children, they often name after any *English* officers, who happen to be there at the time of their wives' pregnancy, or delivery. One of *John Anderson's* wives was with child, while we were there; and he assured Sir *William Hewet*, that if she brought him a boy, he would give the child his name and title.

The men often present (or, as they term it, *salamanca*) you with an ox, calf, goat, &c. and in return expect to receive its full value in silver, or some other commodity. They without scruple tell you, in their broken jargon, "If you my friend, I your friend. You no my friend, I no your friend. I *salamanca* you, you *salamanca* me." Their wives, without restraint, visit you in your tents, with or without their husbands, and make you presents on the same footing as do their husbands. If a wife is surprized by her husband in the act of adultery, we were told, he never fails to put her and her gallant to death; but if they are discovered by any other person, the crime is sometimes compounded by a present of cattle, or slaves. These are the chief, if not only riches of the *Madagascanians*, for they have no money; and

except

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except those who inhabit the *Mud Town*, they all live either in mat-cabins, or huts made with boughs. The grandees have a fence round their cottages, with a court-yard, and distinct apartments for their different wives and children, as well as for their slaves.

During our stay at this island, I observed with great concern several miserable objects in the last stages of the venereal disease. They had not been able to find any cure; and as far as I could learn, their doctors are totally ignorant of medicine. The only method they use for curing all complaints, as well outward hurts, as inward diseases, is the wearing on their arm or neck a particular charm or amulet; or besmearing the part afflicted, with earth moistened with the juice of some tree or plant, and made up into a soft paste.

The country, besides large timber-trees of different kinds, abounds also with a variety of shrubs, and succulent plants. The sugar-canes are as thick as a stout man's wrist, and so full of juice, that a foot of them in length will weigh two pounds, being much larger and finer than any in the *West Indies*. When the *Madagascarians* travel, they take a sugar-cane on their backs to subsist upon, which will serve them two or three days. The tamarind tree grows in great plenty; the leaves of which are like our common fern: The tree is about the size of an English pear-tree, and not much unlike it. The fruit is contained in pods about the size of those of the bean, which, when fit to gather, are brown, hard and brittle.

A good beginning for a collection of curious shells might be made on the shore of this island; they are now much more scarce all over *India*, than they were formerly. — The *Tabularia*, a bastard kind of coral, is found here.

The rivers, besides their abounding with great quantities of excellent fish, are full of alligators of an enormous size. The duke of *Baba* frequently accompanied our parties in shooting at them; and when our gentlemen in one of these excursions came to a creek, which they were obliged to ford, his Grace, to save them the trouble of undressing, with great good-nature took them one by one upon his back, and carried them over: He was a brisk, little man, about 28 years old, nephew to the king, and was particularly fond of a drum which had been given him by Commodore (late Admiral) *Griffin*, on which he could beat a march and the reveillée with great dexterity.

The island produces a great plenty of Guinea-hens; and all the rocks round about, both in Prince *Will's* and in the king's country, are stocked with an abundance of *mocoeks*; which is an innocent, pretty animal, of the squirrel kind, about the size of a cat, with a sharp head, like a young fox, a long bushy tail, black and white hair of exceeding delicacy and softness: It has feet like the monkey, and usually sits like that creature on its breech
and

and two hind legs, basking, with its belly exposed to the sun. Its tricks are of the monkey kind. Guanas, chamæleons, serpents, tarantulas, and a kind of bats, called flying foxes, are found here: their wings from the tip of one, to the extremity of the other, are five or six feet, and they are a foot and half in breadth. 1754.

But the most extraordinary thing on the whole island, is the innumerable quantity of locusts it abounds with. These rise from the low lands in thick clouds, which are sometimes extended to an incredible length and distance. The natives eat these insects, and even prefer them to their finest fish. Their method of dressing them, is, to strip off their legs and wings, and fry them in oil *.

It has been generally supposed, that a mixture of the *Mahometan* and *Pagan* religion is professed in this island; but tho' this may be true, yet during our stay here, we saw no signs of the first: the word *mahomets* indeed is frequently used by the natives, under which general term, they include all kinds of medicine, every sort of charm or amulet, and also a sacrifice and prayer: hence it seems as if some account of the religion of *Mahomet* had reached the island in past ages, from the neighbouring continent; and also that it had been favourably received by the natives, though the present generation appeared to be entirely unacquainted with its principles and rites. I took some pains to acquaint myself with their religious tenets; and they appear to worship one universal Father, whom, when they speak in *English*, they call *God*, and in whom, they conceive to reside all kind of perfection. The sun they look upon as a glorious body, and I believe, as a spiritual Being, but created and dependent. They frequently look up to it with wonder, if not with praise and adoration. They make their supplications to the One *Almighty*, and offer sacrifices to him in their distresses.

I had the curiosity to attend a sacrifice at the hut of *John Anderson*, whose father had for a long time been afflicted with sickness. At about sun-set, an ox was brought into the yard, and the son, who officiated as priest, slew it; an altar was reared nigh, and the post of it was sprinkled with the blood of the victim. The head, after it's being severed from the body,

* This custom of eating locusts among the *Madagascarians*, will determine that question about which learned men have so long disputed, what food *John the Baptist* did eat when he lived in the desert? Whether the *Ἀντίδης* of this holy man were locusts, according to the literal sense of the word in all *Grecian* authors, or whether these *Ἀντίδης* were the fruit of some tree, or a species of birds? The first, has been the opinion of all interpreters of the scriptures, who attended merely to the contents; others, who were for shewing their critical and refined genius, have asserted, that *John Baptist* never did eat locusts, for they are an unnatural food, never were used by any, and not adapted for sustenance. But if locusts are at this day eaten by the natives of *Madagascar*, as they truly are, and also by many besides, why may not the *Baptist* have lived on the same insect, according to the gospel history? and which needs no alteration. *Ἀντίδης* will always remain what they have been, and the greatest skill and labour will never change them to birds or fruit. See *Hasselquist's Travels*.

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was placed, with the horns on, at the foot of the altar: the cawl was burned in the fire, and most of the pluck and entrails boiled in a pot. The sick man, who was brought to the door, and placed on the ground so as to face the sacrifice, prayed often, and seemingly with great fervency: his eyes were fixed attentively towards the heavens, and his hands held up in a supplicating posture. The ceremony ended with the son's cutting up the ox into small pieces, the greatest part of which he distributed among the poor slaves belonging to his father and himself, reserving however some of the best pieces for his own use. Upon the whole, I saw so many circumstances in this *Madagascan* sacrifice, so exactly resembling those which are mentioned in the Old Testament as offered up by the *Jews*, that I could not turn my thoughts back to the original, without being sensibly struck at the exactness of the copy.

It happened fortunately for me, who constantly resided at the sick tents ashore, that at the request of several officers of our Squadron, who promised to accompany me, and intended themselves much innocent pleasantry in singing the grand chorus anthem of *God save the king, long live the king*, on the occasion, I had delayed giving his majesty of *Baba* the medicines I had promised him; for the very night following that, in which I was to have delivered them, he died suddenly. Now, tho' his death, by all the accounts we could pick up, was certainly occasioned by a violent fit of the gout in his head, and which probably was brought on by the too free use, and inebriating, inflammatory quality of the brandy, which he had been presented with; yet there is no room to doubt, but that his loyal and resentful subjects would have imputed his demise to another cause, and revenged themselves on me as the poisoner of their king, had he chanced to have taken the smallest quantity of my medicines.

The chiefs seemed deeply concerned at this sudden and unexpected event, and were very desirous that the king's death should be kept a profound secret: But finding this impossible, about 11 o'clock of the same evening in which he died, they repaired to the Mud Town, carrying with them the corpse of their late monarch, and were accompanied by the several branches of the royal family. But before their departure, they took care to set fire to every one of their tents. All the inhabitants in the neighbourhood soon followed the example of the court in repairing to the Mud Town, and left not the least thing behind them, save the dogs of the village, which made such a hideous howling all the night, that it was impossible for any of us to get a wink of sleep: but we had another reason to prevent our taking any repose, and that was, our having observed the most evident marks of great disorder amongst the natives, which we thought obliged us, for our own safety, to keep a watchful guard the whole night. *Frederick Martin*, before he went off, came to take his leave of us, and begged with great earnestness for a fresh supply of gun-powder: he whispered that the king was dead, and that in all probability they should go to war about making another. We had been before

told that the Duke of *Baba* would certainly succeed to the throne; but we afterwards learned, that *Philibey* the general, having espoused the cause of *Raphani* the late king's son, and taken him under his tutelage and protection; this youth, who was only sixteen years of age, succeeded his father as King of *Baba*. 1754.

It was a lucky circumstance for us, that our agent-victualler had, before this event of the king's death, amply furnished all the ships of the Squadron with fresh provisions; for as after that event all kind of business was at a stand, we consequently should else have been under a necessity of going to *Johanna* or some other port to have taken in the remainder of our supplies.

It may be of use to future navigators to be informed, that no good water is to be had at *St. Augustine*, unless they send their boat four or five miles up the river; and instead of filling their casks at low water (as is the case in most other rivers) they must begin to fill here at about a quarter's flood. The reason assigned for it, is, that the river has a communication with the sea at other places, as well as with this channel of *St. Augustine's Bay*; and by experience it has been found, that the sea water brought into the river by the flood tide, is not discharged till a quarter's flood of the next tide in *St. Augustine's Bay*; and for three miles at least up the river, the water is always very brackish, if not quite salt.

I cannot finish my observations on this island, without hinting, that such quantities of limes and oranges grow here, the largest casks may be easily filled with their juices, and that at a very small expence, as they may be purchased with iron-pots, muskets, powder, ball, flints, &c. &c. It is sufficiently evident, that a small quantity of these juices mixed daily with the seamen's common drink, would in great measure prevent their falling into the scurvy; a disease so frequently attending all long voyages, and which by sad experience has been known to have deprived the nation of many more valuable men, than hath all the power of the enemy. It is, therefore, an object highly worthy the attention of government, that every ship of war, which shall happen to touch at this island, be provided with the juices of the lime and orange at the public expence; with the addition of such a quantity of rum, or other spirits, as shall be necessary to preserve the juice from corruption. During our stay here, I procured and preserved about half a hog-head full, which proved, as will be seen hereafter, of essential service to the *Kent's* crew against the scurvy, both before and after the Squadron got into the *Ganges*.

As the accounts hitherto given of this part of *Madagascar*, its productions, &c. by all former writers, have been very superficial and imperfect, I presume the supplying this deficiency, will at least merit the indulgence of the reader.

C H A P. II.

Admiral Watson leaves Madagascar, and arrives at Fort St. David.—

An account of that settlement, of the Chamæleon, animated Stalk, &c.

—Description of the inhabitants, their persons, habits and coins.—

List of the different Casts into which the Indians divide themselves, with a short account of their particular customs, &c.

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ON the seventh of *August*, having compleated our stock of water, and taken in as many live cattle as we could stow, with a large quantity of limes and four oranges, we left the island of *Madagascar*; steering the proper course for our *East India* settlements. *September* the 5th, we saw *Fryars Hood* in the island of *Ceylon*; and on the 10th of the same month we anchored in *Fort St. David's* road. The 13th, *Admiral Watson* on the part of his majesty, entered into a written contract with me, for the establishing an hospital in the several settlements of *India*, into which I was to receive the sick and hurt of the squadron, and provide them with medicinal and surgical assistance, and also with provisions, nurses, &c. &c.

On the appearance of our squadron, with the king's regiment, *Monf. Godeheu*, who had just landed at *Pondicherry* from *France*, and superseded *Monf. Dupleix* in his authority, moderated the high terms he had before insisted on with our countrymen, and quickly agreed with *Mr. Saunders*, (the company's governor at *Fort St. George*) that a suspension of arms between the companies, and their respective allies, should take place, commencing on the 11th of *October*, and to continue until the 11th of *January* following: so that, to our great surprize, instead of being employed on the objects of war, we had nothing to do but look about us; and partake of that variety of amusements, which strangers must ever find in a country so distant, and so different from their own.

Fort St. David is a small, but strong and regular fortification, built on a rising ground, about a mile from the *Black-Town*, which is called *Cuddalore*. This last has a wall running round it, with the addition of a few bastions, but is too large even for all the English troops on the coast properly to defend. In it, reside the greatest part of the native Indian inhabitants of *Fort St. David's* boundaries. Both the town, and the fort, are situated near the sea side; *Cuddalore* lying almost due south from the fort. The extent of this settlement's boundaries, are, towards the land, about four miles, and three along the sea side: the former are pointed out by a thick hedge of the
aloe

aloe plant, and cocoa-nut tree, having bastions of six or eight guns, at about three-fourths of a mile from each other. In one of these little forts, deputy Governor *Starke* had fitted up a pleasant apartment, and to which he frequently retired from *Fort St. David*. 1754.

The country within the boundaries is very pleasant, and the air fine, having seldom any fogs. In the district are many neat houses with gardens; the latter were laid out with much good taste by the gentlemen, who either had been, or were in the company's service. These gardens produce fruits of different sorts, such as pine-apples, oranges, limes, pomegranates, plantains, bananoes, mangoes, guavas, (red and white,) bedams (a sort of almond) pimple-noses, called in the *West Indies*, chadocks, a very fine large fruit of the citron-kind, but of four or five times it's size, and many others. At the end of each gentleman's garden, there is generally a shady grove of cocoa-nut trees. These gardens yield also many of the *European* kitchen plants, the seeds of which are either sent from *England*, or from the *Cape of Good Hope*; as celery, lettuce, onions, parsley, mint, artichokes, and spinage. They have also a common plant of the country, not unlike spinage, which grows without any culture, and by our seamen is called *Cul-laloe*. Radishes are to be had in great plenty; they are large, and of a white colour; when boiled, their relish is better than an indifferent turnip. Colliflowers and cabbages also grow here, but not in any plenty. Grapes are very scarce; indeed they never flourish in any of those hot countries that lie within 25, or even 30 degrees of the equinoctial. Probably we had never known that they grew in *Egypt*, but for the following lines in Virgil and Horace.

"*Sunt Thasiæ vites, sunt et Mareotides albæ.*" Georg. lib. ii.

"*Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico*

"*Redegit in veros timores*

"*Cæsar.*"

Lib. i. ode 37.

I met with two very curious animals here at *Fort St. David*. The first was a *Chameleon*, which is said to live upon air; probably this notion took its rise, from their remarkable swelling and contracting their bodies in the office of respiration. The *Chameleon* which I had in my possession, was a very fine one, and along the back ran a rough ridge like so many beads, shining very bright. I frequently put it upon white paper, but could never observe that it altered to that colour. I sometimes kept my eyes stedfastly fixed upon it for half an hour, but never perceived the least alteration in colour, unless I waved my hand over its back, or offered to touch it. The creature always appeared most beautiful when frightened. Whenever I peeped into the basket where it was kept, it was of one colour, a faint, yellowish green, with a mixture of meal, as if a little flour had been thrown over it; after I had stood half a minute, a few dusky spots on the sides, and stripes across the back, would be sure to appear: when touched, it would hiss, which dilated the body to a prodigious size; the mealiness

1754. then went off, and the whole body appeared of a bright yellow; also the stripes on its back, and the spots on the sides and belly, turned quite black: so that if you looked upon it one way, on the back, it had the appearance of a perch or a pilot-fish: if you took a side view, the spots resembled those of a cowry-shell*. The socket of the eye was remarkably large, in which it turned and rolled about the ball with great quickness, but the creature had the smallest sight or pupil I ever beheld; on its head was a kind of crown, not unlike that of an old hen or *galena* bird; the mouth was ugly and remarkably large. The Chamæleon had a surprizing pouch (*gula faccata*) under its throat; I put several flies and grasshoppers into the basket, but it refused to eat, till I forced them into its mouth, and then it chewed and swallowed very regularly. It is an oviparous creature, seldom leaving off till it has laid forty or fifty eggs; and in this respect as well as in the similarity of its shape, it resembles the *Crocodile*.

The other remarkable animal which I met with at *Cuddalore*, was the *animated Stalk*, of which there are different kinds. Some appear like dry straws tied together; others like grass. Some have bodies much thicker than others, with the addition of two scaly imperfect wings; their neck is no bigger than a pin, but twice as long as their bodies. Their heads are like an hare's, and their eyes are vertical and very brisk. They live upon flies, which they catch very dexterously with the two fore feet, which they keep doubled up in three parts close to their head, and dart out very quick on the approach of their prey; and when they have caught it, they eat very voraciously, holding it in the same manner as a squirrel does its food. On the outer joints of the fore feet are several hooks, very sharp for the easier catching and holding their prey; with the other feet, which are four in number, they take hold of trees or any other thing, the better to surprize whatever they lie in wait for. They drink like a horse, putting their mouths into the water. Their excrements, which are very white, are almost as large as the body of the animal, and (as the natives say) dangerous to the eyes.

The sparrows on this coast, and over all *India*, are exactly the same as those we have in *England*. Here are many birds like yellow-hammers, which build their nests very artfully, hanging them on the extremity of the leaves of trees. Their nests have a hole at the bottom, and another near the top; which demonstrates the sagacity of these little animals, in thus securing to themselves a safe retreat from the attack of an enemy. The nest appears like a cabbage-net stuffed with straw, and is fastened to the end of the leaf†.

* A small shell which passes in *India* for money; from 4000 to 4800 go to a rupee.

† On the island of *Madagascar* I saw several exceeding small birds called the *Taylor* bird, and I took from the extreme point of some leaves, three of their curious little nests, one of which contained three eggs of the size of the smallest pea. We have the following account of this bird in *Pennant's Indian Zoology*.—"The birds of the torrid zone, having a certain prescience of the

In the neighbourhood of the agreeable retreats before mentioned, are many pleasant rows of the ever-green tulip tree, which are planted through great part of the boundaries, in the same manner as the elms in *St. James's Park*. At some little distance from one of these walks, is a building, belonging to the company, and designed for the governor, called "the garden-house." It is roomy, handsome and well built; and has a very good and large garden belonging to it, with long and pleasant avenues of trees in the back and front.

At the time we were at *Fort St. David*, the governor, and a few other gentlemen of the settlement, kept a chaise and a pair of horses; some drove a two wheel chaise with a single horse, and others were content to take the air on horseback. Since that time however, the number of carriages is greatly increased. Almost all the *Europeans* resident in *India* keep their *Palanquin*, which is a covered machine with cushions in it, arched in the middle, to give more room, and air, and is carried on the shoulders of four or six men; the expence attending it, is not less than thirty pounds sterling a year. This piece of *Eastern* luxury therefore has been forbidden by the company to their youngest servants. Some years before our arrival in the country, they found such sumptuary laws so absolutely necessary, that they gave the strictest orders, that none of these young gentlemen should be allowed even to hire a *Roundel-boy*; whose business, is, to walk by his master, and defend him with his *Roundel* or *Umbrella* from the heat of the sun. A young fellow of humour, upon this last order coming over, altered the form of his *Umbrella* from a round to a square, called it a *Squaredel* instead of a *Roundel*, and insisted that no order yet in force, forbade him the use of it. These orders, no doubt, were given with a view of preserving œconomy among the young people; whose circumstances were supposed not able to support such expences; and whose extravagancies in this and many other particulars had occasioned their contracting such debts with the natives, as they were not able to discharge. So far it must be allowed, that the company acted very laudably; but at the same

the dangers that surround them, and of their own weakness, suspend their nests at the extreme branches of the trees; they are conscious of inhabiting a climate replete with enemies to them and their young; as, with snakes that twine up the bodies of the trees, and apes that are perpetually in search of prey; but, Heaven-instructed, they elude the gliding of the one, and the activity of the other.

The brute creation are more at enmity here than in other climates, and the birds are obliged to exert unusual artifice in placing their little brood out of the reach of the invader. Each aims at the same end, tho' by different means; some form their pensile nest in shape of a purse, deep, and open at top; others with a hole in the side, and others, still more cautious, with an entrance at the very bottom, forming their lodge near the summit.

But the little species we describe (the *Taylor* bird) seems to have greater diffidence than any of the others: it will not trust its nest even to the extremity of a slender twig, but one more advance to safety, by fixing it to the leaf itself. It picks up a dead leaf, and, surprizing to relate, sews it to the side of a living one; its slender bill being the needle, and its thread some fine fibres; the lining, feathers, gossamer, and down."

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time, as the *Fort, Cuddalore*, and several other *black towns*, in which the company's business is transacted, stand at a great distance from each other, and it is almost impossible for a gentleman just arrived from *England*, to walk from one to the other of these places in the hot months, without getting an inflammatory fever; were it only from motives of humanity, it is to be wished, that this most respectable body of merchants would, at their own expence, allow all their servants not only the use of *Umbrellas*, but also of *Palanquins*; since it must always be judged a duty incumbent on the constituents to take as much care as possible of the lives of their dependants in any of our distant settlements, but more especially in this unhealthy part of the world.

The presidency of all our settlements on the coast of *Coromandel*, was seated at *Madras*, until the taking of that place by the *French* in the year 1746. From that time, it was established at *Fort St. David*, and continued there till about the year 1752, when it was removed back to *Madras*; at the same time, however, orders were issued by the *East India Company*, that a subordinate council should be still held at *Fort St. David*, under a deputy governor, who in rank was to be the next senior servant to the governor of *Fort St. George*. The second of this council was ordered to be of the rank of a councillor at the presidency; the remainder of the assembly was to be made up of gentlemen, whose standing in the service was that of senior or junior merchants. At our arrival in *India*, *Richard Starke Esq*; was deputy governor; *Thomas Cooke Esq*; was second; Mess. *Robert Sloper*, *Richard Fairfield*, and *Richard Norris*, were of the council; and Mr. *Call* acted as engineer*.

The coins we meet with at *Fort St. David*, are,

	l.	s.	d.	
<i>Pagodas</i> , a gold coin, equal to	—	0	8	} Sterling.
<i>Rupees</i> , a silver coin, equal to	—	0	2	
<i>Fanams</i> , a silver coin, equal to	—	0	0	
<i>Cash</i> , a copper coin, equal to	—	0	0	

A 36 shilling piece changes for 18 *Rupees*.

An *English* crown piece - for 26 *Fanams*.

A *Spanish* dollar - - - for 25 *Fanams*.

All the above coins differ somewhat in their value, at different times.

The natives on this coast are black, but of different shades. Both men and women have long shining black hair, which has not the least tendency to wool, like that of the *Guinea negroes*. You cannot indeed affront them more,

* In June 1758 *Fort St. David* was taken and demolished by the *French*; since that time it has never been rebuilt. Mr. *Call* first went into *India* as pupil to the late very ingenious Mr. *Benjamin Robins*, and did great honour to his preceptor, as well as service to his country, in his skilful defence as engineer of *Fort St. George*, when it was besieged by the *French* in the years 1758 and 1759, under the command of Monf. *Lally*.

than to call them by the name of *negroe*, as they conceive it implies an idea of slavery. The habit of the common men is only a piece of rag round their hips. The women in general wear a sash of different colours, about four yards long, and somewhat more than a yard wide. They turn it round their waist lengthways, letting the breadth hang down, which forms a kind of petticoat; then they bring the remaining part over their left shoulder across the body, and finish where they began: this forms a tolerably decent dress, as the part that comes over the shoulders, quite covers the breasts. The children never wear any cloaths, till they are five or six years of age. Their method of carrying them, is not, like our's, in the arms, but across their hips. None of them know the use of a pair of stays, and very few of them are any way deformed. The men in general are tall and well-shaped, and yet very timorous and pusillanimous. They are ill calculated for war, and except when they are led on by the *English* or other *Europeans*, seldom make any great figure in the field. Their best troops are the *Rajpout* soldiers, who are greatly inured to watching, fasting, and hardships: upon a march, and at all other times, their bed is no more than the swath that goes round their middle, spread on the bare ground; and their cartridge box serves them for a pillow to lay their heads on; and yet with all their military discipline, they never make any stand, when opposed to the regular forces brought from *Europe*.

The *Gentoo* or *Pagan* religion principally prevails among the *Indians*, of whom they reckon up a great number of what they call *casts*, or tribes, which all preserve their particular customs, and never interfere with each other. I shall here set down a list of the several casts, into which the people over *India* divide themselves, with a brief account of their particular customs.

The most honourable of the casts, is that of the *BRAHMINS*. These are generally priests, and by their office have great influence over the minds of the people. They lead very abstemious lives; and as they admit the *Metempsychosis*, and believe that the souls of men transmigrate into the bodies of beasts, they religiously abstain from the flesh of all animals. They abhor also the propitiatory sacrifice of brutes, and yet some of them admit of another sacrifice infinitely more cruel and inexcusable, I mean offering up the wife to the *manes* of her dead husband *. The admiral and several other gentlemen of our squadron, were present at one of these sacrifices, and were all greatly affected at the sight. Mr. *Watson* discovering, as he imagined, some signs of reluctance in the woman, while she was advancing towards the funeral pile; ordered his interpreter to go and ask her, whether she voluntarily devoted herself to the flames? Assuring her, that if she was compelled to do it, he would inter-

* *Mulieres in Indiâ, cum est cujusque earum Vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit: plures enim singulis solent esse nuptæ. Quæ est victrix ea læta, prosequentibus suis, una cum Viro in rogum imponitur: illa victa, mæsta discedit.*

Cic. Tusc. Quest. lib. 5. n. 78.

pose,

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pose, and save her. He desired, that she would unreservedly speak the real sentiments of her heart; that if she chose to live, she had only to say so; that he would take care to secure her from the resentment of the *Brahmins* on one hand, and from the reproaches of her relations on the other; and settle so ample a provision upon her, that for the future she should be enabled to live quite independent of her family, and enjoy every comfort of life. The poor woman was by no means insensible of Mr. *Watson's* kindness; she desired the interpreter to return him her most grateful thanks; but withal to assure him, that she was about to die, both voluntarily and cheerfully. She soon afterwards placed herself at full length on a platform, which had been erected for the purpose; folded her arms round the neck and breast of the corpse, with the greatest tranquility and composure continued the embrace, until both their bodies were covered with the firewood heaped upon them: then their nearest relation put fire to the pile, which was no sooner lighted, than the *Brahmins*, seconded by the multitude, made a loud noise, and continued it as long as they supposed any life could remain in the victim. This was done, probably, to prevent the woman's shrieks from being heard. The admiral and the company left the place with an exceeding dejection of spirits; while the natives, (more especially the *Brahmins*) rejoiced and triumphed in this diabolical rite *. The *Brahmins* in many points retain the tenets of the ancient *Brachmans*, who lived in this part of the world, and of whom so many incredible particulars are related by the *Greek* and *Roman* historians. Doctor *Hyde*, in his history of the religion of the antient *Persians*, observes †, that this people implicitly believed their religion was the same as *Abraham's*, and that they had received it from him, and by way of boasting, they called it, *Religio Abrahami*. He also gives it as his opinion, that the ancient *Brachmans* and modern *Brahmins*, derived their names from *Abrahâm*, or rather *Brâbâm*, which is the common way of pronouncing that word amongst the *Persians*.

The next in rank are the *RAJAHS*, the title of the ancient kings or sovereigns of the country; some of these *Rajabs* by shutting themselves up in the mountains, still remain independent of the *Mogul* government. During the former reigns of the *Rajabs*, it is said, *India* was in a state of perfect innocence.

* Mr. *Rollin*, in the 7th volume of his ancient history, makes the following reflections on a sacrifice of this kind:

“ The action of this woman, was undoubtedly a real murder, and might justly be considered as a violation of the most express law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a person's own life; and commands us not to dispose of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, or forget that it is only a deposit, which ought to be resigned to none but that being from whom we received it. Such a sacrifice is so far from deserving to be enumerated among the instances of respect and amity due to a husband; that he is rather treated as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of such precious victims.”

† De Religione veterum Perfarum, cap. ii.

MORATTAS,

MORATTAS, or MAHARATTAS;—These are a powerful people, and inhabit the *Malabar* as well as the *Coromandel* coast. They are chiefly horsemen, and may be justly termed the *Swiss* of *India*, for they let out their troops to hire, and always fight in support of that party which pays them best.

POLYGARS and MOTRES are a set of people who live in the woods, and, we are told, make not the least scruple to plunder every one that comes in their way. These are all independant of the *Mogul* government.

BANIANS are a very rigid cast. These (like the BRAHMINS) never eat of any thing that has had life, and never presume to kill even the most despicable animal. They have their hospitals for monkies, snakes, &c.—A few of them also retain the horrid custom of burning the living wife with the dead husband. They are merchants, brokers, farmers, &c.—The head servants in *Bengal* are likewise called *Baniâns*.

NIERS on the *Malabar* coast, are of the first cast. They are always gentlemen; behave with great haughtiness towards their poor countrymen, and distinguish their superior rank by wearing a sword, and carrying a particular kind of stick in their hand, different from those used by the common people. On the *Coromandel* coast, these NIERS do not carry themselves quite so high, but are contented to act in the capacity of merchants, nay they are sometimes obliged to take up with much humbler professions. Some of them call themselves *christians*, and say their ancestors were made so by St. Thomas. They add, that the christian religion once flourished among them in its greatest purity, and that they were governed by a Patriarch; but the *Portuguese* having murdered this holy man, christianity fell with him; for they could not but prefer even idolatry itself to a religion whose professors could commit so atrocious a crime.

CHOWLIES are esteemed learned men, and in general are merchants. The common people suppose that they have the power of life and death in their hands, and that they are very powerful in enchantments.

CHITTIES are a particular kind of merchants at *Madras*, and are generally very rich, but rank with the *left hand cast*, and are not permitted to be carried in their *Palanquin* through the street of the *right hand cast*, although many of the latter are only servants.

PARRIAHS are the lowest cast on the *Coromandel* coast: both men and women perform the most servile offices, and eat and drink of whatever they can get, without scruple.

FROSTS on the *Malabar* coast are much the same as *Parriahs* on the *Coromandel*, but perhaps in some respects they are still more despicable. They will feed heartily on any animal though it dies of itself.

1754. HARRIES are the same at *Bengal*, as *Frosts* are at *Bombay*. Their women do all the drudgery at your houses, and the men carry your *Palanquin*.

NIADDE and PULLIE are two low casts on the *Malabar* coast, and who are held in such contempt, that the other natives will not suffer them to come near them. When they have occasion to purchase any thing, they are obliged to call aloud at a distance, and set down their basket with the money in it; then the seller advances, and puts in what they want, and after he is gone from the spot, the buyer comes, and carries it away. Their common employment is looking after cattle: they are never permitted to sleep on the earth, but in trees. If only the breath of one of them were accidentally to come across a *Nier*, the latter would not fail instantly to put him to death. To avoid this, when they see a *Nier* coming towards them, they take care to get out of his way. They are never suffered to come near the towns, but on one particular day in the year, when they are sure to get together in crowds, and if they can be so fortunate as to throw dirt on any woman that passes by, she immediately becomes their slave, let her be of whatever cast *.

SHACKELAYS, are shoemakers, and held in the same despicable light on the *Coromandel* coast, as the *Niadde* and *Pullie* are on the *Malabar*.

These are the *casts*, by which the natives are distinguished all over *India*; but these are also branched out into so great a number of distinctions, that they can hardly be enumerated; tho' they all pay particular respect, and observe different forms of ceremony to casts of superior rank to themselves. In general, it is remarked, that whatever be the trade of the father, the same is that of the son: so that the families of boatmen, fishermen, &c. are boatmen and fishermen to all generations. Some casts expose their old, and their sick in the streets, after they have been given over by the *Brakmins*; others carry them down to low water mark, and fill their nose, mouth, and ears with mud, and there leave them; where they are sure to be soon devoured † by vultures, kites, crows, jackalls, dogs, &c. which abound in great numbers. Another *cast* never ease themselves while the sun is above horizon; and by way of prevention, keep a plug of dried mud in their fundament. The people on the *Coromandel* coast, and especially at *Fort St. David*, believe that there are a set of philosophers in the mountains, who have the secret of preserving

* The account here given of these five last *casts* of *Indians*, puts me in mind of another passage in the before quoted learned author.

“*Diſti Halâlchori ſunt inferioris generis Indi, qui ad viliora quævis opera adiguntur, (ad mundandas Plateas, & evacuandas Cloacas, &c.) eaque libenter ſuſcipiunt, dum Mauri & Baneani talia recuſant ne polluantur. Iſti etiam edunt cadaveroſas beſtiarum carnes, & nullum cibi genus conſcientiæ ergo recuſant: unde nomen Halâl-chur licitum edens. Iſti propter operas & diætam habentur impuri, ideoque neminem alium libenter tangunt, nec aliquis ab eis vult tangi: & quia tactus inquinat polluitque, ſeperatim vivunt ab omnibus aliis: quia quicumque ab his tactus eſt, tenetur habere moleſtiam purificandi ſeipſum.*” HYDE *de Religione veterum Perſarum*, cap. 34.

† Nam Magi vulgo ſuos deſunctos volucris & feris exponebant & hodiè exponunt. HYDE cap. 34.

life; and of transporting their souls into other bodies at pleasure, and with the same facility making them to return again. They give out likewise, that those learned men have discovered the secret of making gold; but this, say they, they never put in practice but for their own immediate necessities.

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On the 9th of *April*, annually, at *Bengal** the natives undergo a very uncommon kind of penance: some, for sins past; some, for what they may commit; and others in consequence of a promise made by their parents, that if they should be blessed with a child, that child, when he came of a proper age, should be bound to perform it.—This ceremony is as follows: In a large plain about a mile from *Calcutta*, there are erected about thirty Bamboos, at least twenty feet high; on the top of these they contrive to fix a swivel, and another bamboo of thirty feet or more crosses it, at both ends of which hangs a rope. One end of this rope, the people pull down, and the *devotee* placing himself under it, the *Brahmin* pinches up a large piece of skin under both the shoulder blades, (sometimes in the breasts) and thrusts a strong iron-hook through each: these hooks have lines of *Indian* grass hanging to them, which the priest makes fast to the rope at the end of the cross bamboo, and at the same time puts a sash round the *devotee's* body, laying it loosely in the hollow of the hooks, lest by the skin's giving way, he should fall to the ground. When this is done, the people haul down the other end of the bamboo, by which means the *devotee* is immediately lifted up thirty feet or more from the ground, and they run round as fast as their legs will carry them. This throws the devotee out to the full length of the rope, where as he swings, he plays a thousand antic tricks, being painted and dressed in a very particular manner, on purpose to make him appear the more ridiculous. Some of them continue swinging half an hour, others less. They have also their time of preparation for this ceremony, which is four days. On the first, they abstain from every kind of food; on the second, they eat fruit; on the third, they fast; and on the fourth, they eat fruit again. During the whole time of the preparation, they walk about the streets in their fantastical dresses, dancing to the sounds of drums, and horns; and some of them, to express the greater ardor of devotion, run a rod of iron quite through their tongues, and oftentimes through their cheeks also. These are a low cast, and have *Brahmins* peculiar to themselves. The higher casts seem to despise so ridiculous a farce.—A friend at *Madras*, in a letter dated *October 1771*, gives me the following intelligence, which shews what improvements *devotees* are capable of making in the art of torturing themselves to delude and impose on others. “A man of one of the *Gentoo* casts, hath, for seven months past, swung about two or three hours every morning over a fire. Two ropes are fastened to a tree, one of his ancles hangs in a noose made in the end of one of the

* The author was a spectator of these exhibitions, and has seen ten or twelve persons swinging at the same time.

1754. ropes, and the knee of the other leg is fixed in a noose of the other rope: thus suspended, with his head downwards about a foot from, and immediately over the fire, which is about eighteen inches in circumference, and made of small dry wood, he swings backward and forward, with seemingly great ease, and keeps up the fire himself, having the wood placed within his reach, and to make it burn more briskly, he adds some *Ghee* (buffaloes butter) which he likewise hath by him. It is said, he doth this, neither by way of penance, nor from religious motives, but to fulfil a resolution he made to swing in this manner, until he had collected as much money from the spectators as would make an entertainment for 10000 persons: some say, that he will get into a higher cast by it. However, he is at present gone into the country for his health, and hath not yet acquired sufficient for such a treat. I am amazed to think, how he could swing so long, without dislocating his ankle, or injuring his brain. The sight of him in this situation was shocking, and gave me a severe head-ach."

On the first of their *November*, (which is about the middle of our *October*) all the *Gentoo* casts in *Bengal* hang out a light on a tall bamboo near their respective houses, and this they continue to do for several successive nights, in order (as they say) to light their deceased parents, who are supposed to visit them at this time. On the eleventh night in particular, you will be sure to see not only every house, but the doors and windows, and even the highways and floats on the river stuck full of lights, and every man, woman, and child with one in their hands. This is the last and concluding night, when they expect to be visited by all their deceased friends; for the entertainment of whom, they make a great *Chezvons* or feast, and place meat and fruit in every corner of the house. The inhabitants of *Bombay* have also a ceremony of heaving the cocoa nut (as they term it) which they intend as an offering or sacrifice to the sea, on the prospect of the *Monsoon's* breaking up: At this time, men, women, and children go to the water-side all finely dressed, and the principal man is escorted by a guard of *European* soldiers, and throws a gilt cocoa nut into the sea: all the rest of the company throw in something that is eatable; and presently after they begin to fit out their ships and vessels for sea service.

The *Moors* likewise, or those natives who are *Mahometans*, are not without their feasts and processions; and are extremely fond of them, as well as the *Gentoo*s; particularly, of their *Hassan Hassan*, in memory of the two sons of *Ali* by *Fatima* (*Mahomet's* daughter) being killed in one day fighting for the faith. They carry about a model of the tombs of their ancestors, made of light bamboo and paper finely ornamented, for three days and nights; and are attended by people ridiculously dressed, shouting and dancing to their country music. On the last day of the festival, they carry these models into the fields with a kind of funeral procession, and there, by breaking them in pieces, put an end to the ceremony.

A trial

A trial of veracity frequently used among the *Gentoo*s is the eating dry rice; if the person be innocent, then, say they, he will easily swallow it, but if guilty, there will not be saliva enough in the mouth to carry it down the throat. They have many other trials, and even by fire; such as putting their hands into hot quicksilver, &c. &c. 1754.

In what manner the man and his wife among the higher casts live together, I cannot say from my own personal knowledge, but have heard, upon terms very different from those practised by us in *England*; for the wife, we were informed, never presumes to sit down and dine with her lord, but stands behind him, and with great complacency waits till he has done. That this is the practice with those of the lower casts, frequent occasions among my own, and other gentlemen's servants, presented, to convince us. Notwithstanding the *Indians* are naturally lazy and inactive, (for they sleep very much); yet every one endeavours after a livelihood; so that you seldom see a common beggar amongst them. Although there are many schools for the education of children, yet they seldom learn more than their own mother tongue. It is indeed surprizing, considering the great number of *English* that are settled amongst them, and with whom they have continual dealings, that they should not be able in common to speak our language so well as the people near the sea-ports of *Madagascar*, where a ship puts in by chance once in a year, and stays perhaps only ten days.

Though it is customary in this country to see the children rolling in the sand and dust before the door, yet their parents are very tender of them; and they in return are as careful of their parents in their old age. The people in general are very friendly and willing to assist each other in difficulties; yet sometimes words run so high between them, that they will fly at one another like two fighting cocks, but always take care not to proceed to blows with clenched fists. I observed more than once amidst these violent altercations, that they little more than angrily pat each others hands with their palms. They are everlasting talkers, and have so much grimace in telling a story, that you would almost swear they had lived their whole lives in *France*.—Whenever they meet upon the road, they never fail to chat about the news of the country; and as they are very fond of pomp and shew, their topic of discourse is commonly of the last *Grandee* that arrived on the coast—how and in what splendor he lives—how rich his furniture—and how many attendants he keeps. During the whole time of such confabulation, they never forget to offer each other their *Beetel* and *Chunam*; the former of which is a leaf, with a nut of the *Areca* tree, the latter a kind of lime; both of which they as commonly chew and make a compliment of, as the *Europeans* do their tobacco and snuff.

There are two customs very prevalent among these people, which to an *European* appear very disgusting. The first is their chewing so great a quantity of *Beetel*, which turns excessively red in their mouths, and occasions them

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them to be continually spitting ; yet this custom, tho' so exceedingly filthy, prevails from the highest to the lowest. The other is not less offensive ; the length of their nails, and the blackness of their teeth, both which they are very careful of preserving. They reckon one a mark of beauty, the other of a good family. White teeth are held in such disesteem with them, that they make use of an artificial enamel on purpose to blacken them ; they say, " white teeth are only fit for dogs and monkeys." And a frightful length of nails, in their opinion, proves them to be well descended, as it manifestly shews that they have not been accustomed to do servile offices.

I shall close the account of the several *Indian casts*, with an incident, of which I was an eye-witness during my stay at *Fort St. David*. One day, in company with Mr. *Doidge*, the admiral's secretary, I was obliged to go from the fort to the town of *Cuddalore* on some business, relative to the hospital. In passing the ferry, we mixed with a considerable number of *Indians*, but of what *cast* or tribe we did not learn. One of the men who was with us in the boat, chanced to have in his hand a musical instrument of the country, which differed very little from a common flute. Mr. *Doidge* held out his hand to the *Indian* in a manner which expressed his desire of playing upon it, and he with the greatest ease and politeness delivered the instrument to my companion ; who after looking at it a little while, put it to his lips, and blew upon it, and then returned it to the owner ; who, with great gravity and unconcern immediately threw it into the river. We were both amazed at this strange conduct of the *Indian*, till we got to *Cuddalore* ; where we learned from one of our countrymen, that he was one of those casts, which looked upon the flute as contaminated by Mr. *Doidge*, and therefore, by the laws and customs of his tribe, he could use it no more.

C H A P. III.

The Kent and Salisbury leave Fort St. David, and arrive at Bombay.—

Description of that place; and its inhabitants.—Account of the Persees residing there, and their religious tenets.—A particular custom of the Indians of Bombay, at the death of a relation.—Account of the religious persons, called Joogeas.—Extraordinary circumstance of fish being found in every pond at Bombay during the rainy season.—Curious account of the quantity of water that fell in the rainy season.—Several curiosities at Bombay.—Value of monies.—List of Indian drugs.—Description of the Elephanta.

OCTOBER the 11th, the day that the suspension of arms between the *English and French* companies and their allies took place, we left *Fort St. David* in company with the *Salisbury*, Capt. Knowler, and on the 13th of *November* anchored in *Bombay* road. 1754.

Bombay is a small island, but for its size, perhaps the most flourishing of any this day in the universe. Though the soil is so barren as not to produce any one thing worth mentioning, yet the convenience of its situation will always more than make up for that defect. It may be justly stiled “the grand store-house of all the *Arabian* and *Persian* commerce.” When this island was first surrendered to us by the *Portuguese*, we hardly thought it worth notice; but, in a very few years afterwards, we experimentally found the value of it, and it is now become our chief settlement on the *Malabar* coast.

The natives are shorter and stronger made than those on the *Cromandel* coast; only four *Cooleys* carry a Palanquin here, whereas six are generally used at *Madras* and *Fort St. David*. The inhabitants of this place are numerous, and are made up of almost every nation in *Asia*; among many others, we met with several *PERSEES*; who, like their forefathers the ancient *Persians*, are followers of *Zoroaster*, who is said to have modelled and reduced into order the religion of the ancient *Magi*; the fundamental maxim of which was, the worshipping only one God under the symbol of light. They adore the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest reverence and veneration; and by a natural consequence of the worship they pay the sun, they likewise pay a particular veneration to fire.

I met with a very remarkable instance of this while I was at *Bombay*; one day passing through the street, I heard a very uncommon noise, and seeing at the same time a large fire in one of the houses, curiosity led me a little closer to it; in the middle of the house was set a large brass pan with a fire in it: before this fire, or rather on each side of it, two men were kneeling at their

1754. their devotions, which they hurried over with great rapidity *. I looked on for a considerable time with great attention, and afterwards learned from a servant of the admiral's who was of this *cast*, that one of them was a priest, then on a visit to another priest in a fit of sickness. This servant likewise told me, that the † *Persees* have such a veneration for fire, that they never put it out, or so much as breathe upon it; and I took particular notice, that while these priests were at prayers over the pan of coals, they had a ‡ kind of little white bib over their mouth, as I imagined, to prevent their § breathing on their favourite element. The prayers appeared to me, to be only a repetition of the same set of words, from the similarity of their sounds. The visiting priest used many gestures with his hands over the fire, and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest, which I looked upon as the final benediction, for presently afterward the ceremony ended. This instance, strongly corroborates *Prideaux's* observation concerning their usage at public worship. "The priests themselves never approach this fire in their temples but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breathe thereon: and this they did not only when they tended the fire to lay on more wood, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their prayers, rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the *Romish* priests do their masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said ||l."

These poor misguided people prostrate themselves before the sun under the same notion that the *Gentoos* reverence an ox or a cow: from the excellent qualities they observe in these created beings, and their great usefulness, each is induced to suppose that the *godhead* does most certainly dwell in them, and under this mistaken notion they blindly pay that homage to the creature, which is only due to the creator. As the *Gentoos* burn their dead, one would think that the *Persees*, who are so fond of worshipping their deity under the representation of fire, should be desirous of having their dead bodies committed to that element, wherein they suppose their creator principally to reside. But contrary to this, and to the custom of all other nations in the world, they neither burn nor bury their dead, but cast them out in the open air, to be exposed to the several elements, where they are soon devoured by eagles, vultures, and other birds of prey ||. The principle they go upon is, that a living man being compounded of all the elements, it is but reasonable, after he is

* Sonorâ voce per semi-horam memoriter recitant tædiosam aliquam precandi formulam: & tantâ celeritate hoc faciunt, ut vix halitum reciprocare liceat, quasi invincibilis esset necessitas eam verborum formulam tantillo tempore recitare. HYDE *de Religione veterum Persarum*, cap. 34.

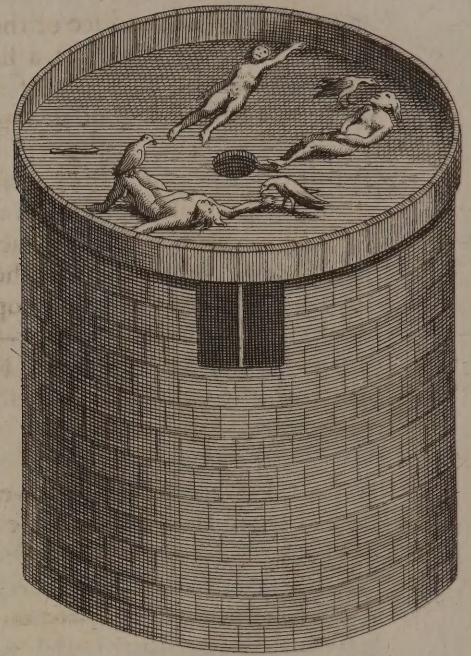
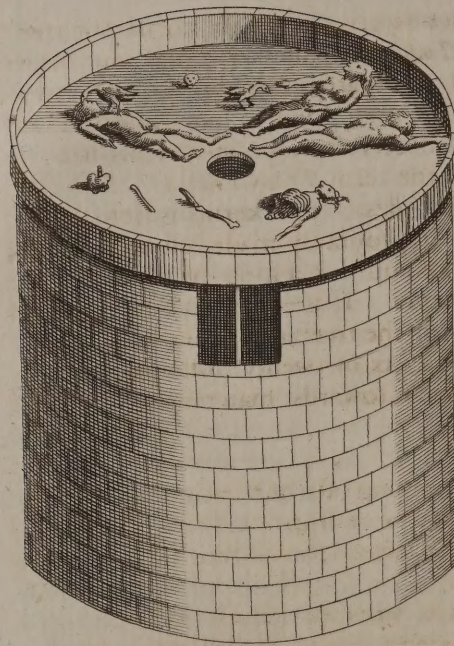
† Persæ in Pyreis alunt perpetuum Ignem lignis mundis & decorticatis. HYDE.

‡ Dum isto modo Sacerdotes garriebant, eorum facies obvelatæ erant, chartâ albâ per transversum vultum utrique auri affixâ, quæ duo aut tres uncias infra mentum dependebat. HYDE.

§ Grande Piaculum & morte plectendum, excusso ex ore halitu ignem inflare. STRABO *sub finem, lib. xv.*

||l PRID. *Connection*, book iv.

|| In capsâ enim aliquâ vel loculo condere, vel etiam terrâ obtumulare, nequiquam fas est: sed patrio ritu canibus pariter atque avibus obscænis, mortuum cadaver devorandum exponunt. HYDE.



dead, that every particular element should receive its own again*. On the top of *Malabar-hill*, in this island of *Bombay*, are two round buildings, on purpose for receiving the dead bodies of the *Persees*, which are placed and remain there till the bones are clean picked by the birds †. A guard constantly stands within a small distance of the place, who is very much displeased if you offer to approach the buildings; and for this reason, lest by your going too near, you disturb the vultures in their preying upon the dead bodies ‡. One afternoon however, I resolved to satisfy my curiosity so far as to peep into one of these edifices. I perceived several dead bodies; but there was little flesh left upon the bones; and that little was so parched up by the excessive heat of the sun, that it did not emit those stinking *effluvia* which there was reason to expect. It was owing probably to the same cause, that the bones were rendered quite black.—Upon the whole, this is a most odious and abominable custom, and the reason they give for following it, is truly ridiculous. 1754.

The natural produce of the island of *Bombay*, is chiefly the cocoa-nut tree: from which they extract a liquor called *Toddy*, which is soft and mild when drank immediately; but if it stands long, it gathers strength, and he who ventures to take a good draught thereof stale, presuming to find it pleasant and innocent as when fresh, will be miserably deceived; especially if his head be weak: and from hence, probably, arose the term *Toddy-headed*. The fruit or nut of the cocoa-tree has many excellent uses. The kernel is rich, sweet, and milky like a filbert; the shell is not unprofitably made use of for cups and ladles; but above all, the rind is worked up into a kind of cloth, which serves the poorer sort of people for garments. It is also spun as hemp, and makes very durable cables.—Of the body of the tree and the leaves, the poor people build their houses. For each tree a tax of twenty shillings a year is paid to the company, which is appropriated towards maintaining the garrison, and ships of war.

Bombay is the most convenient place among all our settlements in the *East Indies*, for careening or heaving down large ships; and for small ones they have a very good dock. At the time we were there, they were making

* Dum sacerdos ad commodam distantiam stando, sepulturæ officium hoc modo recitat, “Ista frater noster dum in vivio, constabat ex quatuor elementis: cum jam mortuus sit, quodvis elementum suam partem capiat; terrea pars abeat in terram, aëria pars in aërem, aquea pars in aquam, ignea pars in ignem.” HYDE *de Religione veterum Persarum*.

† Ad unum milliare ab urba distat sepulchretum, quod est structura lapidea rotunda, 12 pedes alta, & 100 pedes in circumferentiâ habens. In medio muri est ostium lapideum 6 pedibus à terrâ distans, quod ad excipiendum cadaver aperiri solet. Hujus structuræ area inferior in quâ jacent cadavera, elevatur quatuor pedes à terrâ, ab omni parte declivis versus centrum, ubi est foramen seu cloaca ad excipiendum saniem cadaverum. Hoc sepulchretum est miserrimum spectaculum, &c. OVINGTONUS *de Itinerario Suratenfi*.

‡ Dr. Hyde gives another reason for no one’s chusing to approach these buildings. “Propter horribilem fetorem & miserrimum spectaculum, omnes abhorrent illum locum adire; ægré ferentes ut aliquis christianus aut alius illa conditoria videat.” He afterwards adds, “Et certe nemo nisi summâ curiositate ductus, illum locum lustrare tentabit.” Cap. 34.

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great improvements in it; which when finished, will not fail to make it still more commodious. They have also a very good rope-yard. Indeed, this is the only place, in that distant part of the world, for shattered ships to refit at; having always a good quantity of naval stores; and its very name conveying an idea of a safe retreat in foul weather.

On this island are many little forts and batteries, as *Dungaree*, *Massegon*, *Makee*, *Mendham's Point*, and *Sion-hill*. Some guns are mounted on each of them; but the principal fort which defends the place, has above an hundred. This building is a regular square, and the materials thereof are very good. The church also is not less substantial than the fort; it is a very handsome, large edifice, and in comparison of those which are to be met with in the other settlements, it looks like one of our cathedrals. It was built by a voluntary subscription among the gentlemen of this factory, and the Rev. Mr. *Cobbe*, (father to my late worthy friend Mr. *Richard Cobbe*, Admiral *Watson's* chaplain) was the chief promoter of this truly pious work: he at that time resided at *Bombay* as chaplain to the factory. The whole time we spent here, passed very agreeably; for as the island lies in 19° north, the heats must of course be more tolerable than they are at *Fort St. David*, which is in the latitude of $11^{\circ}48'$ north.

The admiral's family resided at the *Tank-house* (so called from a large tank or pond near to it) and here, as well as at all their other settlements, the company allowed the admiral and his principal attendants *Palanquins*, over and above the five *Pagodas* a day, which were given him to defray part of the expences of his table. As the *Indian* horses are of little value, and yet very scarce, oxen are here frequently made use of in their stead; and the admiral had a chaise and pair of these oxen allowed him also by the company. They are commonly white, have a large pair of perpendicular horns, and black noses. The admiral oftentimes went in this chaise for an afternoon's airing to *Malabar-hill*, and to the end of *Old Woman's* island, to *Marmulla*, and many other places. In *England*, if these creatures are forced out of their usual slow pace, it is too well known that they will faint or lie down under their burthen; but at *Bombay* they trot and gallop as naturally as horses, and are equally serviceable in every other respect, except that by their being subject to a loose habit of body, they sometimes incommode by the filth thrown upon you by the continual motion of their tails. Whenever we got to the end of our ride, the driver always alighted, and put the near bullock in the other's place; then he would put his hand into both their mouths, and after pulling out the froth, mount his box again, and drive back. It seems this precaution is absolutely necessary, for as they travel at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour, they would otherwise be in danger of suffocation.

Whilst we were at *Bombay*, I took particular notice, that at the death of a friend, the *Indians* collected together and sung, either in the house of the deceased, or under the window; agreeable to that passage in *St. Matthew's* gospel,

gospel, when Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the minstrels and the people making a noise, He said unto them, give place, &c. There it was that I also first saw the ceremony of their burning the dead. As the place was very populous, there were seldom less than three or four burned every night near the water's edge, under *Malabar-hill*. 1754.

During my stay at this place, I hired by the month, a chaise drawn by a pair of bullocks. In the several excursions I made in this carriage, I had frequently passed by one of those religious persons, or anchorets, who in *India* are called *Joogees*; and who, in consequence of a vow made by their parents, and during their mother's pregnancy with them, are devoted to the service of heaven. One evening, I and a companion had an inclination to pay a short visit to this *Joogee*; who always sat in one posture on the ground in a shady cocoa-nut plantation, with his body covered over with ashes, and his long black hair clotted, and in the greatest disorder. As we approached him, we made our salutation, which he respectfully returned; and then, with the assistance of our *Indian* driver, who could speak *English*, we began a conversation with him, that principally turned on the wonderful efficacy of his prayers, and which he pretended had given health to the sick, strength to the lame, sight to the blind, and fecundity to women who for their whole lives had been deemed barren. When we were about to take our leave of him, I offered him a present of two *rupees*, which he bade me to throw on the ground, and then directed his servant, who was standing by, to take them up; which he did with a pair of iron-pincers, throwing the *rupees* at the same time into a pot of vinegar. After they had lain there a little while, the same servant took them out, wiped them carefully, and at last delivered them to his master; who soon afterwards, by way of return, presented us with a few cakes of his insipid pastry. I then requested of him, that in his next prayers he would petition for an increase of my happiness; to which, with great complacency in his countenance, he replied: "I hardly know what to ask for you: I have seen you often, and you have always appeared to me to enjoy perfect health; you ride in your chaise at your ease; are often accompanied with a very pretty lady; you are ever well cloathed, and are likewise * *fat*; so that you seem to me to be in possession of every thing that can be any way necessary to happiness. I believe therefore, when I pray for you, it must be in this strain; *that God would give you grace to deserve, and to be thankful for those many blessings which he has already bestowed upon you.*" I told him that I was thoroughly satisfied with the mode of his intended supplication for me; and with a mutual exchange of smiles and compliments, we parted.

* The rich *Indians* we were told take great pains to make themselves fat. To this end, they not only live most luxuriously, but in the day time sleep in a swinging cot, and appoint a servant gently to move it, whose business is also at stated times to awake the master, merely to give him an opportunity of swallowing half a pint or more of liquid butter or Ghee. This sufficiently accounts for the *Joogee's* emphatically mentioning corpulency amongst the peculiar favours of heaven.

1754.

Our hospital at *Bombay* was without the town-wall; and in order to make my attendance on it the more convenient, Mr. *Délagarde* * (a factor in the company's service) was so obliging as to give me the use of a very commodious house, which lay near the hospital, and belonged to him as superintendant of the powder-works. Here I took up my residence, with other gentlemen who assisted me in the execution of my duty. At a little distance from the front of this house is a capacious basin of water, which for the greater part of the year is perfectly dry, but, during the continuance of the rainy season, and for some time after, serves as a pond for watering cattle, and swarms with a species of fish about six inches long, and not unlike our mullet. The natives catch them in great plenty soon after the rain sets in, and more than once I had them served up at my own table †. This would be looked upon as a very extraordinary circumstance in any other place; but as these fish are found in almost every pool and puddle at *Bombay*, it ceases to be a matter of wonder among the inhabitants of that island. Various have been the speculations of curious and inquisitive men to account for this phenomenon. Some have supposed, that the exhaling power of the sun is so strong in the sultry seasons, as to be able to raise the spawn of the fish into the atmosphere, and there suspend and nourish it, till the rains come on, when it drops down again in the state of living and perfectly-formed fish. Others, perhaps with a greater degree of probability on their side, imagine, that after the ponds become dry, the spawn may possibly fall into deep fissures made in the earth below the apparent bottom, where there may remain through the whole sultry season, a sufficient quantity of moisture to prevent the *animalculæ* from corrupting; and when the rain-waters come on and fill the pond again, the fish is produced and made to appear in such abundance. This, among other hypotheses which I have heard offered on this curious subject, seems best to account for it; but whether even this solution be adequate to the effects produced, I shall not presume to determine.

And now, having mentioned the rainy season, I must here beg leave to insert a very curious and exact account of it, as it was drawn up and given to me by my late valuable and skilful friend, Mr. *Thomas*, then surgeon of his majesty's ship the *Salisbury*. This gentleman, who was a man of great curiosity, and unwearied diligence, happened to reside at *Bombay* during the whole time of the rainy season in the year 1756, and contrived a method for ascertaining the quantity of water which fell there in that interval. His way of doing it was as follows.

“ I procured a lead-cylinder, of about nine inches diameter, and as many deep, marked with inches and tenths on the inside; and to prevent

* This gentleman is since dead.

† Mr. *Thomas* observes, that it is on the tenth day after the rains set in, that the natives begin to catch fish.

the water from splashing over, I cut a hole two inches from the bottom, and placed the cylinder in a glazed earthen vessel. Then I tied a wax cloth securely round it, so as to cover the vessel, and to prevent any water from getting in, save that which passed through the cylinder. When more than two inches fell, I stoppt the hole in the side with wax, and poured the water from the vessel into the cylinder to measure it. I always kept it in an open place, free from the running of any house, &c. and measured it at six in the morning, at noon, and at six in the evening. 1754.

About the beginning of May, the sky looked cloudy over the land; and on the 25th of that month, we had a squall of wind, with some rain; when there fell	Inches.	Tenths.
_____	0	3
On the 31st we had the like weather, with much thunder and lightning, and rain in the evening; when there fell	0	7
Total	1	0

JUNE,

JULY

J U N E, 1756.

		Depth of Water.				Account of the Weather.				
Month Days	Night.		Forenoon.		Afternoon.		Total.			
	Inches	Tenths	Inches	Tenths	Inches	Tenths	Inches	Tenths		
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	A small shower and looks cloudy.	
4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Thunder and lightning all the evening; threatens much for rain.	
5	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	Rained one hour in the afternoon, very cloudy.	
6	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8	Lightning all night, and a shower for about 15 minutes.	
7	0	1	0	0	0	8	0	9	Blows hard on the shore, smart shower in the evening.	
8	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	Ditto - - - - - Rained two hours about midnight.	
9	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	Blows less - - - Small showers.	
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ditto - - - - -	
11	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	} Now you see people angling and catching fish in every pool and puddle through the island.	
12	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3		Ditto - constant rain.
13	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	5		Ditto - some lightning.
14	3	6	0	9	0	0	4	5	Ditto - - - - -	} Now appear all over the surface of the earth an innumerable quantity of small frogs.
15	0	4	0	9	0	0	1	3	Blows fresh with much	
16	1	2	0	9	0	4	2	5	Ditto. [thund. & lights]	
17	1	0	3	6	1	0	5	6	Ditto - - - - -	Blowed very hard from 6 to 8 in the morning.
18	0	4	0	2	0	2	0	8	Less wind, hasty showers.	
19	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	Slight rain all day and night.	
20	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	4	Ditto - - - - showers.	
21	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	Ditto.	
22	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	2	Showers.	
23	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	Ditto.	
24	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	7	Slight rain.	
25	0	3	0	3	0	1	0	7	Ditto.	
26	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	8	Ditto.	
27	0	1	3	9	0	0	4	0	Ditto.	
28	0	1	3	6	3	0	6	7	Little wind, hard rain.	
29	4	8	0	5	0	0	5	3	Ditto - - - - Ditto.	
30	0	8	0	9	0	1	1	8	Ditto.	
Tot.	17	7	19	2	7	8	44	7		

JULY,

J U L Y, 1756.

Month Days	Depth of Water.								Account of the Weather.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																			
	Night.		Forenoon.		Afternoon.		Total.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																					

AUGUST,

AUGUST, 1756.

Month Days	Depth of Water.								Account of the Weather.											
	Night.		Forenoon.		Afternoon.		Total.													
	Inches	Tenths	Inches	Tenths	Inches	Tenths	Inches	Tenths												
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
3	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	4												
4	0	2	0	0	0	8	1	0												
5	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	4	Blows fresh in the night.											
6	6	6	0	0	0	4	7	0	Blows hard.											
7	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	8	Ditto.											
8	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	6	Ditto.											
9	0	5	0	8	0	0	1	3	Ditto.											
10	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	4	Ditto.											
11	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	Less wind and slight rain.											
12	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2												
13	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	Showers and slight squalls.											
14	0	3	0	1	0	4	0	8												
15	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3												
16	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2												
17	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2												
18	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2												
19	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2												
20	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2												
21	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1												
22	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	4												
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
25	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	4												
26	0	3	0	2	0	2	0	7												
27	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	Slight showers and fine weather.											
28	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2												
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
30	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1												
31	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2												
Tot.	13	2	2	1	3	7	19	0												

S E P T E M B E R, 1756.

Month Days	Depth of Water.								Account of the Weather.
	Night.		Forenoon.		Afternoon.		Total.		
	Inches	Tenths	Inches	Tenths	Inches	Tenths	Inches	Tenths	
1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	Fine weather and slight showers.
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Thunder and lightning at a distance, and now it be-
8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	gins to look black over the land in the evenings.
9	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	Slight showers in the night and afternoon.
10	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	Ditto.
11	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	9	Hard showers.
12	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	
13	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	5	Slight showers in the evening and night.
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
16	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	4	
17	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	4	
18	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	5	Blows hard, slight rain all night and day.
19	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	6	Blows less.
20	2	0	1	0	0	2	3	2	Blows hard, rain night and day.
21	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	4	Blows less, showers, no more thunder in the evenings.
22	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	6	Ditto - - - rain all night and day.
23	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	
24	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	
25	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	Slight showers.
26	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	
27	0	5	0	0	0	0	} 1	0	Frequent but very slight showers.
28	0	0	0	0	0	0			
29	0	0	0	0	0	0			
30	0	0	0	0	0	5			
Tot.	7	6	1	6	2	0	11	2	

O C T O B E R, 1756.

	Inches.	Tenths.
2d. The latter part of the night it rained hard, and there fell -	2	0
The three following days were cloudy, with some very slight showers: when there fell only — — —	0	1
7th. Very fine weather, with land and sea breezes.		
9th. We had what they call here an Elephanta, which is an excessive hard gale, with very severe thunder, lightning and rain, but it was of short continuance. In about four hours, there fell — — —	2	0
15th. In the morning some thunder and lightning with rain —	0	3
16th. Cloudy, and some slight showers. In these two days there		
17th. fell only — — —	0	1
Total	4	5

22d. Now all is fine and clear, without a cloud to be seen, with regular land and sea breezes; and so will continue in general till the next *Monsoon* time arrives.

	Inches.	Tenths.
There fell of rain water in May — — —	1	0
June — — —	44	7
July — — —	29	9
August — — —	19	0
September — — —	11	2
October — — —	4	5
Total	110	3

The few curiosities in the island of *Bombay*, which are worth mentioning, are, a large *Terapin* kept at the governor's house, the age of which, according to the accounts given by the oldest of the natives, is upwards of two hundred years. *Frogs*, which abound every where throughout the *East India* territories, are remarkably large upon this island; I saw one that measured twenty-two inches from the extremities of the fore and hind feet when extended; and I have great reason to suppose, had the experiment been made, that this creature would have weighed four or five pounds.—On the sea-shore round this island, a great variety of beautiful shells are also to be found; particularly the sort which is so curious, and was held in such esteem by our ladies some years ago, called *Ventletraps* or *Wendletraps*. I have been credibly

credibly informed, that when the late Commodore *Lisle's* executors sold his collection of shells by auction, one of our modern *curiosi* gave several pounds sterling for a shell of this species. 1754.

As no country in the world abounds more with snakes than the *East Indies*, I shall here subjoin a description of their several species, so far as they came within my view, or Mr. *Thomas's* observation.—The *Covra Capella*, which has teeth exactly resembling those of the rattle-snake mentioned by Dr. *Mead*. I have seen them from four to eight or nine feet long; they kill whomsoever they bite in 15 minutes. There are many of them to be met with at *Cuddalore*.—The *Covra Manilla*, is a small bluish snake of the size of a man's little finger, and about a foot long, often seen about old walls: A species of these at *Bombay* kill with their bite much sooner than even the *Covra Capella* above mentioned.—The *Palmira* is a very thin beautiful snake, of different colours; its head is like that of the common viper, but much thicker than the body. I saw one that was four feet long, and not much larger than a swan's quill.—The *Green* snake is of a very bright green colour, with a sharp head; towards the tail it is smaller than in the middle: The largest part of it is no bigger than a common tobacco-pipe.—The *Sand* snake is small and short, but not less deadly than the others.—The *Covra de Aurellia* is not unlike an earthworm; it is about six inches long, and no bigger than a small crow-quill.—This kills by getting into the ear, and causing madness, &c.—The *Manilla Bombo* is a beautiful snake of almost the same size throughout its whole length, except at the two ends, where it comes to a point. It is white under the belly, but is finely variegated on the back. It lives in the sand, and (they say) stings with the tail, which causes contractions of the joints.

During my stay at *Bombay* two fleets of country vessels came into the bay: One of them belonged to the *Nanna* or prince of the *Maharattas*, the other to *Monagee Angria*, the brother of *Angria* the pirate. These vessels were not unlike the *Tartans* of the *Mediterranean*, only a great deal lower; they carried two guns in their bow, and vast numbers of men. Their music was a plain brass tube, shaped like a trumpet at both ends, and about ten feet in length; and a kind of drum called a *Tomtom*, being a skin stretched out on a large shallow brass-pan, on which they struck with two large sticks, and made an amazing noise. Each fleet consisted of about 30 sail; but among *Monagee Angria's* there were two ketches, which they called *Grabs*. Our *East India* company had here one ship of 40 guns; one of 20; one *Grab* of 18 guns, and several other vessels; more also were building.

The merchants keep their accounts here in *rupees*, *pice*, and nominal *rays*. One hundred *rays* make a quarter of a *rupee*.

A 36 shilling piece exchanges for 16½ *rupees*.

A guinea — — — for 9 *rupees*.

An *English* crown — — — for 2 *rupees* and 6 *double pice*.

A *Spanish* dollar — — — for 2 ditto and 3 ditto.

Eighty *pice* make a *rupee*.

1754.

In a visit Mr. Thomas and I made to a black Portuguese physician settled here, called *Diego*, he shewed us his medicines and drugs, of which he had a pretty large stock, and some of them were valuable. Amongst many others, we observed great quantities of the tincture and essence of *Cantharides*, which *Diego* told us, the salacious, and not unfrequently the impotent *Moors*, made use of to excite venery, and that they always paid handsomely for such provocatives. He gave us the following list of *Indian* drugs, their prices, and the several places they are brought from.

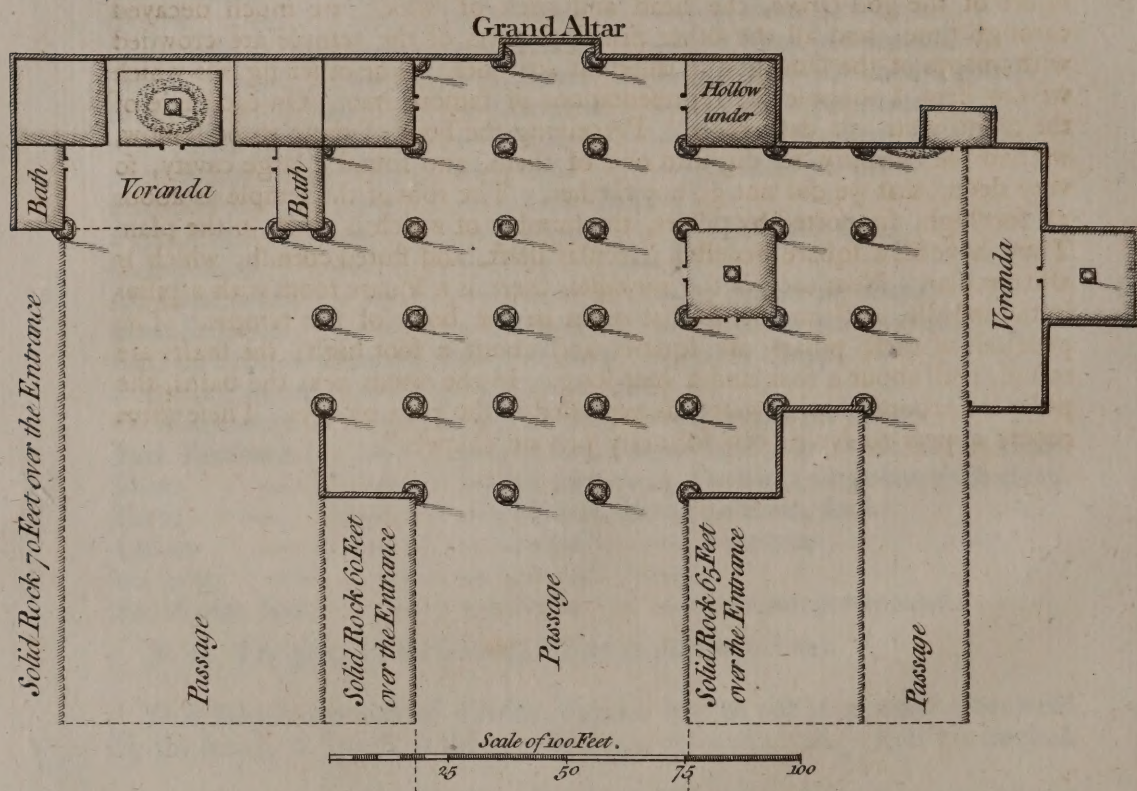
NAMES OF DRUGS.				PLACES FROM.	PRICES.
* Bezoar	—	—	—	Orangabed	12 rupees per ounce.
Fol. Senæ	—	—	—	Mocha	4 ditto per maund, 36 lb.
Gum Arabic	—	—	—	Arabia	13 ditto per 100 lb.
Myrrh	—	—	—	Arabia	24 ditto per maund.
Olibanum	—	—	—	Arabia	12 ditto per maund.
Thus	—	—	—	Arabia	50 ditto per candy, 500 lb.
Gambog.	—	—	—	Succotra	15 ditto per maund.
Affafætida	—	—	—	Persia	100 to 80 ditto per ditto.
Rad. Salop.	—	—	—	Persia	35 ditto per ditto.
Rad. Zinzib.	—	—	—	all over India	These are cheap.
Piper long.	—	—	—	Calicut.	
Coloquintid.	—	—	—	Goa.	
Ol. Cinnamom.	—	—	—	Cochin	2 rupees per ounce.
Gum Banzoin.	—	—	—	Bengal	50 ditto per maund.
Cort de Pala, or Congery Bark	—	—	—	Tellichery	very cheap.
Sem. Cardamom.	—	—	—	Calicut, and	1 rupee per ounce.
Ol. Caryophyl.	—	—	—	Tellichery	
Rad. Rhubarb.	—	—	—	1st fort, Bengal	80 d°. per 112 lb. flat & clean.
Ditto	—	—	—	2d. fort, ditto.	50 ditto, large lumps & clean.
Ditto	—	—	—	3d. fort, ditto.	40 ditto, foul.
Opium	—	—	—	Bengal	80 rupees.
Sal Nitri	—	—	—	Bengal	—
Fol. Rofar. Rub.	—	—	—	Persia	8 rupees per maund.

N. B. The price of these drugs differs at different times.

Don *Diego's* method of chusing *Bezoar*, was to rub it on wood-ashes held in the hand; if good, it left a faint green colour behind. And his method

* My late ingenious friend Mr. *George Thomas* above mentioned, made me a present of part of a stone, three of which were found in the gall-bladder of an ox, and greatly resembled *Bezoar*. They were of the size of a hazel-nut, made up of several strata or scales, and each stratum, like the layers of an onion, easily divided from the whole piece, leaving a smooth surface behind. They were very tender, and had somewhat of a musk smell. The same friend also observed to me that *Pomet*, in his history of drugs, takes notice of this kind of concrement; he calls it *Ox Bezoar*, and says, though it is sometimes used in medicine, yet its more general use is, like *Gamboge*, for painters in miniature. The *Ox Bezoar* is also greatly valued by the *Indians*, who give it in fevers, and will exchange five times the weight in silver for it.

ELEPHANTA



of trying the oil of cinnamon, was by touching the nose slightly with a drop of it on the top of the finger; he told us it was almost escharotic, and of an amber colour, if good. 1754.

Before we take leave of this place, there remains a piece of antiquity to be mentioned, called the *Elephanta*; which is an *Indian* temple, cut out of a large rock, in an island of the same name, near *Bombay*. The same ingenious gentleman, Mr. *Thomas*, in the papers he left behind him, has furnished me with the following description of it. "Its dimensions may be best known from the plan annexed, which was drawn on the spot. The walls are covered with figures about 12 feet high, except those of the baths, in the front of which, next to the voranda or open gallery, they are only 4 feet in height, and on the back about six. The grand altar is filled with a mutilated figure of the god *Orixa*, the head and neck of which are much decayed through time; and all the other principal parts of the temple are crowded with images of the same god in different attitudes. The other figures which we saw here, I suppose are representations of famous men. On each side of the grand altar is a dark room. Perceiving the floor of these to be hollow, we had the curiosity to dig into one of them, and found a large cavity, so very deep, that we did not go any farther. The roof of the temple is about 18 feet high, supported by pillars, the number of which is given in the plan. They have all a square pedestal, circular shaft, and fluted cornish, which is also circular. Near each of the *vorandas*, there is a square room with a pillar in the middle, and another similar room in the body of the temple. The pedestals of these pillars are square, and about a foot high; the shafts are round, and about a foot and a half long. In the room next the baths, the pillar is surrounded with water, as expressed in the plan by dots. These three rooms appear to have been formerly private chapels."

C H A P. IV.

The Squadron leaves Bombay and arrives at Madras.—Description of Madras or Fort St. George. — The buildings and Indian inhabitants. — A list of the several sorts of servants employed in India, their names, wages, religion, and employments.—Account of the nature and genius of their mechanics.—The physical practice of their black-doctors.—Manner of inoculating for the small-pox.

755. **A**DMIRAL *Watson* had long been desirous of getting round again with his Squadron to the *Coromandel* coast; but the heaving down and refitting the ships, had taken up so much time, that several days in *December* had lapsed, before this necessary work could be accomplished. On the 15th however, we took our leave of governor *Bourchier* and the gentlemen of the council; and on the 16th we weighed anchor, and stood for the offing. A fresh gale fortunately sprang up, which soon ran us down the *Malabar* coast, and to the southernmost point of the island of *Ceylon*. On the 13th of *January* 1755, we arrived in *Fort St. David's* road, (having made an unusual quick passage for this season of the year), and on the 18th in that of *Madras*; where, to our great satisfaction, we found riding at anchor his majesty's ship the *Cumberland*, Commodore *Pocock*; and in eight days afterwards we were joined by the *Tyger*, Captain *Thomas Latbam*, who had sailed from *England* with Mr. *Pocock*. Here we learned, that during Admiral *Watson's* stay at *Bombay*, a conditional treaty had been adjusted between *Monf. Godeheu* and Mr. *Saunders*, which was to continue in force until it should be either ratified or rejected by their respective companies; so that there was no prospect of hostilities recommencing here, at least for eighteen months; and in this long interval, the *French* had a fine opportunity of acquiring riches sufficient to carry on another war: for by this conditional treaty, they were to continue in possession of those many important countries, as well in the *Carnatic* as the *Deccan*, which by their intrigues they had secured to themselves, and whose revenues brought them in almost a million sterling; whilst our possessions did not annually bring more than the same number of rupees. Indeed, this was by all deemed to have been a masterly stroke of *French* politics: on the contrary, the advantages resulting from this treaty to the *English East India* company, were beyond every ones comprehension; for it was by every body known, that at this time, exclusive of our naval force, our troops on the coast exceeded those of the *French* in number one thousand.

The

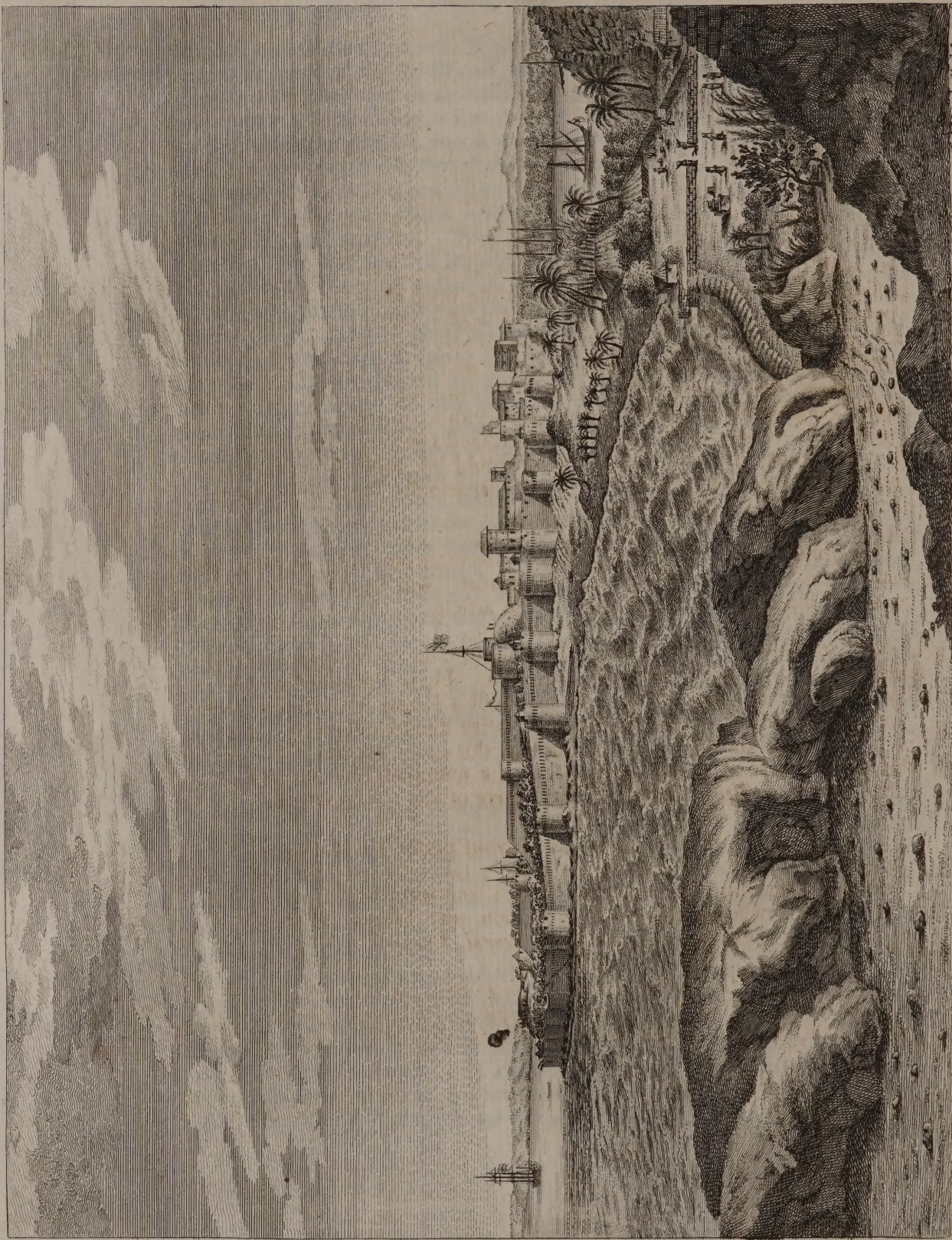
The town of *Madrafs*, or *Fort St. George*, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 18th of *January 1755*, is the chief settlement belonging to our *East India* company on the *Coromandel* coast; and stands between the thirteenth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude. It is situated in a sandy barren soil, and the climate is so intensely hot, that were it not for the sea-breezes, which agreeably cool the air, it would be altogether uninhabitable. But notwithstanding this inconvenience, the place is exceedingly populous. Many of our countrymen residing there, to maintain their dignity among the natives, live in all the magnificence of the east. The governor of *Fort St. George* is invested with great authority, little less than that of sovereign power. He is not only president of this place, but of all our other settlements on the *Coromandel* coast. He, and the council under him, have the command of the army, the regulation of the police, and the appointment to all places of trust and profit. In a word, *Madrafs* is of such importance to the company both for its internal wealth, and the extensive commerce which is there carried on, that they have taken abundant pains, and have been at an immense expence, to make the fortifications as strong as possible. The fort (which is the principal defence of the place) is a regular square, with a glacis, and covered way; and the whole town is surrounded with walls well mounted with artillery.

The buildings at *Madrafs*, or the town of *Fort St. George* where the *English* only reside, are handsome, and built in the modern *European* stile: but the houses of the *Black-Town* are very low and flat-roofed; some of them are tiled, and others thatched, but neither the one nor the other have any chimney. The natives commonly dress their victuals without doors; and should they make a fire within, which seldom happens, the smoke is obliged to make its way through the eaves of the house, which has scarcely ever any upper rooms. This is the state of the houses of the merchants and mechanics, who reside within the town; and as to those of the poorest sort, who live in the suburbs, and in the country, they are nothing but huts covered with *Cajan* leaves, and are so exceedingly low, that their miserable inhabitants cannot stand upright in them, and whenever they enter, are obliged to creep in on their hands and feet: but though the house and garden belonging to these country people, seldom take up more than half a quarter of an acre of ground, you scarcely meet with less than ten or twelve persons in a family, besides an hog and a buffalo; so very numerous are the inhabitants of this country.

The *Indians* in general are very temperate in eating and drinking; they seldom use strong liquors, unless prescribed by way of physic. Their food is chiefly boiled rice, with now and then a little fish, and mutton or fowl dressed in a *Currey*, as they call it, which is very warm to the palate. This, I have reason to think, they also feast on with great moderation. The *Gentoo* casts never eat beef; they pay adoration to the image of the cow, and have a proverb among them, "that they would as soon taste of the flesh of their parents, as of that animal." One strong evidence of the temperance of these

1755. people, is their hands, which, if touched by chance, you will be sure to find very cold, even in the middle of the hottest day; while the hands of the *Europeans* are burning with an excessive heat, partly the effect perhaps of our intemperate way of living. Let me add too, that the *Indians* are a very quiet, inoffensive people; and at some distance from the sea-shore, we were told, that we should also find them honest and sincere. On the coast, they will make use of a thousand tricks, and stratagems, to over-reach a stranger. But for this we may thank ourselves, who first sullied their purity, and debauched their manners. They probably had never known the crime of cheating, had they not first learned it from the tricking *European*. Among the lower *casts* the poor women do all the drudgery; they get all the fodder for the gentlemen's horses in the fort, and are obliged to bring it some miles. They likewise grind all the rice used in their own houses; fetch wood and cow-dung to burn; and as the water near the fort is brackish, they are daily necessitated to go a mile or two to a good well, and to bring a large pitcher of this element upon their heads for the use of the gentlemen of the factory. I have more than once seen a line of 40 or 50 of them in a morning, engaged in this laborious employment. Their dress is much the same as that worn by the women at *Fort St. David*; and that of the higher *casts*, at both places, differs nothing from the lower, except, that the wrapper which goes round the loins of the former is made of finer stuff, and that they commonly cover their breasts with a silk handkerchief. It is very seldom that any of the women, unless those of the lowest rank, can be seen, being forbidden by their cast to stand any where to be gazed upon by strangers. In our morning walks, indeed, we sometimes saw them standing without their houses for the benefit of the fresh air, but upon the first sight of us, they never failed to run in, and shut and bolt their doors. We could not but remark too, that whenever we had occasion to go into a shop; our guide always gave us a hint to stand a little while at the door, while he stepped in; and he made no scruple to confess, that his motive for doing it, was to clear the house of the women before we entered.

Much has been said in regard to servants in this country: some speak highly in their favour, while others equally depreciate them. The service of any one of them is exceedingly cheap, but the number which you are obliged to keep, makes it dear in the end. Perhaps it may seem surprizing, though true, that an *European* gentleman or merchant in a considerable way of business, cannot hire less than a dozen or fifteen; for as they are almost all of different *casts*, the higher are not permitted to do the least thing which is the business of an inferior *cast*. They all wear turbans; the principal servants commonly dress neat and clean, in a robe of fine cotton cloth, or muslin, particularly the *Gentoos*, whose religion enjoins much bodily purification; and therefore the first thing they do in a morning is to go down to the river's side and wash, and afterwards to say their prayers on the banks. If you ask them what they pray for, they will be sure to say, "*For master*"—and "*that God will shew favour for master, that master may shew favour for them:*"



South View of GERIAH FORT, From the Land Side.

them." They are an artful cunning people, and very ready at returning an answer. We met with a thousand instances of this sort, during our stay in the *East Indies*; but the following story will best illustrate the natural good sense and sagacity of these black servants. 1755.

It happened, that an *English* officer being with his *Indian* servant in a public house at *Cuddalore*, was in a violent passion, in consequence of something that had passed between them in conversation: In the midst of the master's fury, his philosophical servant calmly placed himself at his full length on the floor, with his face towards the ground, at the same time stopping his ears with both his hands. In this posture he continued, until his master's passion had somewhat subsided; when getting upon his feet, and respectfully approaching him, he dryly said, "*Indeed, master makes poor servant's head sick: master is very strong man, but servant is very weak man: if master speaks honey-words, then servant can do any thing for master, but when master frightens poor servant, then he makes poor servant sick; and when servant is sick, master's business can no be done.*" The officer replied with an hearty d—mn; but upon recollection, felt the justness of the rebuke, and saw very plainly that before they could again proceed on business, it would be necessary for him to conform to the rules which the *Indian* had so sagaciously and artfully suggested for his conduct.

The following list of the several sorts of servants employed in *India*, with their names, wages, religion, and employments, will furnish the inquisitive reader with a clear and distinct idea on this article.

1. *Chief Dubash*; who is a servant of state to usher in company, to receive messages, and give an answer at your door. He is also your linguist, and lays out your money. He has for his profit a *Fanam* out of every *Pagoda* paid and received; and a *Pagoda* out of every hundred *Pagodas*. There is no possibility of transacting any business in this country without a servant of this kind, except at *Bombay*, where they are not made use of. They are called *Banians* at *Bengal*, and are every where of the *Gentoo* religion.

2. *Dubash Boy* *. He is always about your person to assist you in dressing; he walks by the side of your *Palanquin*; takes care of your sword, hat, and cane, when you are visiting a stranger; and waits behind your chair at table. He likewise is of the *Gentoo* religion, and his pay at *Madras* is 1 *pagoda* and 21 *fanams* by the month; at *Bengal*, 8 *rupees*.

3. *Conucopola*. He keeps your accounts, pays the rest of the servants their wages, and assists the *Dubash* in buying and selling. At *Bengal* he is called secretary, and is of the *Brabmin* cast and religion: his pay is 10 *rupees*

* *Boy* is the common appellation in *India* for many of your servants, though they should be three score years of age.

1755. by the month. At *Bombay* he is stiled *Purvo*, and is of the *Gentoo* religion, and his pay is 5 *rupees* by the month. At *Madrafs*, his pay is 8 *pagodas*.

4. *Roundel-Boy*. He carries a *Roundel* or *Quit de Soliel* over your head, to defend you from the heat of the sun, when you step from your *Palanquin*, or when you walk.

5. *Peon*. One who waits about the house, to run on messages; and he commonly carries under his arm a sword, or in his sash a *Crese*, and in his hand a ratan, to keep the rest of the servants in subjection. He also walks before your *Palanquin*, carries *Chits* or notes, and is your body guard. The more of these you keep, the grander you are thought to appear. Some gentlemen have at least 40 of them in their service. They are all fighting casts, and have 1 *pagoda* and 20 *fanams* by the month paid them at *Madrafs*; 2 *rupees* and a half at *Bengal*; and 4 *rupees* and a half at *Bombay*. At this last place they are called *Sepoys*.

6. A *Demar-Boy*. His business is complicated, and being generally of the *Parriah* cast, which is a very low one, he makes no scruple to perform the most servile offices. He cleans your shoes, sweeps the house, and fetches all the water that is wanted, unless you keep a *Harry* or water wench, as she is sometimes called, for that purpose. The chief business however of the *Demar-Boy* (as appears from his name) is to run with a *Demar* or torch before your *Palanquin* in dark nights.

7. *Palanquin-Boys*. Four, and sometimes six of these are employed to carry your *Palanquin*. They are of the lower *Gentoo* casts at all our settlements. Their pay at *Bengal*, where they are called *Bearers*, is 12 *rupees* and a half by the month; at *Bombay*, where they are called *Palanquin Cooleys*, they are allowed 16 *rupees*; and at *Madrafs*, 6 *pagodas* 6 *fanams*.

8. *Compidore*. The office of this servant is, to go to market, and bring home small things, such as fruit, &c.—He is always of a low cast. His pay at *Bengal* by the month is 2 *rupees* and a half. At *Madrafs*, 1 *pagoda*. *Compidores* are not used at *Bombay*.

9. *Derwan*. These are properly porters, who sit at the gate to receive messages, &c.—This office is performed by *Moormen* at *Bengal*, by *Peons* at *Madrafs*, and by *Sepoys* at *Bombay*. Their pay is 2 *rupees* and a half by the month in *Bengal*, and in the same proportion at other places.

This distinction of servants, and the keeping up to it, is reckoned no bad piece of policy in the *Indian* constitution. For as the people are naturally indolent and inactive, every man by this means gets a decent livelihood with very little trouble, which is the thing he aims at: for though each of these servants could earn double the wages in the intervals when his master has no

occasion for him, yet conscious that he has a sufficiency, though bare, he sits down contented therewith, chusing rather to trifle and sleep away his time, than to enrich himself and family by taking pains. These servants have a variety of tricks also which they are sure to play off upon new-comers; and where two or three of them are concerned together in a knavish one, they never fail to puzzle the matter so, as to make it almost impossible for the master ever to get at the truth *. The *palanquin* bearers, are cunning dissemblers, for they will be sure to groan sadly under the weight of their new master or mistress, let them be ever so light. This is done with the view of exciting in the human breast a compassion towards themselves, and thereby acquiring some *Buxie* money; and in this they seldom fail of succeeding, as there are but few *Europeans*, who, on their first arrival, are not averse to the making use of their fellow-creatures in so degrading, and in appearance so painful an employment. After the servants have filled their bellies, they always betake themselves to rest on the ground, or in a window, or on a table, or most commonly on the sand, which they prefer before every thing else, because of its retaining the heat of the preceding day's sun. Upon the whole, the *Indian* servants have both their good and bad qualities; they are like some necessary evils we have in *England*, of whom we say, there is no living with, nor without them.

I cannot dismiss this subject of servants without speaking somewhat more of the office of a *Conucopola*.—It must be premised, that the natives in this part of *India* know but very little of the use of paper, pens, and ink; and therefore keep all their accounts upon *Cajans*, the leaves of a certain tree. It is the *Conucopola's* business to keep the account of all your household expences, to pay the other servants wages, and tradesmen's bills. These servants are always to be distinguished from all others by their *Cajan* leaves, which hang dangling by their side; like a butcher's steel. The iron instrument they mark with, is kept in a sheath like a knife. When they have occasion to set down any thing, they hold the iron-pen in the right hand, and the *Cajan* leaves in the left; a little notch or groove is cut in their left thumb-nail for fixing the stile, and they will write or rather engrave with great celerity. They are likewise very quick and ready at accounts, but so very artful, that they seldom or never declare their own computation first: their low cunning is inconceivable, and it would be endless to recount all the artifices and frauds which are practised by these men. They generally ask "What does master make account come to?" If you say more than it really is, they presently cry out, "Very right, master." But if you make it less, so as to prejudice them, they will be sure to take particular care to correct your reckoning. If you chance to detect them in any intentional cheat, they then plead the custom of their country; for their maxim is, "What white man forget, that God give black

* The reader may see a very remarkable instance of their dark and complicated villainy in Orme's excellent history of the Carnatic, vol. i. p. 350 to 355.

1755. man. Master, forgive this one time; I am poor foolish fellow; what should I know? Aha! I see master knows best; God has made good head for master."

To the account I have given of the several *Indian Servants*, for the better knowledge of a country now so interesting to *Great Britain*, I beg leave to add a few particulars relative to the nature and genius of their *Mechanics*.—The *Cloth-merchants*, for so they are there termed, seldom or never make use of a yard or measure of any kind, but mete out every thing by the *cubit*, which, in well-proportioned people, is the space between the elbow and the tip of the middle finger; and this they do with such exactness, as not to err perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ of a yard in a piece of 70 *cubits*. It is also the custom in this part of the world, as it is in most of the country towns in *England*, to oblige the taylor to come home, and work at your own house: but on viewing the miserable condition of some of this tradesman's tools, his rusty scissars in particular, and how loosely riveted, you would think it impossible for him ever to cut out a coat with them: It is much the same with all his other implements; but in spite of every inconvenience he labours under, the *Indian* taylor is so exact an imitator, that he seldom or ever fails to give entire satisfaction. And this is the more surprizing, as he never measures you; he only asks "*master for muster,*" as he terms it, that is, for a pattern, and they will be sure to keep exactly to it, be the fashion thereof ever so extravagant.

The same observation holds true with respect to the *Carpenter*, *Black-smith*, and many other mechanics. It is astonishing how exactly they will copy any thing you give them, though they scarce know the use of ten tools, and though the few they have, are always in bad condition. Every thing they undertake, they keep a long time in hand however, which is entirely owing to their own obstinacy and absurdity; for they will never be put out of their old way of working; and should you be ever so desirous of instructing them, or shewing them a more expeditious method, they will be sure to plead the custom of their forefathers, for which they have so great a veneration, that they were never known even in a single instance to depart from it. Hence it is easy to conclude, that they must always remain poor. Whenever therefore you employ them, you are always obliged first to give them in hand, by way of expedition money, commonly half of what your bargain comes to: and besides this, if the tradesman you employ be in want of the necessary materials, (which is too often the case) you are then under a necessity of supplying him with three parts, if not the whole money beforehand. This is a custom frequently attended with many inconveniences; for under the sanction thereof, it is not uncommon for these tricking mechanics to go about from house to house borrowing money, though at the same time they do not intend to touch the promised work with one of their fingers. The *Silver-smith*, in regard to his small stock in trade, is exactly upon the same footing with the rest of his neighbours: he has not the least article in his shop to indicate his profession; if you want any thing to be made by him, he too will ask for "*muster,*" and you must also furnish him with as many *rupees*, or other silver

to melt down, as will enable him to go through with the work. The Barber 1755.
 However seems to be an exception to all the other mechanics here; I mean with respect to the condition of his tools and shaving tackle. He doth not go about in this country, as in *England*, with a large pewter basin under one arm, a wig-box under the other, a water vessel in his right hand, and a powder-bag in his left. The shaver and powderer here are two distinct trades. The former, for his extraordinary apparatus, is worth remarking: when he enters your house, if you did not know him before, it is impossible for you to guess at his profession. The implements he uses, such as 8 or 10 razors, an hone, an oil-bottle, two leather-straps, a little looking glass, two or three towels, his beetel-nut, beetel-leaf, chunam-box, soap and little brass-basin, are all contained in the girdle that is round his middle. His manner of operation is still more extraordinary, for he beats up a lather on your head, not in the basin, which is no bigger than a large tea-cup; and shaves you easier than ever I experienced from any of the profession in *England*.

Upon the whole, though the *Indian* mechanics are by no means deficient in the handicraft arts, yet their talents seem to be only of a second rate kind. In many respects they certainly do not come up to the dexterity of *European* artists, particularly in those works where great accuracy is required. They likewise labour under a poverty of genius which makes them dull at invention, but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that they are most admirable copyists, and indeed their principal excellency seems to lie that way.

The skill of their physical people is very mean. Mr. Thomas and I once employed one of the black doctors to procure us a list of such medicines as they used in their practice. Instead of this, he brought with him a number of leaves, plants, barks, roots of trees, &c. which, he told us, they generally made use of in decoctions; and that their common method of practice was, if one root, leaf, or herb failed, to put in others of different sorts. In fevers, he added, they used pepper, and such-like inflammatory substances. We enquired whether they had any written accounts of their method of practice; he told us they had, and brought us a large book, made up of a number of leaves of the *Palmita* tree, such as they keep their accounts upon, part of which we afterwards got translated by a black *Conucopola* or clerk. It was written in the high *Eastern* stile, and began with giving great praises to the Almighty for the wonderful formation of man: it then went on with observing that this formed man was divided into two or three hundred thousand parts; ten thousand of which were made up of veins; ten thousand of nerves; seventeen thousand of blood; a certain number of bones, choler, lymph, &c. &c. &c. And all this was laid down without form or order, either of history, disease or treatment. We found this to be all the written account they have of physic; which they never study, but, like the other casts, the son of a doctor is a doctor also, and so he will continue to be from generation to generation.

The

1755.

The custom of inoculating for the *Small-pox* among the natives, though not common in other parts of the *East Indies*, is frequent in *Bengal*; and the manner of performing the operation is in many respects singular, and different from that now practised in *England*. They take, as Mr. *Thomas* and I were informed, some matter from the pock of a person who has the disease in a favourable way, and put it into a phial or gallipot. They then dip the point of a needle in this matter, and with it prick the person intended to be inoculated several times in a circle, on the fleshy part of the arm. If he be a grown person, they prick him in both arms. After the blood is wiped away, they rub some more matter on the part, and order the patient to bathe in cold water three times a day, and to live on the most cooling things he can possibly procure, such as water-melons, cucumbers, rice, water, &c. As soon however as the fever comes on, which happens about the fifth or seventh day, the patient is ordered to leave off bathing and the cool diet, and to live on milk and sugar: the fever generally lasts three days, and then goes quite off. On the second day after the pock has appeared, they wash the whole body with cold water, which fills the pustules; and this they do for the three succeeding days, two or three times each day, continuing the same regimen of milk and sugar for diet. When the pock is drying off, they sprinkle the patient with rose-water; or when this cannot be had, with the juice of *Suttamullie*, *Suttapot*, *Culmee*, and root of green *Turmeric*. If the pock be very thick, they give the patient *Joan-seeds* to chew, and frequently tie *Bang-leaves* (which is a kind of hemp) on the parts most affected. It is a common practice among the *Portuguese*, and some of the *Indians* on the *Malabar* coast, when the pock is fairly turned, to lay on wood and cow-dung ashes very thick, which they think imbibe the matter, and make the scab fall off the more easily. They leave it to nature to disengage herself from this compound of ashes and pustulary discharge. Their hopes of a cure from this method, seem to be founded on the supposed antiputrescent and absorbent quality of the ashes. I refer it to better judges to determine whether this practice be rational or not; however, in general the patients recover from this loathsome disorder.

C H A P. V.

The Squadron sails from Madrafs for Trinconomale in Ceylon.—Description of that harbour and island.—Account of the Cinnamon-tree, &c. with the minerals, and vegetable and animal productions.—Particular description of the Elephant and Tyger, and various sorts of venomous insects, &c.

ON the coast of *Coromandel*, the N. E. monsoon * blows from November to March or April, and sometimes to May, when the S. W. monsoon commences. Along this coast the current generally sets with the wind; to the northward in the S. W. monsoon, and to the southward in the N. E. monsoon. To avoid the danger that might, and too frequently doth ensue from the shifting of the monsoon, we sailed from *Madrafs* the 7th of April, in company with the *Cumberland*, *Tyger*, *Salisbury* and *Bridgewater*, for *Trinconomale* in the island of *Ceylon*, and on the 22d of the same month came to an anchor in that harbour. At five in the afternoon *Mynbeer Van Beaumont* the governor came on board to congratulate the admiral on his safe arrival at *Trinconomale*, and to offer him every assistance the place afforded. At his leaving the ship we saluted him with 13 guns. He afterwards waited on Commodore *Pocock* on board the *Cumberland*, and at his taking leave of him, was saluted by the same number of guns. The next day the admiral and commodore, attended by all the captains of the Squadron, waited on the governor at the fort; they were received in the great hall with trumpets, drums, and three volleys of small arms. After drinking coffee, tea, and a glass or two of wine, they took their leave. They were complimented, both at their entering and quitting the fort, with a discharge of 21 guns. 1755.

Trinconomale harbour is a very good one for ships to put into when in distress, and perhaps is better calculated for wooding and watering a Squadron, than any other in the *East Indies*. It very much resembles that of *Portsmouth*, and is almost quite land-locked; but this last circumstance, in so

* There is a species of winds observable in the *Indian* seas, within the tropics, called by the sailors *monsoons*, which during six months of the year blow one way; and the remaining six the other.

The occasion of them in general is this: when the sun approaches the northern tropic, there are several countries, as *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, &c. which become hotter, and reflect more heat than the seas beyond the equator, which the sun has left; the winds therefore, instead of blowing from thence to the parts under the equator, blow the contrary way; and when the sun leaves those countries, and draws near the other tropic, the winds turn about, and blow on the opposite side of the compass. At the time of the shifting of these winds, the *Indian* seas are very subject to be tempestuous, and the navigation becomes very unsafe.

ROWNING'S *Natural Philosophy*, vol. i.

hot

1755. hot a climate, may be rather reckoned an inconvenience, for hereby the free circulation of the sea-breezes, so necessary to refresh the men on board the ships, is greatly obstructed. The trade of this port is very inconsiderable; and it is manifest that the sole view of the *Dutch* in fortifying this and the several bays and rivers round the island, is to prevent other nations from settling here, or having any commerce with the natives.

The island of *Ceylon* is very large, being 250 miles long, and 200 broad. The inner part of it is in possession of the natives, who are of the *Guttoo* religion, and they call their king the king of *Candy*. The *Dutch* having taken care to secure to themselves the whole sea-coast, endeavour to reconcile him to their converting the rich spices of his country to their own advantage, by making him frequent presents; but sometimes they have found him very refractory, and their succeeding in this important point has been attended with great difficulties.

There are many trees of different kinds to be met with on this island, such as the *euphorbium*, *tulip-tree*, *ebony*, *redwood*, *cassia*, *cocoa-nut*, *cotton*, *lime*, *mangoe*, *citron*, and black and yellow *teak*; these last have a most beautiful grain, but are so hard as to be very destructive to the cabinet-maker's tools. But the tree peculiar to this island, and which has proved the source of inexhaustible riches to the *Dutch*, is the *Cinnamon*, which grows wild in every wood on the south west part near *Columbo*, but there are few to be found near *Trinconomale*. This tree is propagated by a bird's eating of the fruit, part of which he discharges again, and afterwards the seeds of it take root. It grows somewhat like our common hazel; the leaves resemble those of the laurel, but with this difference, that they have only three fibres in their composition. According to some, it has three barks; but all agree that it has two. What they strip from trees of a middling growth, is the best *Cinnamon*. The very young trees are not fit for rinding, and the old ones they cut down for firewood. From the root of this tree, the *Amphora* is extracted. But the greatest quantity of this last drug is brought from *Sumatra*, where it is sold in small flat cakes, at the enormous price of 4*l.* sterling an ounce. One pound of this genuine gum, Mr. *Thomas* was told, will produce an hundred pounds of such as is brought to us from the *Indies* after adulteration.

Coffee also grows wild here; as do the trees and plants which produce

<i>Balsam. Capiivi,</i>	<i>Lacca,</i>
<i>Gambogium,</i>	<i>Cinquenomale.</i>

Not having heard of this last before, Mr. *Thomas* imagined it to be a name given by the natives to a certain drug. A *Dutch* surgeon residing here, shewed him a balsam or oil extracted from it by distillation, and which he assured him was a very good medicine in a paralytic numbness. This gentleman also presented him with a sample of a gum growing here, which he called *Badule*: he

he told me it was but lately noticed, and that as yet they knew not the use of it. 1755.

Every morning and evening we were gratified with a fine odour from the trees that were in bloom. At first we took them for the *cinnamon*, but they proved to be nothing more than common flowering shrubs, of which the whole island is full. The soil between the hills, which are very high and rocky, is a fat red earth; and the vallies are extremely pleasant, having a clear rivulet running almost through every one of them. Here are also veins of black chrystal, intermixed with spar, and iron, and some black lead, and copper ores. I am almost persuaded also that this country produces tin, for Mr. Thomas*, who was a *Cornish* gentleman, and particularly curious in such matters, assured me, that during his stay on the island, he picked up as fine a piece of ore of that kind as ever he had seen in *Cornwall*, and that he intended carrying it home with him in order to shew it as a sample. I shall only add, that if this very valuable commodity is really to be met with in this country, it is astonishing that the crafty *Hollander* should not as yet have found it out, who was never known to spare pains in discoveries of any kind, as this would manifestly turn out to his inexpressible advantage. The island also produces *topazes*, *rubies*, *garnets*, &c. which the inhabitants discover by washing the soil they grow in. Neither *harp-shells* nor *ventel-traps* are found here, but numbers of painted *cockles*, and others which are commonly called the *panama-shells*.

We found the country to abound also with many uncommon curiosities; particularly the *creeping leaf*: This is certainly a species of the grasshopper; it has very member you see in common insects, such as head, legs, wings, and body, and of a pale green colour, but yet in shape and appearance exactly resembles a leaf.

A great variety both of wild and tame fowl are to be met with here, and which are sold at a low price. A dozen of fowls, or five ducks, for a *rupee*, not quite a half crown of *English* money. The bay, which has many coves, abounds in fish, especially the *cavally*, and *surmullet*; these are to be had very cheap. The same may be said of the fruits of the island, such as *pine-apples*, *jacks*, *bananoes*, *cocoa-nuts*, *mangoes*, &c. &c. A *pine-apple* may be bought for a penny or less, and all the other fruits in proportion. Money is the same here as in *Holland*; they have only a different way of reckoning, as 8 *doit* to a *cash*, 12 *cash* to a *rupee*. A *rupee* goes but for two shillings sterling, or four *schillings Dutch*; 96 *doit* make a *rupee*.

Coman deer they have here, in great abundance, and also *Guinea* deer, but few other horned cattle, and these too very small. We killed six of

* The author is obliged to Mr. Thomas for most of the observations made on the country near *Columbo*.

1755. their oxen one day during our stay at *Trincomale*, and the weight of the whole amounted but to 714 pounds. One of them weighed only 70 pounds. How different were these little, despicable animals, from the oxen which we slaughtered at *Madagascar*, each of which weighed from 6 to 700 pounds and upwards? But however small and contemptible the breed of bullocks may be on this island, nature seems to have made her full amends in the stupendous size of her elephants, which are said to be the largest of any in the known world *.

The *Elephant* is certainly the most extraordinary of all animals, and well merits a particular description. His body is heavy and gross, generally of a dark, dirty colour; and though, when arrived at full growth, he is from twelve to fourteen feet high, and from eighteen to twenty in circumference, yet his head is still larger in proportion; and what is more extraordinary, his eye is no bigger than that of an hog, which it exactly resembles. His legs are like four large columns, rather long than short, and jointed like a cat's just above the feet, which are round at their bottoms, and do not spread much beyond the bulk of the legs. His ears are flat, hanging down, and surprizingly large; the tail is small, but long, with a few bristles at the end. At the two corners of his mouth grow two large tusks or teeth, which are what we call ivory; these are six or seven feet long in the *male elephant*; in the *female* they are seldom half that length. But the most extraordinary part of this animal is his *proboscis* or trunk, which is long and hollow like a trumpet, and serves him instead of a hand † to feed himself, being able to move it with incredible agility and strength, and to take up therewith the smallest thing from the ground, by means of a little point, which he can twist round it. His common food is leaves of trees, grass, corn, and sugar-canes, of which last he is particularly fond. Notwithstanding the unwieldiness of this beast, his motions are very alert, and he walks with great ease, fast enough to keep a man on a good run. Many incredible stories are related by ancient authors of the docility and ingenuity of this *half-reasoning* animal. They are said to be susceptible of affection, fondness, gratitude and modesty. There is nothing but they may be taught: *Arrian*, an author of veracity, relates, that he had seen an *elephant* dance with two *cymbals* fastened to his legs, which he touched alternately in cadence with his trunk, and that many others of the same species gambol'd round him, keeping time with an astonishing exactness.

Pliny too, speaking of the elephant which carried *Porus* in the battle he fought against *Alexander the Great*, tells us, that perceiving his master quite sinking under the wounds which he had received, he lowered him-

* *Elephantas ii multo majores erant quam quos fert India.*

Plinius.

† Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles aditus habebant ad pastum. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. n. 123.*

self, that he might set his master down without hurting him, and pulled out the arrows which stuck in him with his trunk; at length perceiving him to faint through loss of blood, he placed him again upon his back, and conveyed him in safety to the camp: A most amazing instance of the docility and gratitude of the *elephant*. No wonder therefore that the ancients made use of them in war, and sometimes with great success; but since the invention of fire-arms they have not been found of equal use as formerly; for they are remarkably terrified at fire, and will at the sight of it, frequently turn back upon their friends, and overthrow every thing that stands in their way. They are chiefly used at present for the fording deep rivers, and carrying over the baggage on their backs. After the keepers have loaded them with several hundred weight, they fasten ropes to them, of which the soldiers taking hold, either swim, or are drawn across the river. In time of action, they now and then fix an heavy iron chain to the end of their trunks, which they whirl round with such agility, as to make it impossible for an enemy to approach them at that time. Another use they still have for this creature in war, is, to force open the gates of a city or garrison which is closely besieged. This he does by setting his backside against them, riggling backwards and forwards with his whole weight, till he has burst the bars, and forced an entrance: to prevent which, most of the garrisons in this country, have large spikes stuck in their gates, that project to a considerable distance. However, after all, those prodigious animals are kept more for shew and grandeur than for use, and their keeping is attended with a very great expence, for they devour vast quantities of provision; and you must sometimes regale them with a plentiful repast of *cinnamon*, of which they are excessively fond. I have been told, that it is no uncommon thing with a *Nabob*, if he has a mind to ruin a private gentleman, to make him a present of an *elephant**, which he is ever afterwards obliged to maintain at a greater expence than he can afford: by parting with it, he would certainly fall under the displeasure of the grandee, besides forfeiting all the honour which his countrymen think is conferred upon him by so respectable a present.

The notions of the *Indians* concerning the elephant are various. It has been in all ages, and is to this day, the custom of the *oriental* nations, to wrap up all their wisdom in short sentences or proverbs, allegories and parables. Some of the *Indians* literally believe that the globe of the world is supported by an *elephant*; which notion probably had its rise from a proverb of theirs to that purpose, but which certainly meant no more, than that the commerce of their country depended in a great measure upon *elephants*. I could not but remark too, that in almost all their *Pagodas*, or places of worship, they have the image of this creature depicted on the walls. Some imagine, that they place the *elephant* here as an emblem of

* ——— Eutrapelus cuicunque nocere volebat,

Vestimenta dabat pretiosa——

HOR. *Epist.* xviii. lib. i.

1755.

God's omniscience; while others rather think that they pay adoration to him, as being endowed with greater sagacity than themselves, and therefore pray to him for a portion of his wisdom. The natives relate another instance of the docility of these creatures, that in marching with an army, they gather up every stick of size they meet with on the road, which towards the evening is sometimes increased to a faggot large enough to dress all the provisions for that night.

But not to mention any more of the multitude of things reported of them; the following particulars are what I observed myself. They generally *stand* under the shadow of some spreading tree, to prevent their being stung by the little ant, which, notwithstanding their gigantic size and bulk, is a great terror to them. To prevent his crawling about them, they are continually taking up dust or sand in their trunk, and throwing it over their heads and backs; nay they sometimes take a whisp of straw or grass, and brush themselves down with it behind, whilst with their bristly tail they sweep their fore-parts. When you first approach them, they are taught by their keeper to make their *Salaam* or obedience to you, which is done by falling almost backwards; and making a prodigious eructation or rattling in the throat, not much unlike the first breaking of thunder. The keeper then mounts his shoulders, which he could not possibly do without the *elephant's* assistance, who for that purpose crooks one of his legs: the keeper's first step is made on his lower joint, the next on his knee, and he then springs upon his back, laying hold of the flap of his ear. After the *elephant* has performed many tricks at the word of command, then, to shew you how capable he is of picking up the most minute thing with his trunk, you are desired to lay a silver *fanam* upon the ground: this, which is the smallest of all coins, the *elephant* feels about for till he finds; then takes hold of it, and gives it to the keeper, as seated upon his back. He last of all throws out his trunk to its full length, by way of shaking hands with you, and thus the ceremony is ended. Another circumstance I observed was, that whenever they drank, they always first stirred the water, and made it foul with their feet: The reason for their doing this, is, that the gravel and small stones which they hereby swallow, help to digest their food; and not, as some alledge, that they render the water muddy, because they hate to see their own figure in that element. One more particular relating to these animals, is their surprizing age. If we could depend upon what we are told by *Philostratus*, in his life of *Apollonius Tyanicus*, and believe that this great traveller saw the very *elephant* on which *Porus* rode in the battle against *Alexander*, that *elephant* must have been above 400 years of age. That they live till between 2 and 300 years is strongly believed; and it is certain, that they are in full vigour, at much above an hundred: but it seems that nothing can be said with certainty as to the exact time that they usually live: whenever I asked any of the *Indians* a question relative to this subject, they always answered me, "*This elephant was my great-grandfather's.*"

The natives catch the *elephant* by the following method: they have two places strongly inclosed; one contains several acres of land, the other is but small. When they intend to hunt, which they always do in the night, they go in a large company, with each man a vessel of fire on his head. As soon as the *elephant* sees the light, he pursues; the man that is singled out runs into the large inclosure, there drops his fire, and retires to a tree; the *elephant* presently employs himself in trampling and scattering about the fire. When they have a sufficient number of them in the large inclosure, they shut up the first passage, and then decoy the *elephants* one by one into the small place, where they get ropes about them, and by the help of tame *elephants* convey them home. Sometimes, however, the men are overtaken before they reach the inclosure, when they throw down the fire, and fly to the next tree for security.

The *Tyger* also is an inhabitant of *Ceylon*; this beast, though sometimes found in other countries, yet is in a peculiar manner a native of the *East Indies*. *Malabar* is the most famous for the breed of this animal: there are it seems three kinds, but that which I am going to describe is the largest, and by way of distinction, is called the *Tyger Royal*: his skin is of a yellow, sandy colour, shining and glossy, with long black stripes; his head and mouth very large; eyes exceeding lively; teeth long and yellow; legs very thick, with surprizing sharp claws; and the tail is perpetually in motion. The *female tyger* is said to be much more fierce than the *male*, especially when she has young. But they are both beasts of prey, and that of the most cruel and savage kind; for it is observable, that as the lion never eats any creature till after it is dead, and even groans while he is killing it, indicating a generosity of temper, so the *tyger* tears his prey to pieces while it is living, and seems to delight in torturing it. If he meets with a dead horse or a sheep, he will not touch it; but if a *tyger*, *tygress*, and their *young* fall in with an herd of cattle, or flock of sheep, they are sure to make a terrible havoc among them; for as they will only suck their blood, and paunch a few of them, they have been known to destroy four-score sheep in one night. They generally hide themselves behind some thicket in an inclosed country, from whence they dart out with incredible fierceness either upon man or beast that is passing by. *Monsieur Thevenot*, a *French* writer, says, that "if a man stands boldly upright, without betraying any symptoms of fear, neither *lion* nor *tyger* will venture to touch him." This assertion seems to have no manner of foundation, at least I should not chuse to venture on the experiment. It is very well known, that if ten men are in company, they will single out one particular person from the rest; and they also seldom care to attack a white man, if a black man be among them. The reason for their making this distinction, is, probably, that they are better acquainted with the black men, and had rather prey upon them, than upon *Europeans*, to whom they are strangers.

1755. The woods in this island abound with various sorts of venomous insects; such as *snakes*, of an enormous size and length; I had a view of one that measured 15 feet in length, and 30 inches in circumference; *scorpions*, *centipedes*, *spiders*, *tarantulas*, &c. I saw a spider here as large as a toad, with brown hair upon it; the legs were of the thickness of a large tobacco-pipe, and more than four inches long. A scorpion also, which was taken out of a piece of wood, was brought on board the 9th of May, which measured 8 inches from head to tail, exclusive of the claws: the shell was as hard as that of a crab. I killed a *centipede* here which was more than 7 inches long.

The natives of this island are the stoutest *Indians* I ever saw. Mr. *Knox* in his history reports many strange things of their religion and customs, none of which I had an opportunity of seeing. He says, that "they have various ways of treating their dead. Some burn them, (which is not uncommon in *India*,) while others throw their limbs up into the forks of large trees." This may be true, because when our wood-cutters were once hewing down a stick of timber, there fell from it, the scull, and many bones of an human body; and I also saw here a human body hanging on a tree.

Other historians relate, that the natives of *Ceylon* feed on human flesh; nay that they eat the bodies of their deceased parents, imagining that no other sepulchre is so fit for them as their own bowels, since hereby they think they are changed into their own substance, and live again in themselves. This shocking custom is reported of the ancient *Scythians*, and possibly it might have been used by the old inhabitants of *Ceylon*, but it is now in both countries entirely abolished; and yet even at this time, these islanders are said to make cups of their parents sculls*, with a view that amidst their mirth and jollity they may be sure to preserve a respectful remembrance of them.—What a difference has custom wrought between

* Sir *William Temple*, in the 2d part of his *Miscellanea*, observes, that it was a fixed and general opinion among the western *Scythians*, that all those who gave themselves up to war-like actions and enterprises, to the conquests of their neighbours, and slaughter of enemies, and died in battle, or of violent deaths upon bold adventures and resolutions, went immediately to the vast hall or palace of *Odin*, their god of war, who eternally kept open house for all such guests, where they were entertained at infinite tables, in perpetual feasts and mirth, carousing every man in bowls made of the sculls of their enemies they had slain, according to the numbers of which, every one in these mansions of pleasure was the most honoured and the best entertained.

How this opinion was imprinted in the minds of these fierce mortals, and what effect it had upon their thoughts and passions, concerning life and death, is most lively represented in the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth stanza's of that song or epicedium of *Rednor Ladbrog*, one of their famous kings, which he composed in the *Runic* language about eight hundred years ago, after he was mortally stung by a serpent, and before the venom seized upon his vitals. The whole sonnet is recited by *Olaus Wormius* in his *Literatura Runica*. But that which is extraordinary in it is, that such an alacrity or pleasure in dying was never expressed in any other writing, nor imagined among any other people. The two stanza's are thus translated into *Latin* by *Olaus*.

S T A N Z A

between us and them! since those spectacles which to us would appear ^{1755.} frightful and melancholy, are to them familiar and delightful.

The boats used by the natives of *Ceylon* are trees hollowed; but when the boat on account of the size of the tree is too small, they build on top of it a trough, square at both ends; they are about 12 or 14 inches wide, and as many feet long; the tree part at the bottom is much wider; they have outriggers and sails, much the same as at *Madagascar*. There are some boats of this sort much larger, built between two trees, with which they go along shore; the others are for the fishermen, in which they will go many leagues from the land.

The *Dutch* shew you in *Ceylon*, *Adam's apple* (as they call it); it is in shape like the quarter of an apple cut out, with the two insides a little convex, and a continued ridge round the two outer edges. It is of a beautiful orange colour, but of a poisonous quality. Some writers, induced by the exceeding fruitfulness of the island, have supposed it to be the seat of the *terrestrial paradise*: but this opinion is not mine: that it was the *Taprobana* of the ancients is not unlikely; and indeed there are strong reasons for believing that the island of *Taprobana* and *Ceylon* is the same. The ancients, particularly *Ptolomy*, observe that * *Taprobana* was famous for producing the largest breed of *elephants*, which is also true of *Ceylon*. *Taprobana* likewise was greatly celebrated for its spices, and in this respect *Ceylon* may be said to rival it, for it produces not only *ginger*,

S T A N Z A XXV.

Pugnavimus ensibus,
Hoc ridere me facit semper
Quod Balderi patris scamna
Parata scio in aulâ.
Bibimus cerevisiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum:
Non gemit vir fortis contrâ mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio desperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.

S T A N Z A XXIX.

Fert animus finire,
Invitant me Dyse
Quas ex Odini aulâ
Othinus mihi misit
Lætus cerevisiam cum Afis
In summâ sede bibam,
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ,
Ridens moriar.

* Est in sinu Gangetico, Narsingæ regno adversa, *Ceylon*, novem regnis distincta, antiquis *Taprobana* dicta. CLUVERII *Geograp. lib. v.*

1755. pepper* and cardamoms, but cinnamon also, and the finest in the world. Again, *Taprobana* is said to have abounded with precious stones; so does *Ceylon* †; and its rubies, topazes, and sapphires in particular are reckoned the best in the *East Indies*. *Taprobana* is celebrated for its great fertility, and in this *Ceylon* is not at all behind it, for from the luxuriance of the soil, they have five kinds of rice which ripen one after another. From all the above circumstances so exactly tallying with each other, we are led to conclude, that the island now called *Ceylon*, was the famous *Taprobana* of the antients.

* The pepper grows here like our hops, supported by poles; the leaves are of the shape of a common plantain, about four inches wide, and the flowers are very like the stem and seed of that plant; but when the pepper fills, it appears like a large bunch of small grapes as they lie very close to the stem. One of these, accompanies the leaf on the same stalk.

† Nec verò ex nomine solo, verum etiam ex gemmis & margaritis grandioribus, aliisque quæ de *Taprobane* veteres tradunt, præcipuè verò ex situ, *Zeilan* esse antiquum *Taprobanen* apparet. HENR. STEPHANI in *Dionysium Commentarius*.

C H A P. VI.

The Squadron leaves Trincomale, and arrives at Fort St. David; is driven out to sea, but returns safe to the road.—The Admiral makes an excursion to Chilambaram.—Manner of travelling in India.—Description of the famous Pagoda at Chilambaram.—Mr. Watson receives his Majesty's commission appointing him Rear-admiral of the Red.—Mahomed-Ally, Nabob of Arcot, arrives in the neighbourhood of Fort St. David.—He is visited by the admiral, &c.—He returns the admirals visit; the manner of his reception on board the fleet.—Account of some particular Indian customs on that occasion.—Account of the land-wind, and its violent effects.

THE Squadron having spent near three weeks at Ceylon in wooding, watering, and cleaning, on the 10th of May, the admiral, commodore, and all the captains went on shore to take leave of the governor; and the next morning, we sailed with the whole fleet from Trincomale, and on the 14th cast anchor in Fort St. David's road. But in a few days after, we began to be sensible that our anxiety for leaving Trincomale in order to return again upon the coast, (the scene of action) had occasioned us to be there too soon; for unluckily the monsoon did not change till after our arrival; and when it did, it blew with so much violence, that we soon despaired of riding out the storm. Therefore, on the 24th of May all the ships were obliged to put to sea, but returned again to St. David's road on the 31st, without having received any material damage*.

The

* The S. W. monsoon is commonly called the *little monsoon*, because the storms attending it, are not in general so severe, as those in the autumn season; but ever since the destruction of part of Admiral Boscawen's Squadron, which happened at this time of the year, the English cannot be too fearful of its consequences.

The following copy of a letter to me, though of an old date, from Lieutenant James Alms of the navy, (now commander of his majesty's ship the *Montreal*) cannot be unacceptable to the reader, as it is pertinent to the subject of this vernal monsoon, and as it contains the only particular and authentic account that ever was published of the loss of his majesty's ship the *Namur* of 74 guns, and upwards of 500 choice seamen, who perished on this occasion: Mr. Alms's probity as a man, and courage and ability as a sea officer, are well known both in England and the East Indies.

K

“ We

1755.

The Admiral, Commodore *Pocock*, and Captain *Knowler*, happened to be on shore at the time the gale came on, and during the whole of its continuance, were much more agreeably engaged in a little excursion they made to *Deve-Cotak*, and the famous *Pagoda* of *Chilambaram*. They were accompanied by Lieutenant *Carnac*, Mr. *Doidge* the Admiral's secretary, and Mr. *Cobbe*, who gave me the following agreeable relation of their tour.

"Our retinue consisted of two sets of *Palanquin-boys* for each person; *Dubash-boys*, 20 *Peons*, a great number of *Cooleys* to carry the tent-baggage, tables,

"We were at anchor in the *Namur*, in *Fort St. David's* road, Thursday April 13th 1749. In the morning it blew fresh. Wind N. E.—N. E. by E. At noon we veered away to a cable and a half on the small bower. From 1 to 4 o'clock, we were employed in setting up the lower rigging. Hard gales and squally, with a very great sea. At 6 o'clock rode very well. At half an hour after, had four feet water in the hold. Immediately we cut the small bower cable, and stood to sea under our courses. The ship laid out S. E. and S. E. by S. Our mate who cut the cable was up to his waist in water at the bitts. At half past seven, we had six feet water in the hold, when we hauled up our courses, and hove overboard most of our upper, and all the quarter-deck guns to leeward. By three quarters after eight, the water was up to our orlop gratings, and there was a great quantity between decks, so that the ship was water-log'd. Then we cut away all the masts, by which the ship righted. At the same time we manned the pump, bailed, and soon perceived that we gained upon the ship, which put us in great spirits. A little after nine o'clock, we founded, and found ourselves in nine fathom water. The master called to cut away the sheet-anchor, which was done immediately, and we veered away to a little better than a cable, but before she came head to the sea, she parted at the chafe tree. By this time it blew an hurricane!—You may easier conceive, than I describe, what a dismal, melancholy scene now presented itself. The shrieking, cries, lamentations, raving, despair, of above five hundred poor wretches verging on the brink of eternity!

I had presence of mind however to consider, that the *God All-mighty* was also the *God All-merciful*, with the comfortable reflection and hope, that I had ever put my whole trust in him. I then made a short prayer for his protection, and jumped over-board. The water at that time was up to the gratings on the poop, from whence I leaped. The first thing I grasped was a capitan-bar: from which, in company with seven more, I got to the *David*, but in less than an hour, I had the melancholy sight to see them all washed away, and myself remained alone upon it, almost spent. I had now been above two hours in the water, when, to my unspeakable joy, I saw a large raft with a great many men driving towards me; when it came near, I quitted the *David*, and with much difficulty swam to, and by the assistance of one of our quarter-gunners, got upon it. The raft proved to be the *Namur's* booms. As soon as we were able, we lashed the booms closer together, and fastened a plank across; and by this means made a good *Catamaran*.—It was by this time one o'clock in the morning. Soon after that, the seas were so mountainous as to turn our machine upside down, but providentially with the loss only of one man.

About four o'clock we struck ground with the booms, and in a very little while, all that survived got on shore. After having returned God thanks for his almost miraculous goodness towards us, we took each other by the hand (for it was not yet day), and trusting still in the divine providence for protection, we walked forwards to find some place to shelter us from the inclemency of the weather, for the spot where we landed afforded nothing but sand. When we had walked about for a whole hour, but to no manner of purpose, we returned back to the place where we had left our *Catamaran*, and to our no small uneasiness found it gone. Day-light appeared soon after, when we found ourselves on a sandy bank a little to the southward of *Porto-Novo*; and as there was a river running between us and this *Dutch* settlement, we were under a necessity of fording it, and soon afterwards arrived at *Porto-Novo*, where we were received with much hospitality.

From

tables, stools, liquors, and provisions; one or two *Hircars* *, one *Havildah* †, and a company of *Sepoys*, by way of body-guard. So that our whole train consisted of near 200 persons. The first night we reached *Porto-Novo*, where we encamped. The next day we got to *Deve-Cotah*. Mr. *Hopkins* the chief, having received some previous notice of our coming, met us upon the road with another company of *Sepoys*; and because the weather was so bad as to prevent our proceeding in our journey, he entertained us for three days at his own house in the most friendly manner. 1755.

Deve-Cotah is a small settlement belonging to the *English East India* company, and was taken from the king of *Tanjour* by Major *Lawrence* in the year 1749. It is but weakly fortified; and indeed the only reason that induces them to hold it, is, because it is a sort of key to all the *Tanjour* country. Here we continued till the weather became more favourable, when we again set out upon our journey, and having crossed one branch of the *Coleroon*, we on the same night reached a *Choltre* within a few miles of that river. A *Choltre* is not much unlike a large summer-house, and in general is little more than a bare covering from the inclemency of the weather. Some few indeed are more spacious, and are also endowed with a salary to support a servant or two, whose business is to furnish all passengers with a certain quantity of rice and fresh water. They are all of them built at the expence of private persons; for as it is a fundamental law in this country, that every individual shall do something towards the benefit of the whole community, so they are sure exactly to fulfil it, according to their respective abilities. One man therefore plants a *tope* or grove, a second digs a *tank* or large pond, another repairs a

From our first landing to our arrival at *Porto-Novo*, we lost four of our companions; two at the place where we were driven on shore, and two in crossing the river. After we had sufficiently refreshed ourselves at *Porto-Novo*, the chief there was so obliging as to accommodate me with an horse and guide to carry me to *Fort St. David*, where I arrived about noon the day following, and immediately waited upon the admiral, who received me very kindly indeed; but so excessive was the concern of that great and good man for the loss of so many poor souls, that he could not find utterance for those questions he appeared desirous of asking me concerning the particulars of our disaster.

Till I reached *Porto-Novo* you beheld me shipwrecked and naked: I must again repeat it, that the *Dutch* received, refreshed, and kindly conveyed me to my truly honourable patron; through whose goodness and humanity, I am not only clothed and comforted, but also made lieutenant of the *Syren*, from which ship I date this letter.

I am, &c.
JAMES ALMS.

P. S. There were only 23 of us saved from the wreck, 20 of whom came on shore on the booms."

* *Hircars*, commonly signify spies, here messengers.

† An officer of *Sepoys*, of the rank of a serjeant.

1755. road, whilst a fourth builds a *choltre*, or perhaps a *pagoda*. These structures are ever afterwards looked upon as the property of the public, and the founder of either of them is as much cried up in this country for his humanity and munificence, as any person in *England* is for erecting an hospital or an infirmary.

The method of travelling in this part of the world is very singular, and therefore worthy of notice.

As the roads are not furnished with inns, you are obliged to carry most of your provisions with you, and all the implements to dress it. To your *Cooleys* or servants, whom you hire for this purpose, you pay so much by the day, and they find themselves in victuals. Their chief food is rice, and their drink *toddy*, both of which are easily to be procured in any part of the country, and at a reasonable price. The *Cooleys* are very extraordinary fellows for bearing fatigue; and are very little impatient either of hunger or thirst. Their common rate of travelling is four miles an hour, and I have known them walk four-and-twenty hours without once breaking their fast. As people in this part of the world always travel in large companies, it seldom happens that the whole *caravan* arrives at the place of destination at the same time. It is the custom therefore for those who get in first, to make the necessary preparations for the reception of such who are behind. The making a fire for dressing the victuals, is always the first thing done, for which purpose some are immediately sent out to pick up sticks, whilst others are as necessarily employed in mixing the ingredients for making punch, &c.

One of the greatest inconveniencies attending a traveller, is the difficulty of his getting a draught of water from any of the natives, should he chance to go on faster than the *Cooleys* who carry his utensils. Among the higher *casts*, I have known their superstition carried so far in this respect, as to insist on all *Europeans* lying upon their backs, while the water is poured into their mouths, lest they should defile the vessel by the touch of either their hands or lips. Upon the whole, though the method of travelling in *India* is not a little inconvenient to strangers; yet it must be owned, that the many ridiculous shifts they are necessarily put to, and the several laughable occurrences which happen upon such occasions, more than compensate for the loss of better accommodations.

After having passed a very merry evening at this *choltre*, every man betook himself to his *palanquin* as a bed, while all our attendants slept around us. And it must be confessed, that except when they have drank too deeply of the fermented *toddy*, or stupified their brain with *bang* and *beetelnut*, these fellows are very vigilant, and will wake with the least noise or disturbance. Next morning before sun-rise, we resumed our march, and went on without any impediment till we got to another branch of the
Coleroon,

Coleroon, which was so much swelled by the late rains, that for the present it was judged impassable. We were now within little more than gun-shot of *Chilambaram*, and therefore were very unwilling to turn back, after having taken so much pains. Our *Harcar* presently relieved us from our anxiety, by assuring us, that we should be able to ford the stream in less than two hours, for he well knew that the tide had a great influence on this river, and he added, that it was now on the ebb. This intelligence gave us all great pleasure; therefore we made no difficulty of putting into the next *choltre*, and there with great content we sat down to breakfast. During our stay at this *choltre*, we had leisure to examine the several travellers, who had possession of it before our arrival. They chiefly consisted of those remarkable pilgrims, who come from the kingdom of *Bengal*, and carry about with them vessels filled with the water of the *Ganges*, which is said to have been consecrated by the ancient *Brackmans*, and at this time is supposed to perform many miraculous cures. What truth there is in it, I cannot pretend to say; but this is certain, that almost the whole life of these poor creatures is spent in this kind of pilgrimage, and there are many families in *Bengal*, whose sole dependence is the carrying about this sacred water to the several *Brabmins* in the southern part of *India*, who again dispose of it among their respective disciples. It is a common saying, that there are cheats in all professions; and for some time we had reason to suspect it here. For upon our offering a large sum of money for one of their vessels, a certain old woman in the company began to listen to the proposal, and looked rather with a wishful eye upon the gold which we held in our hands. On this a general clamour and uproar arose among the rest, which had such an effect upon the old woman, that, whatever her intention might have been, she burst into a flood of tears, which put an end to our offering her any farther temptation.

In about two hours we plainly perceived that the ebb was made; and seeing at the same time an herdsman with a drove of cattle passing over, we were induced to try the same experiment, and succeeded in it without any difficulty.

We had no sooner got into the town of *Chilambaram*, but Mr. *Carnac* sat down on the bank of the river, and wrote a letter to Mons. *Ville Nove* the commandant, residing at this famous *pagoda*, acquainting him with Mr. *Watson's* arrival, and that the whole party were desirous of making him a visit. To which he immediately returned an answer, that "We did him a great deal of honour, and hoped that we would come in *sans ceremonie*." Mons. *Ville Nove* was only a lieutenant in the *French* service, but a very genteel, well bred man. He entertained us with all the politeness of his country. After dinner we drank their *Britannic* and *Most Christian* Majesty's health's, good success to each of our *East India* companies affairs; and the ladies at *Madras* and *Pondicherry*. Our stay here was not above five

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five hours, rather too short to make any remarks upon the place; but what I remember I will briefly set down.

Chilambaram Pagoda is one of the largest in all *India*. It was once in the possession of the *English*, who neglecting it too much, entrusted the defence of it to only a serjeant and twelve men. The *French* taking advantage of this, made a sudden attack upon it, and took it with great ease. Its walls and gateways are strong and well-built. On the third inner wall are four substantial towers, curiously wrought with figures of gods and *pagods*, and very much resembling the west end of our cathedrals. In the middle court or square is a very large *tank* of water, which is common in this country, and is used for bodily purification. It has a great number of little *pagodas* or chapels round it. The paintings are but indifferent, and consist of strange preposterous figures. Towards the upper end, there is a dark repository, where they keep their *Swamme*, that is their chief god. The *French* indulge the *Indians* with full liberty of coming hither to perform the duties of their religion, and never in the least interrupt them. This indulgence, by the bye, brings in no small gain to the craftsmen; for as this place is a kind of *Mecca*, where all persons are obliged once in their lives to come and pay their devotions, so the pilgrims are always making the *French* considerable presents for granting them this toleration. However, the present grand remains of the *pagoda* at *Chilambaram*, are very well worth a traveller's observation, as they convey to the mind a very clear and distinct idea of its former magnificence."

Not many weeks after Mr. *Watson's* return from his excursion to *Chilambaram*, he had the satisfaction to receive his majesty's commission, promoting him to the rank of Rear-admiral of the *Red*, and he accordingly hoisted the red flag at the mizen-top-mast head: and at the same time Mr. *Pocock* (to the very great pleasure of the admiral, and of every other gentleman of the Squadron) hoisted the white flag on the same mast-head on board the *Cumberland*. The promotion of these two gallant officers gave great satisfaction not only to the officers in the marine department, but to those of the king's troops, and the company's land forces, to all of whom our two admirals had carried themselves with so much affability and politeness, that they stood very high in their affection and esteem. Such an harmony and good understanding prevailed among the several branches of military gentlemen in this part of the world, as promised the surest hopes of success, should an opportunity offer of attacking the enemy.

Whilst our Squadron lay at *Fort St. David*, MAHOMED-ALLY, Nabob of *Arcot* (in whose interest we were engaged) arrived in that neighbourhood. As soon as he drew near the boundaries, Colonel *Adlercron*, with a captain's guard, immediately waited upon him; as did the same day Mr. *Starke*, the deputy governor of *St. David*, and his whole council. The next morning the admirals *Watson* and *Pocock*, with the several captains, lieutenants,

tenants, and midshipmen of the squadron, made him a visit; Admiral *Watson* having first given him notice of their intention, and the *Nabob* in return sending word that he was ready to receive them. The ceremonial observed upon this occasion, was, the admirals, captains, and lieutenants were carried in *palanquins* two and two a-breast. The number of midshipmen indeed was so great, that no *palanquins* could be got for them; they therefore walked on foot, four and four a-breast, at the head of the *palanquins*, dressed in their uniforms, and with their swords. The admiral's secretary, chaplain, and a few other staff-officers of the squadron, closed the procession. At their coming within a small distance of the *Nabob's* camp, they were met by his captain-general, who was sent out in compliment to the admiral, and who presently conducted him to the *Nabob's* tent, at the entrance of which he stood, and received Mr. *Watson* with great politeness, embracing him at the same time in his arms. The admiral immediately presented to him his brother officer Mr. *Pocock*, and after him, the captains, lieutenants, and midshipmen, acquainting the *Nabob*, as he received them severally to his embraces, in what characters they stood. When this first ceremony was over, the *Nabob* shewed them the several apartments of his tent. He placed Admiral *Watson* on a wool-pack, which made his seat somewhat more raised than the rest. At Mr. *Watson's* left hand Mr. *Pocock* was seated; and to the left of him the captains, lieutenants, &c. On the admiral's right hand, the *Nabob* placed himself, and next him were ranged in order the several officers of his court.

The *Nabob* was between thirty and forty years of age, and of a middle stature. His complexion was much lighter than that of the common *Indian*. His dress was entirely white, and consisted of a long robe or vestment which reached down to his heels. His turban was also white, and quite plain. In short, he had no other mark of distinction about him, but that of a truly majestic countenance, tempered with a great deal of pleasantness and good-nature. The admiral (by means of an interpreter) congratulated the *Nabob* on his seeing him in such good health, and assured him that he was particularly happy in having this opportunity of paying him personally those marks of friendship and esteem which he had long entertained for him, on account of his excellent character. To this compliment of the admiral's, the *Nabob* made a very handsome reply. Mr. *Watson* afterwards rejoined, that "he was extremely concerned for the calamities which the *Nabob's* country had experienced in the late war; but he hoped better times were now coming on, which would more than compensate for all past misfortunes." The *Nabob* in the eastern style replied, "It is true, sir, that I have suffered much, but the remembrance of those troubles is no more; the heavens have made me ample amends for all those misfortunes in the honour I receive from your visit." Mr. *Watson*, with a heart full of honesty, and with a countenance which spoke the sincerity of his soul, assured him, that "the thing he most passionately wished for, was an occasion to do him service; and that it was principally for this purpose, the king his master had

1755. had sent him with his Squadron into the *Indian* seas." The *Nabob* appeared greatly pleased with the frankness of this declaration, and immediately turning to the several officers of his court, he repeated to them the admiral's words, and they too, upon hearing them, did not fail to participate in the joy of their master.

The *Nabob*, upon this occasion, ordered a rich perfume of what is called the *Otta* of roses to be brought to him, a few drops of which, he put into his hand, and having himself opened the bosom of Mr. *Watson's* shirt, he rubbed the same over the admiral's breast. This was intended as the highest honour he could confer upon him. He afterwards did the same to Admiral *Pocock*; and his *Bukhsbi*, or treasurer, performed the like ceremony on all the other officers: *Beetel-nut* and *chunam* were then most plentifully distributed, and showers of rose-water fell upon all. *Mahomed-Ally* then solicited Mr. *Watson* to give him leave to make him a present, which the latter nobly declined, repeating to him, that "the king of *Great Britain* had sent him thither to do the *Nabob* service, and to secure to him his country from the attacks of all his enemies; which commission he would always execute with fidelity, but could never think of distressing him by accepting presents, which he very well knew in the present circumstances of things could be but ill spared." He concluded, with "desiring him always to look upon him as his sincere well-wisher, who would be glad to shew him those real marks of friendship which his king and countrymen had for him, and of the attention which they paid to his interests." The *Nabob* appeared extremely surprized at this uncommon strain of generosity in the admiral, though at the same time he could not be displeased with it. They parted soon after, exchanging a more familiar embrace, than what they had given each other at their first meeting. Mr. *Watson* returned to the fort with his whole company, which consisted of about an hundred persons, and all had the honour of dining with him.

The day following, Captain *Hassup*, a brave and experienced officer, and commandant of his majesty's artillery, waited upon the *Nabob*, accompanied with almost all the other officers in that department. And they all met with a most gracious reception. The *Nabob* soon returned these several complimentary visits, paying them in the order his own judgment best directed him; viz. to the admirals, colonel, governor, and commanding officer of the train.

In the visit which he made to the two admirals, he came from his camp to within a small distance of the fort, seated on the back of an elephant. He was accompanied by two most beautiful boys, his sons, who rode on the same animal, and whom he afterwards introduced to the admirals. Nine other Elephants were loaded with his *grandees*, domestics, and band of music. His train consisted of ten or twelve camels, besides three or four hundred horses, five or six thousand Sepoys, and perhaps ten thousand

cooleys and spectators. As soon as he came near the fort, he alighted from his elephant, and then got into his *palanquin*, which was the richest I ever saw; the *Pinjeree*, bed and cushions, being embroidered and inlaid with gold. The admirals met him at the entrance of the fort, and as they were now well acquainted, they familiarly embraced him, and led him up the stairs into the great room designed for his reception; where he was placed between them on a seat, covered with crimson-velvet cushions, embroidered with gold. One very remarkable circumstance happened on this occasion; Mr. *Cobbe*, at the admiral's request, had put on his canonical dress, and the *Nabob* perceiving that he was uncommonly attired, seemed very desirous of knowing who he was. Upon being informed that he was the admiral's chaplain, he made him a second *salaam*, and desired much that his own *Faquier* * might be introduced to him; who entered presently afterwards, quite in the apostolic habit. He had a kind of white cloth that went round his loins, and another of a coarser sort flung carelessly over one shoulder. He had no turban, and his hair was tied in a knot behind, while his beard hung down almost to his middle. He wore a sort of sandals on his feet, and loose iron chains about his legs. But exclusive of his extraordinary habit and appearance, he had something very wild and staring in his looks; and indeed none are admitted into this particular order, without having manifested some degree of enthusiasm and madness. The two holy men congratulated each other on their respective office, and then seated themselves with the rest of the company. — The *Nabob* was saluted by the guns of the fort; and all the officers and troops of the garrison were under arms upon the occasion. The several ships of the squadron likewise fired, upon a certain signal being given to them from the fort. The *Nabob* attentively eyed these last, and seemed much pleased with the view of them, though they lay at their anchors at the distance of at least three miles. Mr. *Watson* gave the *Nabob* an invitation to go on board the squadron, which he at that time declined, by reason (as we imagined) of the surf of the sea, which in general is very rough here. He desired however, that the curiosity of his generals and some other of his grandees might be gratified with a nearer view of the ships; accordingly, attended by some of our officers, they went on board immediately. While they were visiting the several ships of the squadron, the *Nabob* took his leave of the admirals, and directed his course to the water-side, where he had ordered his tents to be pitched, that he might the more conveniently dine † there, and entertain himself

* *Faquier* or *Fakir* in the *Arabian* tongue signifies a mendicant monk. This is a particular priestly order, of a mortifying cast, who make a vow of poverty, and live entirely on the charity of others.

† The *Indian* customs differ so much from our's in regard to eating, that it was impossible for the admiral to ask the *Nabob* to dine with him.

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with the sea prospect. After dinner he returned Colonel *Adlercron's* and the governor's visits, and the next day that of captain *Hastup*. When his generals and other *grandees* returned from the fleet, they gave him so pleasing an account, that he resolved to go on board himself; and accordingly having signified his desire to the admiral, the latter appointed the next morning for attending him to the *Kent*.

The *Nabob* accordingly came, and passed through the swell in the boat, with the greatest unconcern, and after he got on board, heard the ship salute him without any surprize or emotion at the noise. Admiral *Watson* led him by the hand to every part of the vessel. He was very inquisitive, and made many pertinent remarks on so vast, so curious, and wonderful a machine; but above all other things, the lower deck battery, which consisted of 28 guns, carrying balls of 32 pounds, struck him with astonishment: the admiral perceiving this, ordered the gunner to exercise a few of the cannon as in the time of an engagement. The *Nabob* appeared greatly pleased with this, and the other different *manœuvres* within the ship; and afterwards retiring to the great cabin, the admiral told him, he would now give him a view of a man of war under sail, and accordingly threw out the *Tyger's* signal to chace to windward. Captain *Latham*, having had previous notice of the admiral's intention, immediately slipped his cable, set his sails, and worked to windward; and as he passed the *Kent's* stern, saluted the *Nabob* with his cannon. This added greatly to the satisfaction he had before felt, and he expressed himself thoroughly sensible of the honour that had been done him. After he had thus agreeably spent three or four hours on board the *Kent*, he moved for going ashore. Both the admirals accompanied him, and on his leaving the ship, the whole Squadron fired together. The yards were manned at the same time, and the sailors gave three hearty cheers. This general acclamation gave the *Nabob* a particular pleasure, and he ordered the interpreter to tell the admiral it was "truly war-like." The admirals waited upon the *Nabob* to his tent, where they parted, after exchanging reciprocal professions of friendship and esteem for each other*.

Upon the admirals being first introduced to the *Nabob*, they were by some persons given to understand, that it would be expected they should send in presents, and pull off their shoes at entering his tent. Both these are strictly and truly the customs of the *East*, and from the earliest ages have prevailed among the oriental nations; and the *Indians* always insist upon them; but as Mr. *Watson* represented his *Britannic* majesty, neither of these humiliating ceremonies was submitted to by him or his company. The present made upon these complimentary occasions is a mere trifle, for an orange or lemon never fails to gain admittance. Two or three *Indian* gentlemen coming one day on board the *Kent*, they, agreeable to this custom, presented every

* Soon after the exchange of these visits, the author wrote an account of them to a friend in *England*; an imperfect copy of which soon appeared in one of the monthly magazines.

officer on the quarter-deck with a lime, before they presumed to look into any of the cabbins or apartments of the ship. But when they approach a great person for a favour, it is usual to bring presents of the richest and most valuable things of the country: thus the *Magi* who came from the east to visit our Saviour, it is said "opened their treasures and presented to him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh." As for the other custom, the pulling off the shoes very much prevails now throughout the east, more particularly when the *Mahometans* enter their *Mosques*, and the *Gentoos* their *Pagodas*. Probably they derived this custom from the divine command given unto *Moses* in the 3d chapter of the book of *Exodus*: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Let me add, that in this country we see as many slippers and sandals at the doors of a *Pagoda*, as we do hats hanging up in our churches: and your *Indian* servants never even enter your room with their shoes on, if they have a mind to shew *master* any respect.

There still remains another custom which comes properly to be noticed here, and which is very common in this country, the sending for a set of women, who are called *dancing girls*, upon every joyful occasion. We engaged a set of them upon the day the *Nabob* returned Mr. *Watson's* visit. I could not see any thing in their performance worthy of notice. Their movements are more like tumbling, or shewing postures, than dancing. Their dress is thin and light, and their hair, necks, ears, arms, wrists, fingers, legs, feet, and even the toes are covered with rings of gold and silver, made after a clumsy manner. They wear two rings in their noses, and by their staring looks and odd gesticulations, you would rather suspect them to be mad-women than morris-dancers. The band of music that attends them is not less singular in its way: it is chiefly composed of three or four men, who hold two pieces of bell-metal in their hands, with which they make an incessant noise; another man beats what he is pleased to call a drum; and that they may not want vocal music to complete the band, there are always two others appointed to sing. These last generally lay in their mouths a good loading of beetel-nut before they begin, which after having been well-chewed, tinges the saliva with such a redness, that a stranger would judge them to bleed at the mouth by too violent an exertion of their voice. These gentry are called *Ticky-Taw* boys, from the two words *Ticky Taw* which they continually repeat, and which they chant with great vehemence.

The dancing girls are sometimes made use of in their religious ceremonies; as when the priests bring forth the images of their gods into the open fields on a car ornamented with lascivious figures, these girls dance before the images amidst a great crowd of people; * and having been selected for their superior beauty, are very profitable to their masters the priests, who are said to

* "And *David* danced before the Lord with all his might, and was girded with a linnen ephod; so *David* and all the house of *Israel* brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet." 2 Sam. vi. 14.

1755. prostitute them to all comers. They will tell you indeed that their god first debauched them upon account of their beauty, and that ever after they must remain sacred to the church.

During our stay this time at *Fort St. David*, a very melancholy accident happened to some of our people, for the *Kent's* boat in trying to get over the bar, was overfet by the violence of the wind and surf, and a young gentleman who was a midshipman and relation of Admiral *Pocock's*, the master-carpenter, captain's clerk, and two other men, were unfortunately drowned. This misfortune was entirely owing to their making use of their own boat, instead of the common bar-boat, which is much better calculated for this particular purpose.

I shall finish this chapter with a short account of the cause and violent effects of the land-wind, which in the southern parts of *India* blows for two or three hours in the morning with an heat that is almost intolerable. As to the cause, we may spare ourselves the pains of enquiry, if we only look on a map of the continent of *India*, and observe, what a vast tract of land this wind comes over, some hundred miles of which are sand, which necessarily must give the wind every burning quality long before it reaches the *Coromandel* coast. That this is the grand cause of this common phenomenon, is very manifest whenever a shower of rain falls at the time this land-wind prevails; for if the wind in its way towards you, chances to pass through the shower, you are sure to find the air agreeably cool, even though the day be ever so clear, and the sun shines in its meridian lustre; whereas they who live only at the distance of a few miles from you, but out of the direct line where the shower passed, shall at the same time be fainting under the usual excessive heat. Very many and great inconveniencies arise from these winds. It is affirmed with confidence, that they will snap glass, if too much exposed to them. I have seen them strip off the fineering from a chest of drawers, and they will certainly crack and chap almost every wood that is not well seasoned. Another great inconvenience arising from these land-winds, is the whirling of the sand in one's eyes: the air is so full of sand, that there appears a perpetual haziness the whole day just above the horizon. And when these winds blow with more than ordinary violence, great quantities of sand may be swept from the decks of the ships riding in the road, though near three miles from the land. This abundantly convinced me of the truth of that surprizing circumstance mentioned by the ancient historians, of whole armies being buried under the mountains of sand, which are sometimes raised by these winds*.

But besides the inconveniencies I have already mentioned, these land-winds have another quality which deserves particular notice; and that

* Ad Ammonis nobilissimum templum expugnandum, exercitum mittit; qui tempestatibus & arenarum molibus oppressus, interiit. JUSTINI, lib. i. cap. ix.

is, the baneful effect they have on any person they blow upon, while he is sleeping. The consequence of this is always dangerous, as it seldom fails to bring on a fit of the *Barbiers* † (as it is called in this country), that is, a total deprivation of the use of the limbs, which the patient never gets the better of till he returns to *England*, or is braced up by some other climate. The method our gentlemen make use of to cool their liquors, is to wrap a wet cloth round the bottle, and set it in the land-wind. And what is very remarkable, it will cool much sooner by being exposed thus to this burning wind, than if you take the same method, and set it in the cold sea-breeze.

† See Dr. *Lind's* treatise on the diseases incidental to *Europeans* in hot countries.

C H A P. VII.

The Squadron leaves Fort-St. David, and comes to an anchor in Madrafs road.—Sails again for Bombay.—The ships proceed against Geriah.—Account of the attack and surrender of that fortress; and of the cannon, stores, monies, and valuable effects found there.—Admiral Watfon pays a visit to Angria's wives and children.—His humanity towards them.—List of Europeans redeemed from slavery.—Description of a Mahomedan Talisman found in Angria's house.

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IN the morning of the 19th of *August* 1755, we once more took our leave of *Fort St. David*, and the same evening came to an anchor with the whole Squadron in *Madrafs road* *. At the same time, *Commodore James* in the *Protector*, who commanded the company's marine force in *India*, and had come round to this coast after his expedition and success against *Angria* †, (commonly called the *Pirate*,) sailed for *Bombay*. It being the time of the contrary monsoon, he proceeded by the *southern passage* which he himself had happily explored the year before, and accomplished in forty days, although obliged to cross the equinoctial line, and to advance as far as 10° 30' south latitude, for the advantage of having the S. E. trade-wind fresh and certain to run to the westward. This discovery is of important and general benefit to navigation, *Mr. James* having proved the passage to be, in the height of the contrary monsoon, very practicable, and not long; as it may be performed in little more than one of the six months that the contrary monsoons blow on the *Malabar*-coast, and which till now had rendered the communication by sea between the presidencies on the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel* almost impracticable till the change. But besides its great importance to navigation, the discovery is of essential service to the company; for should *Bombay* be

* "In working up from *Fort St. David* to *Madrafs*, if during the N. E. monsoon, the most certain and expeditious method is to stretch about 20 leagues to sea before you stand in for the land. I know an instance of two ships of war sailing together from *Fort St. David*, one of which never stood farther than about 6 or 7 leagues from the land, and was 14 days in her passage to *Madrafs*; but the other, by the forementioned method, performed it in 4 days. So in working to windward on this coast in the S. W. monsoon, ships should be close in with the land about six o'clock in the evening to make advantage of the land-wind; and should be well off shore between 11 and 12 o'clock at noon, to make a good stretch in with the sea breeze."

Extract of minutes made by Captain Richard King, an officer whom I shall have frequent occasion to mention.

† In the month of *April* this gallant officer with a very small force reduced six of *Angria's* forts, and took or destroyed fifteen armed vessels in their harbours. One of these forts, *Severndroog*, was the strongest *Angria* had, *Geriab* excepted, and covered his best port for sheltering his ships to the northward of *Geriab*, and was that which gave independency to his ancestors. Its vicinity also to *Bombay* gave his cruizers an opportunity of being with impunity very troublesome to the *English*, as there they always had an asylum of retreat, esteemed impregnable. See a particular account of the *Commodore's* conduct and courage in this expedition, in *Orme's* history of *India*.

attacked

attacked by an enemy, though our Squadron was on the other coast, we can by this passage proceed at any time to its relief.

We lay at *Madras* till the 10th of *October*, when we also sailed for *Bombay*, to avoid the tempest which was to be expected on the change of the monsoon, and to refit our ships. We arrived at *Bombay* the 11th of *November*, and found there Lieutenant-colonel *Robert Clive*, who had lately landed on the island with three companies of the king's artillery from *England*. He was sent out with a design of acting in conjunction with the *Maharattas*, against the *French* in the *Carnatic* and *Deccan*; but finding that a truce had been agreed upon with that nation, and perhaps partly excited by Mr. *James's* late success, it was judged proper by Admiral *Watson*, Mr. *Bourchier* Governor of *Bombay*, Colonel *Clive*, &c. that the sea and land forces united with the *Maharattas* should attempt the destroying *Angria's* piratical state, which was become exceedingly formidable, troublesome, and dangerous, not only to the *Maharattas*, who were his neighbours, but also to our *East India* company, and the whole *Malabar* coast. The admiral immediately informed Mr. *Bourchier*, that his majesty's ships which he had the honour to command, were in readiness to proceed on the intended expedition, and that the sooner they entered on the business the better; as the careening and refitting the Squadron would be a work of time, and more proper to be done after, than before, such an undertaking. But the governor not having been able to settle every thing relative to the co-operation of the *Maharatta* forces, and those of the *East India* company; or the government of the fortress in case it should be taken; he sent Mr. *Watson* word, that all these preliminaries ought to be adjusted before the expedition took place, lest any dispute might arise afterwards; and that from the present complexion of our allies, he apprehended the settling these matters would take up some time.

Upon receiving this intelligence, the admiral thought fit to alter his first plan, and accordingly ordered the whole Squadron to sail into the harbour to careen. But while the careening work was going forwards, the admiral thought proper to dispatch Commodore *James* with three of the companies ships to look into *Geriab*, and reconnoitre the harbour and fortifications; this gentleman's diligence and success in the affair cannot better be expressed than in his own words, in a letter he sent to the admiral the day of his return from *Geriab*.

To Charles Watson Esq; Rear-admiral of the Red Squadron of his majesty's fleet, and commander in chief of all his majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies, and of the marine force of the East India company.

SIR,

I Have the honour to inform you, that I arrived off *Geriab*, with the *Protector*, *Revenge*, and *Guardian* under my command, on the morning of the 14th instant; where I saw the enemies fleet, consisting of 3 three-mast grabs,

1755. grabs, 8 ketches and 12 or 14 gallivats in the harbour, rigged and their sails bent, with one three-mast grab having only her lower masts rigged.—I stood into seven fathom water, when I think I was within point blank shot of the fort, but they did not fire at us.—I was exceedingly surprized at finding the place so widely different from what I had heard it represented: I assure you, Sir, it is not to be called high, nor in my opinion strong; it is indeed a large mass of buildings, and I believe the walls may be thick, but that part of the works which fell under my observation, and which was three quarters of their circumference, is quite irregular, with round towers and long curtains in the eastern manner, and which discovered only thirty-two embrasures below, and fifteen above. On the west side of the harbour is a fine flat table land opposite the fort, and I think within gun shot, but I am sure within distance for bombarding, and from whence a very good diversion might be made, while the principal attack is carried on by the ships, and from a hill to the southward of the fort. The hill is very near to, and full as high as the fort, for when we were at a considerable distance it hid all the fort except the top of one house and the flag-staff: it is also very plain from our depth of water, that the ships can go near enough for battering, and consequently for throwing shells. There are also three sandy bays under this hill, without any surf to render the landing difficult; the first two are rather too near the fort, but the third is out of their line of fire.—The water is deep enough for the ships to cover the descent, and the hill so accessible as to make the getting up of cannon, &c. quite easy afterwards. There is a very large town betwixt the fort and this hill, the houses of which are covered with *Cajans*, and which the inhabitants will undoubtedly abandon and destroy upon our landing, and then fly to the fort as at my attack of *Severndroog*; in which case, great numbers must be killed by the shells, the place being so crowded and populous that they cannot fall amiss, and many upper buildings must of course be knocked down, which will occasion great disorder and confusion.—They sent out no boats while I was off the place, and to deceive them, I caused all the sails to be furled a little before dark, and made the signal to anchor; after which I ran out of sight in the night, so that they are ignorant whether I proceeded to the northward or southward.—Several of the *Gallivats* had blue, or green, and white pendants like the *Portuguese* at their mast heads, and one of them had a white flag with a red cross in the middle, which they hauled down when I drew near.—Nothing remarkable has happened in this cruise; the *Mabaratta* fleet was at *Severndroog* on my going down and coming up.—I shall be happy to wait upon you to relate farther particulars, and have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your most humble
and obedient servant,

W. JAMES.

Protector, off Bombay,

21 Dec. 1755.

About

About ten days after Mr. *James's* return, it being rumour'd that *Angria*, 1755. alarm'd at the great preparations to attack him, had in a fit of despondency resolved to invite the *Portugueze* to take possession of *Geriab*, and to hoist the flag of that nation in the fortress, the admiral sent also his own first lieutenant, Sir *William Hewet* Baronet, and who was a good draughtsman, in the *Revenge* frigate before *Geriab*, to observe whether any alteration had taken place there, and with orders to ascertain as near as possible the exact state of the harbour and the fort. *Tullagee Angria*, on seeing the *Revenge* come to an anchor in the very mouth of his harbour, and her boat sounding all round it, gave orders to the commanders of his grabs and gallivats, some of which he filled with combustible matter, to push out, and burn Sir *William Hewet's* vessel, to punish him (as he termed it) for his insolence. His intentions however were entirely frustrated by Sir *William's* judicious and speedy manner of executing the business he was sent upon.

The heaving down and refitting the several ships of the Squadron, engaged all our attention for some time, and this important affair was attended with many unforeseen difficulties: for on our endeavouring to heave down the *Kent*, her careening tackle broke, so that she righted suddenly before she was keel out. In a few days afterwards we made the same experiment again, but then her main-mast gave way. This was attended with great concern and vexation, and such as would have been without resource, had there not been another stick in the company's marine yard, which, after a whole month's incessant labour upon it, furnished us with another main-mast. The *Cumberland* had been so very leaky for a long time, it was judged expedient to bring her on the shore, to search out and repair the defect. This was accordingly attempted the first spring-tide, but as she could not be made to heel sufficiently at that time, she was brought off again the next tide, and soon after happily hove down by the *Kent*. The defect, which had been so long complained of, proved to be in her garboard strake, and was effectually repaired with much less trouble than was at first apprehended. The admiral, anxious to have all his ships ready for the sea, and apprehensive that another accident might happen should he attempt again to heave down the *Kent*, by the advice of the proper officers, ordered her to be brought to heel on the mud, and there her bottom was cleaned to within a few strakes of the keel. The *Tyger* and *Salisbury* hove down by each other without the least accident, and the *Bridge-water* and *King's-fisher* sloop went into the company's dock.

All things being at last in readiness for putting to sea; a council was held, at Mr. *Watson's* particular desire, between the sea and land officers, 1756. both of his majesty's forces, and those of the *East India* company, with a view of obviating any difficulties that might arise in regard to the proper distribution of prize-money, should the intended expedition be crowned with success. It was settled at this council, that Admiral *Watson*, as commander in chief of the king's squadron, should have two thirds of one eighth of the whole; and Rear-admiral *Pocock*, one third of one eighth.

1756. Lieutenant-Colonel *Clive* and Major *Chambers* were to share equally with the captains of the king's ships. The captains of the company's ships, and armed vessels, and captains of the army, were to have an equal share with the lieutenants of the men of war. The subaltern officers of the army, and lieutenants of the company's armed ships and vessels, were to have the same distribution as the warrant-officers of the navy, &c.

These articles however had scarcely been agreed upon in council, before Colonel *Clive*, who commanded in chief on shore, paid a visit to Mr. *Watson*, and acquainted him, that the army was not satisfied with the terms on which he, as their commander in chief, was to share; and that to make those gentlemen easy, who were to serve under him, he found himself under the disagreeable necessity of remonstrating, and requiring that, as commander of the army, he might be entitled to a more honourable division. The argument the gentlemen of the army went upon, was, that tho' Mr. *Clive*, by virtue of the commission he bore in common of lieutenant-colonel, could claim but an equal share with a captain in the navy; yet on this occasion, being commander in chief of the army, he ought certainly to be particularly distinguished, and be admitted, at least, to share with Mr. *Pocock*, the second sea-officer, who was a Rear admiral. Mr. *Watson* replied, that it was impossible for him to make any alterations in the articles agreed upon in council; neither indeed would his doing it be at all consistent either with custom, or the different ranks which Admiral *Pocock* and Colonel *Clive* bore in the respective services: He told the colonel however, that to satisfy the wishes of the army, which in the present situation of affairs, he deemed to be a point of the utmost consequence, he would give security under his own hand, to make good the deficiency, out of any monies he himself might be entitled to, so as to make the share of the commander in chief of the army and that of Mr. *Pocock* exactly alike. The colonel, sensibly struck with Mr. *Watson's* disinterestedness, answered, that provided his officers were satisfied with the proposal, he for his own part should come into it with great cheerfulness. He accordingly took the first opportunity of making those gentlemen acquainted with the admiral's declaration, who were so much pleased therewith, that from that moment all discontent ceased, and the expedition went on with the greatest unanimity*.

The troops, consisting of about 700 *Europeans*, 300 *Topasses*, and 300 *Sepeys*, being put on board the king's, and company's ships, the whole

* After the reduction of *Geriab*, and the money taken there had been distributed according to the articles agreed upon in council, it was found that a considerable sum, a thousand pounds at least, was due from Admiral *Watson* to Colonel *Clive* upon this account. The admiral presently sent this sum with his compliments to the colonel; who returned it in the most polite manner, acquainting the admiral at the same time, that altho' for the good of the service, he had found it necessary to appear to accept of the terms he had so generously offered him, yet as the money could not come to him but out of the admiral's private purse, he had always determined with himself, and now an opportunity offered for him to declare, that he could not, and would not accept of it by any means. Thus did these two gallant officers endeavour to outvie each other in mutual proofs of disinterestedness and generosity.

fleet sailed from *Bombay* February 7th 1756, and came to an anchor in *Geriah* road on the 11th following. We found cruizing off the place, Captain *Martin* with his majesty's ship the *Bridgewater*, and King's-fisher sloop; and the *Protector* and two 20 gun ships belonging to the company, which the admiral had dispatched in *January* to block up the port. The *Maharatta* fleet were also here, consisting of 3 or 4 *grabs*, and 40 or 50 of their smaller vessels, or *gallivats*. They lay to the northward of *Geriah*, in a creek called *Rajapore*, the small fort of which, they had taken from *Angria* just before our arrival. This fleet was commanded by *Nari-Punt*. The *Maharattas* had also assembled an army, consisting of about 5 or 6000 horse, and the same number of foot, who were under the command of *Ramajee-Punt*, another of their general-officers: this last came on board the *Kent* to pay his respects to Admiral *Watson*; some guns were fired on the occasion; and the admiral, to do him the greater honour, conducted him in person to the several parts of the ship, but at the sight of its batteries he appeared greatly astonished. 1756.

The very same day we arrived before *Geriah*, the admiral summoned the fort to surrender. He received for answer, "That the garrison were well apprized of the force he brought with him; but if, agreeable to the summons he had sent, he was resolved to be master of the fort, he must take it by force, for they were resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity." The next morning, however, several of *Angria's* relations, accompanied by some officers of *Ramajee-Punt's* army, came on board, in order, as they pretended, to take a view of the squadron; but their real business was to sound the admiral in regard to his final determinations. They had before waited upon the *Maharatta* general on the same errand. Mr. *Watson* gave orders for their seeing the ship, and afterwards told them to acquaint *Angria*, that he once more demanded a surrender of the fort; and that if he would give it up peaceably and with a good grace, before any hostilities commenced, he, his family and people might depend upon his protection. In reply to this offer of the admiral, they earnestly intreated him to continue with his ships where they then lay, and promised in a few days to return again to him with an answer. But the admiral, having been furnished with demonstrative proofs from the observations made by those who had reconnoitered the port, and by Commodore *James's* venturing to go one night in the *Protector's* barge so far as to bring the flag-staff to bear S. W. which is within the fort, where he found not less than three and a half fathom water, (sufficient depth for the large ships to go in); he told them, he would not wait one moment, but on that very day, as soon as the sea-breeze would permit, he was determined to sail into the harbour, and there, and there only, would he treat. At the same time he gave them his word, that unless the fort fired first on his ships, while they were under sail, he would not commence hostilities, nor before he had received an answer from *Angria*; giving them to understand however, that he should not wait a great while for this answer, and that at all events he was determined to make himself master of the place. And as an earnest of his fixed resolution

1756. tion in this last particular, he ordered that a thirty-two pound ball should be put into their hands, which he desired them to carry as a present to their master, and then dismissed them.

Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, the squadron weighed anchor, and stood in with a light breeze, in two columns, for *Geriab* harbour. The outside column was led by the *King's-fisher* sloop, Captain *Henry Smith*. * The *Bridgewater*, Captain *Martin*, led the line of battle ships, consisting of the *Tyger*, Captain *Latham*; *Kent*, Admiral *Watson*, and Captain *Speke*; *Cumberland*, Admiral *Pocock*, and Captain *John Harrison*; *Salisbury*, Captain *Thomas Knowler*; and the *Protector*, Commodore *James*, and Captain *Morgan*, a ship of 44 guns belonging to the *East India* company. By which wise disposition, according to the orders † which the admiral issued, each line of battle ship covered a bomb-ketch, and protected the column of smaller vessels from the fire of the enemy. The *Drake*, *Warren*, *Triumph*, *Viper*, and *Dispatch* bomb-vessels, were under the direction of Captain *Tovey*, of his majesty's train of Artillery; and the *Mabaratta* gallivats and other small vessels formed a third line out of gun-shot.

The engagement began about two, by the enemy firing on the *King's-fisher*; which she and the *Revenge* soon returned. In less than a quarter of an hour, being still under sail, the admiral made the general signal to engage. Soon after that, the *Revenge* anchored, as did also the *Kent*, and the other ships of the squadron. But the *Tyger* having done this, without the admiral's perceiving her signal, for he had ordered each ship to make a signal on her coming to anchor, the *Kent* fell on board her, carried

* On the death of Captain *Migbel* in 1755, Admiral *Watson*'s first lieutenant, Mr. *John Harrison* succeeded to the command of the *King's-fisher*; but on Mr. *Pocock*'s hoisting his flag, Captain *Harrison* was appointed to the command of the *Cumberland* under Admiral *Pocock*, and Mr. *Smith*, then first lieutenant of the *Kent*, succeeded to the *King's-fisher* sloop.

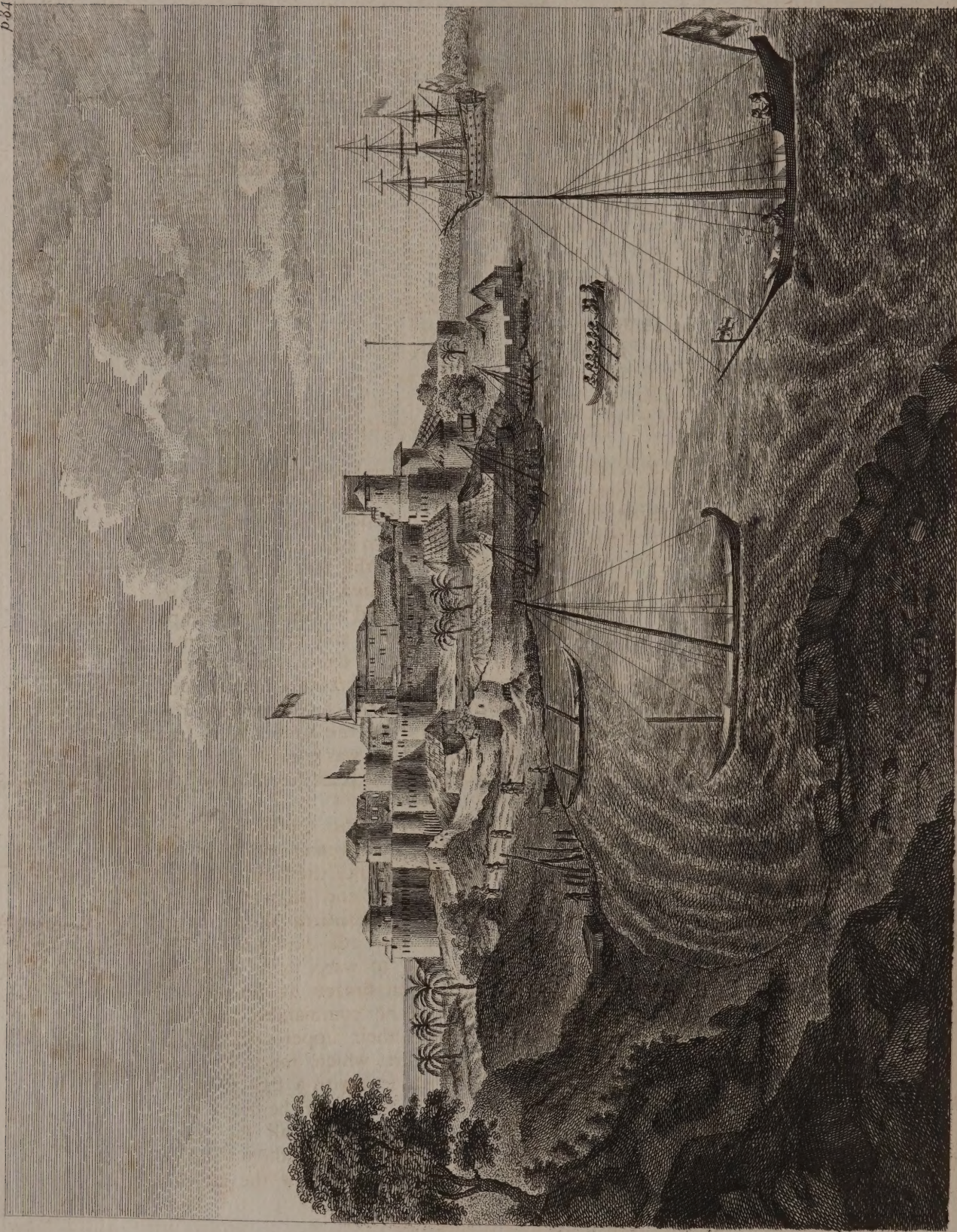
† "By Charles Watson, Esq; Rear-admiral of the Red Squadron of his majesty's fleet, and commander in chief of all his majesty's ships and vessels employed in the *East Indies*, and of the marine force of the united company of merchants trading to, and in these parts.

"YOU are hereby required and directed to observe the following form in sailing into the harbour of *Geriab* :

<i>King's-fisher.</i>	
<i>Revenge.</i>	
<i>Bombay Grab.</i>	
<i>Guardian.</i>	<i>Bridgewater.</i>
<i>Drake Bomb-ketch.</i>	<i>Tyger,</i>
<i>Warren ditto.</i>	<i>Kent,</i>
<i>Triumph ditto.</i>	<i>Cumberland,</i>
<i>Viper ditto.</i>	<i>Salisbury.</i>
<i>Dispatch ditto.</i>	<i>Protector.</i>

Each ship is required to keep as near as possible, but to take care not to run on board one another; and when the signal is made to anchor, each ship is to repeat it as far as the *Salisbury*. The *King's-fisher* sloop, and the ships astern of her, are to make fail up the harbour, and do their utmost endeavour to annoy the enemy, and to take, sink, burn, or otherwise destroy all their grabs and small vessels. Dated on board his majesty's ship the *Kent*, off *Geriab*, 12th of February, 1756."

away



J. Northall del. 1756.

South East View of GERIAH FORT, The Landing place and Entrance.

away her bowsprit end, and broke her spritsail yard. The two ships however soon got clear of each other, and then the engagement began with vigor. After an incessant fire had been kept up against the fort for about half an hour, the admiral sent orders to the *Revenge* and *Guardian* to cease from firing, for he plainly perceived that their shot fell short; and at the same time he gave the signal to the *Tyger* and *Salisbury* to direct their whole fire against the north-east bastion. Soon after this, a shell fortunately set fire to the *Restoration-grab*, which had formerly been taken by *Angria* from our *East India* company; and she driving among the rest of the enemy's shipping, which were lashed together, set them all in flames; so that in a few hours almost the whole of *Angria's* fleet was destroyed. The fire also was communicated to a large ship lying on the shore, and from her to several smaller vessels that were building; and from these last it was conveyed to the arsenal, storehouse, suburbs, and city, and even to several parts of the fort, particularly to a square tower, where it continued burning all the night with such violence, that the stone walls appeared like red-hot iron. 1756.

About half after four in the afternoon, the admiral perceiving that the enemy's guns were almost silenced, made the signal for the squadron also to leave off firing; and taking the advantage of the tide, which was now at its height, he ordered the ships which had been thrown a little out of the line by the before-mentioned accident, to warp in nearer the fort into four fathom water, close to Admiral *Pocock* in the *Cumberland*, who, contrary to the advice of his pilot, had, in standing in, ventured as near as the ships which drew much less water, and by a very judicious and officer-like manœuvre in bringing his ship up by an anchor dropt from one of the gun-room ports, prevented her swinging with the flood-tide and sea-breeze which set right in. In a short time after, the enemy having again briskened their fire, the admiral made the proper signal for the squadron to do the same. This had such an effect, that at half past six the enemy's fire was entirely silenced; which the admiral observing, he again gave orders to cease from firing.

At half after seven, Colonel *Clive*, with the troops under his command, left the ships, in order to land at the most convenient place to the eastward of the fort; and at about a quarter after nine, the Colonel made two false fires, to shew that he was safely landed, and that the troops which had been observed on the hill were our *Maharatta* allies. The *bomb-vessels* continued throwing shells into the fort till day-light, when the admiral ordered all the line of battle ships to warp in as close as possible, that they might be ready to batter in breach as soon as he should throw out the signal; and in that case he commanded them to make use of their lower deck guns only, unless their upper ones should afterwards be found necessary to silence any fire which might chance to be made by the enemy. An officer was then sent with a flag of truce to the governor, and with a second summons to surrender the fort. He soon came back with the governor's refusal; upon which all the ships immediately warped within a cable's length of the fort in three fathom and a quarter water, and the signal was thrown out to renew the attack.

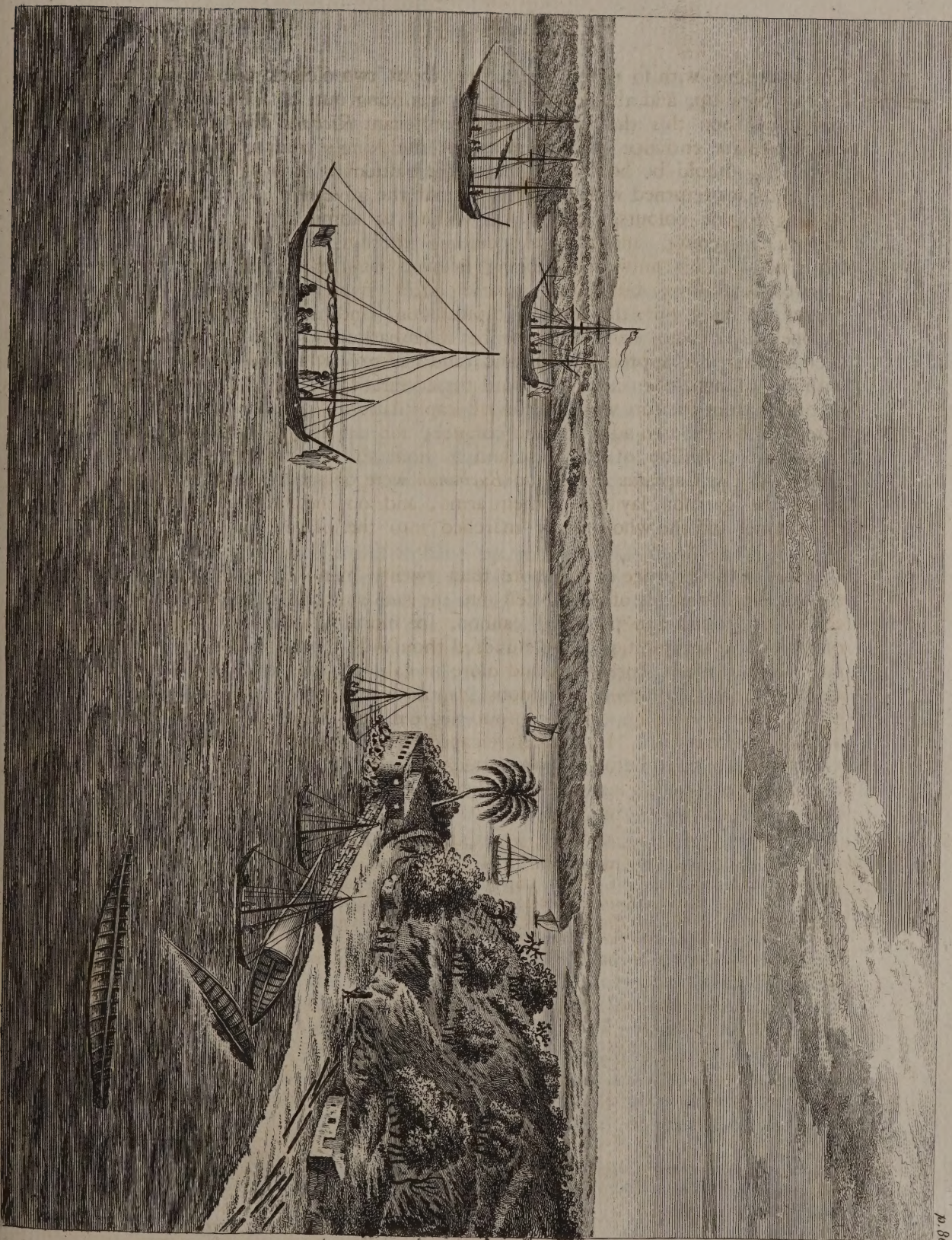
1756. This was done with so much spirit, that about two o'clock a magazine in the fort blew up, and about four, a flag was hung out as a signal of submission. Upon this the admiral sent Lieutenant *Richard King* to demand an immediate entrance into the fort for the king's troops, and that the *British* flag should be hoisted on one of the bastions. A little before five, the lieutenant returned with an account, that the governor consented to the hoisting *English* colours, that he was willing to admit five or six of our men that evening, and that the ensuing morning he would surrender the place. This answer not being deemed satisfactory, we once more renewed our fire; but at a quarter after five, they again thought proper to hang out the flag of capitulation, and all hostilities ceased. Colonel *Clive*, who, from the time he disembarked with the troops, had been making his approaches by land, and had greatly annoyed the enemy with his cannon, then came on board the admiral's ship, bringing with him an officer from the fort with articles of capitulation. These were presently agreed to by the two admirals and colonel; and an *English* officer was sent in to take possession of the fort, and to hoist *English* colours. Presently afterwards the Captains *Forbes* and *Buchanan* were detached with sixty men to see the garrison lay down their arms; and on the 14th, at sun-rising, the colonel and the whole army marched into the place*.

Thus at the expence of no more than twenty men killed and wounded, the important fortrefs of *Geriab* fell into the hands of the *English*, in which the victors found 250 pieces of cannon, six mortars, an immense quantity of stores and ammunition: one hundred thousand pounds sterling in silver rupees, and about thirty thousand more in valuable effects. By this conquest too, the notoriously infamous *Angria* was entirely ruined, and his whole country, which extended four degrees of latitude along the coast, was taken from him. He himself escaped our hands, having left the fort two or three days before it was attacked; the government of which he committed to one of his wife's brothers, under whose care also he put his two wives and both his children†.

* Captain *Thomas Knowler* of the *Salisbury*, who enjoyed but a poor state of health in this country, after a gallant discharge of his duty on the expedition to *Geriab*, was permitted to quit his ship, and return to Europe. Captain *Martin* of the *Bridgewater*, on this succeeded to the *Salisbury*; Captain *Smith* to the command of the *Bridgewater*; and Admiral *Watson*'s first lieutenant, Sir *William Hewet*, to the *King's-fisher*; but this gentleman's bad state of health, and his being charged with the admiral's dispatches home on account of the success at *Geriab*, soon made room for Mr. *Richard Toby*, the next in command on board the *Kent*, to succeed to the *King's-Fisher*.

† Soon after the surrender of *Geriab*, *Angria*'s two children, and one of his wives, were taken ill of the small-pox. At Mr. *Watson*'s request, I constantly attended them, and sent such medicines as I judged were proper for them. They always appeared very thankful for what I did; but I afterwards discovered that they had not taken any of the medicines. They preferred the common method (described in chap. 4.) used by the physical practitioners in their country, besprinkling the patient with sifted wood-ashes as soon as the pustules begin to fill, which they add to, or diminish from, according to the greater or less quantity of variolous matter. One of his family had a pock of the confluent kind, and was covered from head to foot with ashes; which, towards the latter end of the disorder, appeared like a mass of paste, surrounding the whole body. The whole family of *Angria* recovered however from the disease.

Admiral



North West View from GERIAH FORT, Up the River.

Admiral *Watson*, soon after the reduction of the place, took an opportunity of visiting these unfortunate captives; and the interview between them was beyond measure affecting. Upon his entering their house, the whole family made a grand *salaam*, or reverential bending of their bodies, touching the very ground with their faces, and shedding floods of tears. The admiral desired them to be comforted; adding, "that they were now under his protection; and that no kind of injury should be done them." They then again made the *salaam*. The mother of *Angria*, though strongly affected with these testimonies of goodness and humanity, yet could not help crying out, "that the people had no king, she no son, her daughters no husband, the children no father!" The admiral replied, "that from henceforward they must look upon him as their father and their friend." Upon which the youngest child, a boy of about six years old, sobbing said, "*Then you shall be my father*;" and immediately took the admiral by the hand, and called him "*father*." This action of the child's was so very affecting, it quite overpowered that brave, that good man's heart, and he found himself under a necessity of turning from the innocent youth for a while, to prevent the falling of those tears, which stood ready to gush from his eyes*.

Mr. *Watson's* intention was to have taken the whole family with him to *Bombay*, and to have settled them at that place; and they appeared at first to be greatly pleased with the proposal, for above all things they dreaded being put into the hands of the *Maharattas*. But this intention of the admiral's was never put in execution; for afterwards, at their own request, he permitted them to remain in *Geriab*. They probably were ordered, by some letter or message they received from *Angria* himself, before the squadron left the place, to ask this favour of the admiral.

Tullagee Angria was an arbitrary, cruel tyrant, making his own imperious will the only rule of his government. He was originally tributary to the *Serajah*; but finding himself very powerful, he had for a long time shook off all subjection, and had treated some ambassadors sent to him from that prince, to put him in mind of his duty, with great insolence; flitting their noses, and commanding them to go and tell their master, that he would send him his pr—te pa—ts to treat with him. On his quitting his principal fortress of *Geriab* (as before related) he repaired to *Puna*, the capital city of the *Maharattas*, and made his submission to the *Nanah*, who pardoned him, but upon what terms could never be exactly known. It was conjectured however, and with great probability, that he discovered to this prince the place where he had hidden his treasure; for it cannot be supposed that so notorious an offender as he had been, would have dared to have thrown himself at his sovereign's feet, unless he had it in his power in a pecuniary way (the only way then left him) to atone for his past behaviour. And what strengthens the suspicion is, our finding only

* An account of the conquest of *Geriab*, and of this affecting scene, was sent by the author to a friend in *England*, who soon published it in one of the monthly magazines.

1756. 100000 l. in money after the capture of *Geriab*, which could not be the tenth part of what he really possessed. The annexed views of the fort, harbour, and country round it, were taken by the late Captain *North* on the spot with the utmost exactness; and to Sir *William Hewet's* and Commodore *James's* reports, Mr. *Watson* always acknowledged himself greatly obliged; and Mr. *James* had the satisfaction to receive the public thanks of the admiral after the reduction of the fort. The harbour of *Geriab* is so exceedingly commodious, as to make it the best upon the coast; and the fort was so strong both by art and nature at the time we attacked it, that it might have held out a long time against all our efforts, had it been defended with any tolerable degree of skill and resolution.

The *Europeans* that were found in *Geriab*, and relieved from slavery, were,

Mr. <i>Robinson</i> , <i>Gamble Connor</i> , <i>Thomas West</i> , <i>Stephen Rice</i> , <i>Nicholas</i>	} English.
<i>Maund</i> , <i>John Brown</i> , <i>Joseph Gallington</i> , <i>James Theft</i> , <i>James</i>	
<i>Durce</i> , <i>William Colley</i> — — — — —	
<i>Jacob Buffy</i> , <i>Garret Blough</i> , <i>Abraham Paenick</i> — — — — —	Dutch.

Before I entirely quit the account of our transactions at this place, I must not omit to observe, that a young gentleman of the squadron found a *Mahomedan Talisman* in *Angria's* own house, of which he was so obliging as to make me a present. As I wished to have it explained, I put it into the hands of Sir *James Foulis* Baronet, major and commander in chief of the company's forces at *Bombay*, a gentleman distinguished for his learning and speculative turn of mind, from whom I afterwards received a letter, an extract of which I shall make no scruple to lay before the reader.

"It cost me no small pains to procure a proper explication of your *Talisman*; for though it was easy to give a literal translation of the words, yet few understood the proper meaning and efficacy of the inscription, which is a real curiosity drawn from the most profound depths of mussulman erudition. The force of it, according to their notions, consists principally in the different names of *God* at the four corners, and in the letters round the edge; by the different combinations of which, different miracles are to be performed; one manner of combining them, raising storms; another, bringing on calms, or procuring riches, &c. This of yours was particularly calculated as a preservative against all diseases; and by some marks, which I have not yet been able to decypher, it is conjectured that *Abdul Caffee*, whose name is on it, is a man of distinction. I hope to be soon able to procure a more exact account of the supposed nature of it; in the mean time I send you inclosed a literal translation. How the letters round the edge came to mean cold or hot, moist or dry, I have not yet learned; *Talismans* of this valuable kind being only made by *Saints* who have passed a long time in prayer in the holy temple at *Mecca*, and many years in contemplation, without any communication with sinful men."

C H A P.

Translation of a Distich on an Arabian Seal or Talisman.

The supposed Quality of these Seven Letters is Heat.

O Merciful
Ya Latif

Dal Sin Fe Mim Ta He Elif

O God
Ya Alla

O Thou who drivest Sorrow from us,
Thou Defender and Restorer.



An. Heg.
1133.

An. Dom.
1720.

Be Merciful to Ahmed, when he is afflicted,
and forgive Abdol Cafi, i.e. The Servant
of the All-Sufficient.

The supposed Quality of these Seven Letters is Drought.

Dad Te Sad Nun Ye Waw Be

O most High
Ya Ali

Jim Ze Kef Sin Kaf Thse Da

O Great
Ya Azim

The supposed Quality of these Seven Letters is Wet.

Gham Kha Re Ain Lam Hha Dal

The supposed Quality of these Seven Letters is Cold.

C H A P. VIII.

Mr. Watson with his Squadron leaves Geriah and arrives at Bombay, and from thence proceeds to Fort St. David.—He there receives his majesty's permission to return to England, but is obliged to relinquish it, by disagreeable advices from the directors of the East India company.—An intended expedition to Golconda defeated by the same intelligence.—An express arrives from Bengal, with the news of the taking of Calcutta, and the tragedy of the Black-hole prison.—The Squadron sails for Bengal, and after a tedious passage arrives in Ballasore road.—Account of its operations and conquests in the river Ganges to the retaking of Calcutta.

ON the 19th of February 1756, the *Tyger* was dispatched to Bombay with the sick and wounded of the squadron; and on the 17th of March, Admiral *Watson* in the *Kent*, came to an anchor in Bombay harbour; as did Admiral *Pocock* in the *Cumberland* the day following. On the 27th of April, Mr. *Watson* with his Squadron left Bombay, and once more sailed for the *Coromandel* coast. We touched at *Geriah* in our way, and on the 14th of May got to *Fort St. David's* road. Soon after our arrival here, the admiral had the satisfaction to receive letters from the Secretary of State, and from the Admiralty, acquainting him that his majesty had been pleased to comply with his request of quitting the *East Indies*, and directing him, whenever that event happened, to resign the command of the Squadron to Rear-admiral *Pocock*. The heat of the climate had, ever since his first arrival, been greatly distressful to Mr. *Watson*, whose constitution was sanguine, and whose habit was rather corpulent. The permission therefore he now had of quitting the service, could not fail of being agreeable to him, and he pleased himself with the expectation of sailing back to Europe in the month of October. 1756.

This fair prospect was soon clouded, however, by the disagreeable intelligence which the governor and council of *Madras* at this time sent to him, and which they just before had received from the directors of the *East India* company. The purport of it, was, that 3000 regular troops had embarked from *France* in six ships of the line, and in the same number of large vessels belonging to their *East India* company; and that these last, as

1756. } soon as they arrived at the island of *Mauritius*, were to be converted into ships of war. With this account, orders were said to have been also sent from *England* to the presidency at *Fort St. George*; "*To stand well on their guard, and to do their best to protect and defend themselves against the threatening power of France.*"

An express was soon dispatched with these tidings to Admiral *Watson*, desiring him above all things to have a watchful eye on the proceedings of the *French* at *Pondicherry*. The news flew like lightning into every quarter, and different persons argued very differently upon it. Many concluded, that the intelligence sent by the directors was ill founded, because the same ship that brought the alarming account, had brought also letters from Lord *Holdernesse*, one of his majesty's principal Secretaries of State, who wrote not a syllable on the subject. This silence of his lordship on a matter of so much consequence was very striking; yet as there was a possibility that the directors in this instance might be furnished with better intelligence than the Secretary of State, Admiral *Watson* from this moment gave over all thoughts of soon leaving the *Indies*; for however agreeable it was to him, he could not think of taking such a step, at a time when so heavy a cloud was said to be just ready to burst on our most important settlements in that part of the world. So predominant in his breast was the spirit of patriotism, and the love of glory, that though solicited to return home by every allurement of domestic felicity, he waved all these considerations, and resolved still to expose himself to the hazards of a climate, peculiarly fraught with danger and disease.

It was soon determined between him and the gentlemen of the presidency, that in every department we ought to be prepared to receive the *French* in the most effectual manner. For this purpose the two admirals, and all the officers of the squadron left their houses, and repaired on board their ships, where they lived for the space of six weeks, causing a good look out to be kept for the enemy from their masts heads. At the same time, to increase the alarm, the gentlemen of the *French* nation resident in *India*, very industriously and politically reported, and which report was echoed by our good friends the *Dutch*, that this formidable armament from *France* was actually arrived in the *Indian* seas. This positive assertion seriously affected the government at *Madras*, who immediately requested the admiral, to take on board his squadron the king's regiment then at *Fort St. David*, and with it repair to the presidency. The admiral with great reluctance quitted *Fort St. David*, as he knew it was upon all accounts the properest station for intercepting the *French* fleet, and for counteracting any designs which the enemy might have formed against our settlements. But as he did not chuse to have any disputes with the presidency, he immediately took Colonel *Adlercron's* regiment on board, and sailed with it to *Madras*, where he purchased a vessel for the king's service, and after having converted her

into a fire-ship under the name of the *Blaze*, he appointed to the command of her, his first lieutenant, Mr. *Richard King*.

1756.

On our arrival at *Madrafs*, we had the satisfaction to find the active and spirited Governor *Pigot*, at the head of a great number of artificers and labourers, making incredible additions to the fortifications of the place, hardly allowing himself time to take any refreshment, and shewing by his own example, that it was possible for men, in times of imminent danger, to expose their persons in the hottest hours of the day, and in the most sultry season of the year.

Just before the account of this armament from *Europe* reached our ears, the *Nabob* of *Golconda* had quarrelled with the *French* general *Mons. Bussy*, who for a long time had been preying on the vitals of his country. The *Nabob* had made overtures to the leading men of our presidency for their assisting him in getting rid of so troublesome a guest, and they with pleasure had listened to the proposal. Nothing indeed prevented their succouring him at this time, but their own supposed danger from the formidable *French* armament which was soon expected to arrive upon the coast. The apprehension of this made so strong an impression on their minds, that for some time they appeared more solicitous about defending themselves, than of sending any effectual support to their new ally. At length, however, two ships belonging to the company arrived from *England*; and as they sailed the latest in the season, and brought with them no kind of confirmation of the first alarming intelligence, every one immediately concluded that it never had the least foundation. A detachment of troops therefore, and a train of artillery, were ordered to be gotten ready to march with all expedition for the kingdom of *Golconda*: a country of vast opulence, the source of those amazing sums which the famous *Mons. Dupleix* and his countrymen had amassed together, and from whence indeed all their importance was derived.

But before these troops could be sent away, an express arrived from *Bengal* with the disagreeable account of our fort at *Cassimbuzar*, near *Muxadabad*, being taken by the new *Nabob*, *Serajah al Dowlah*, who was a compound of temerity, cruelty, ambition, and avarice: he was particularly incensed at Mr. *Drake* the *English* governor of *Calcutta*, under the pretence of his having given protection to some of his offending subjects; but his attack of the *English* settlements, certainly proceeded from the hopes of considerable plunder, added to the desire of impressing his subjects with an awe of his military talents and prowess. Instead of marching with the great army he had raised, into the *Purbunean* country, as he first intended, we were informed he had turned his arms against us, and was expected soon to appear before the gates of *Fort William* in *Calcutta*. These unfortunate tidings gave us all great concern; and scarcely were the first transports of our chagrin abated, before another

1756.

dispatch arrived with the news of his having taken *Calcutta*, and of the dreadful tragedy which happened in the *Black-hole* prison *. This was such a blow, as filled us all with inexpressible consternation; and was enough indeed to shake the credit of our *East India* company to its very foundations; for hereby they lost their principal settlement in *Bengal*, and a fort which secured to them the most valuable part of their commerce.

Here I cannot help reflecting on the fatal effects of that piece of intelligence already mentioned, which too hastily reached us, from the directors of the *East India* company. Had we at the first arrival of our squadron from *Bombay* on the coast, been at liberty to act, instead of being fixed to a certain spot, no doubt but the greatest advantages would have ensued. Our troops would inevitably have marched into the kingdom of *Golconda*, as auxiliaries to *Salabad-jing* the *Nabob* of that country, and in all probability would have made themselves masters of all the strong-holds the *French* possessed there; *Buffy's* retreat would infallibly have been cut off, and every *Frenchman* there must have fallen into our hands †. The squadron, in this case, would likewise have sailed to *Masulipatnam*, and there have seized upon a ship from *Pondicherry* with 400 troops on board, under the command of Mr. *Law*, intended as a reinforcement for *Monf. Buffy*. Thus our countrymen would have firmly established themselves in one of the richest provinces of *India*; the spot, which had been the cause of all the jealousy between us and the *French*, and the original source of all the troubles which had arisen in this part of the world: And that detachment of our troops, which must have been in the country of *Golconda*, at the time the melancholy account reached us of our losses in *Bengal*, would have been so far advanced in their way to the relief of their distressed countrymen; with this additional advantage, that *Salabad-jing*, being then in alliance with us, would probably have joined our forces with a body of his own; by which means our company's affairs would much sooner have been retrieved, than they were; the tedious voyage we afterwards had from *Madras* to *Bengal*, prevented; and perhaps our worthy admiral and other gallant men, who died there through the inclemency of the weather, might have left the river before the excessive heats and rains set in, and have been now alive and happy with their respective families in *Great Britain*. But such a train of fortunate events, heaven thought not fit to permit! and it would but ill become us to find fault with its dispensations, however we may be allowed to sympathize in the afflictions of our countrymen and friends.

* An affecting narrative of this memorable and shocking affair, was drawn up by *John Zephaniab Holwell*, Esq; one of the surviving sufferers, and published by him in the year 1758.

† This was afterwards effected under the command of the gallant Colonel *Ford*.

Many were the opinions that prevailed in *India*, concerning the disaster at *Calcutta*; let it suffice to observe, that the conduct of the governor was universally blamed in abandoning the fort so precipitately; while the courage and resolution of Mr. *Holwell*, who, with the assistance of a few gallant officers and a feeble garrison, defended it for several days after the other had left it, could not fail of being much applauded. There were persons however at *Calcutta*, who would not allow any share of praise to be due to these gentlemen; for they insisted, that their having defended the fort, was a matter of necessity, not of choice; and that both Mr. *Holwell* and his officers would have followed the governor on board the ships, had there been any boats left to carry them off. 1756.

By the loss of the two forts at *Cassimbuzar* and *Calcutta*, the *English East India* company's affairs were reduced so low, that nothing but the gallantry, and fortitude of a *Watson*, and the magnanimity and good fortune of a *Clive*, could possibly have retrieved them. A plan of operations was immediately concerted between the company's principals, and these two brave and worthy officers, for restoring the company's affairs in *Bengal*, recovering *Calcutta*, and taking ample vengeance on the *Barbarian*, who had exercised such horrid cruelties on many of our unhappy countrymen. The necessary stores and implements of war, were scarcely embarked, when a vessel arrived from the *Malabar* coast, which brought a packet for the admiral, containing a commission appointing him vice-admiral of the blue *, and orders for him to return to *England* with the squadron under his command.

Mr. *Watson* immediately called on his faithful counsellors and friends, Admiral *Pocock*, Captain *Speke*, and his secretary Mr. *Doidge*, to consult with them what was proper to be done in so critical a conjuncture; and it appearing to them, as it had before to the admiral, that the ministry in *England*, when they sent these orders for his return, could not possibly foresee the dreadful event which had so lately happened at *Bengal*; they unanimously agreed, not only that the admiral should postpone his own departure for *Europe*, but also that of the squadron, until the company's affairs should be put upon a better footing than they were at present. The admiral then signified his desire to the governor and select committee at *Fort St. George*, to meet them in council, in order to communicate to them the contents of his packet. When they were assembled, he acquainted them with the tenor of his late orders. On which the committee, quite confounded, declared with great seriousness and concern, that the company must be totally ruined, unless the king's ships immediately proceeded to

* And some time after, Mr. *Watson* was made Vice-admiral of the White, but he did not live to receive the commission.

1756. *Bengal*; for it was not possible for them to transport a sufficient number of troops thither in their own ships, neither indeed would they be of any use when they got there, without the assistance of two or three men of war. It was therefore resolved, that the whole squadron should proceed as far as the mouth of the *Ganges*, and anchor in *Ballasore* road, when the company's ships and vessels already in the river, should fall down where the squadron lay, and receive the troops from the ships of war. The *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater*, and *King's-fisher*, were designed to be put under the command of Captain *William Martin*, to carry on the expedition against the *Nabob*; for it was then looked upon as a certainty that the *Kent*, *Cumberland*, and *Tyger*, could not be got over the *Braces* *. Another delay and matter of debate, was, what force should be sent to *Bengal*, and who should command the military; sometimes Colonel *Adlercron*, and sometimes Colonel *Clive*, was thought to be the most proper person; at last they determined on Colonel *Clive*, and indeed the general voice of our countrymen was in his favour.——Another subject of the governor and council's consultations, was, concerning whose hands the affairs of the company in *Bengal* ought to be placed in, provided success should attend the expedition. At one time it was determined, that the presidency here should send three of its own members in the ships to *Bengal*, who were to act in obedience to the orders they were to receive from this place; it being agreed that the governor and council of *Fort St. George* ought now, until the pleasure of the *East India* directors should be known, to take on themselves the management of this dissolved, but once independent settlement. However, Mr. *Watson* in particular, having strongly opposed this resolution, and declared (as I have been informed by his secretary) that he would not undertake the expedition on any other terms, than having it in his power to deliver the settlement to the management of such as were appointed by the company to be their representatives in that province; after many debates, it was resolved that the former governor and council should be restored to their respective honour and stations; and it is principally to the admiral's interposition on this critical occasion, that these gentlemen are indebted for their subsequent good fortune and unexpected affluence. But the greatest difficulty that presented itself was the late season of the year; for the *monsoon* was now set in, and there was a necessity for the squadron's getting to *Bengal* against it, which was considered as very near impracticable. We were given to understand, that ships sailing at this season from *Madras* to *Ballasore*, were obliged to stand over to the eastern side of the bay, and that the currents generally proved so strong against them, that whilst they were looking out by their reckoning for the coast of *Pegu*, they had often, to their great astonishment, found themselves driven again on the coast of *Coromandel*; and after standing over a second time in the same manner, and

* Dangerous shoals at the entrance of the *Ganges*, in the way up to *Fulta*.

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looking out for the eastern shore, they had been carried to the southward as far as the island of *Ceylon*, and then, for want of provisions, had been obliged to bear away for the *Malabar* coast *. The admiral however, putting great confidence in the strength of his ships, and the dexterity of Captain *Speke*, who was much acquainted with these seas, resolved to try this difficult experiment, in order to save the company from ruin; and having dispatched the *King's-fisher* to *Bengal*, with intelligence to our countrymen, that assistance would soon be sent to them, he on the 16th of *October* sailed from *Madras* with his whole squadron, and several of the company's ships, for *Ballasore* road in the mouth of the *Ganges* †.

The time the squadron weighed from *Madras*, was precisely the season when the currents set strongest out of the bay of *Bengal*, supposed to be occasioned by the heavy rains which fall in that kingdom during the months of *July*, *August*, and *September*, and which about this time discharge themselves into the sea from the numerous branches of the great river *Ganges*. The winds too at this season ‡ being either faint or very stormy, the admiral determined to push over to the eastern shore; but soon had the mortification to find, that in spite of all his efforts to the contrary, his squadron, by the force of the current, was driven down as far as *Ceylon*, although by our reckonings it appeared that we had gained some degrees of longitude to the eastward. A few days afterwards we had fresh gales from the north-east, and in the night one of the ships made the signal of distress; upon which the admiral bore down towards her, and found it to be the *Salisbury*, that had sprung a dangerous leak, and could not possibly keep company with the squadron; the admiral therefore was obliged to lay to all night and part of the next day to assist her. As the leak was in her bow, they were obliged to bring the ship by the stern, by moving her guns and other things aft, that the leak might be brought out of the water. In this they partly succeeded, and stopped the leak with oakum; but as this was not

* "In what is called the latter passage from the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel* during the months of *October* and *November*, in order to make a quick passage it is necessary to go as far to the southward as 5 degrees, or 4° 30' north latitude, where you will find south-westerly winds, which will carry you to the *Nicobar* islands, and sometimes quite up to the *Andamans*, from which islands, in shaping a course toward *Ballasore* road, or to the entrance of the *Ganges*, a point of the compass should be allowed, for a very strong current which sets to the *Aracan* shore."

Extract from Captain King's minutes.

† On board the squadron and other vessels, were 700 *Europeans* and 1200 *Sepoys* belonging to the company, and a detachment of 250 of *Adlercron's* regiment to serve as marines.

‡ "Though at *Bombay* and *Bengal*, the *monsoon* commonly changes from S. W. to N. E. about the time of full moon in *August*, yet the change is only partial, for the wind is gradually shifting down the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, until the month of *November*, when the change becomes general."

Extract from Captain King's minutes.

effectual,

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effectual, the admiral left it to Captain *Martin's* choice, either to bear away for the island of *Ceylon*, or try to push on with the rest of the squadron. Captain *Martin* knowing that his ship had been particularly fixed upon for going up the *Ganges*, and that he had more than 200 of the king's and company's troops on board, thought his quitting the squadron might be a sort of check on the success of the whole expedition; he therefore resolved to proceed, as long at least as he could do it with any degree of safety to the men's lives.

The *monsoon* this year was uncommonly tempestuous, which made it a long time before we got to the eastern part of the bay; at length however, by great perseverance and unwearied industry, the whole squadron reached one of the mouths of the *Ganges*: but our arrival there being in the middle of the night, we were obliged to come to an anchor, not knowing exactly where we were; and when the day came on, we had the mortification to find ourselves off the *Palmira*, or *Palm-tree* point, and could easily discern an immense sand-bank stretching far to the northward of us. Some of our ships falling to leeward, had a very narrow escape; the *Cumberland*, Admiral *Pocock*, struck the ground, but fortunately got off again without receiving much damage. Two days after this, the *Kent* and *Tyger* reached the road of *Ballasore*, but the other ships could not weather the point. Admiral *Pocock*, after several fruitless efforts, and being in want of provisions, was obliged to bear away for *Vizagapatnam*, and the *Salisbury*, after being tossed about for some time at sea, and her whole crew, both officers and common men, put to an allowance of a purser's quart of water a day, was in great danger of perishing for want of common necessities; but at last, by the perseverance of her captain, and a kind providence, she got into *Ballasore* road, and afterwards proceeded over the sands to join the Admiral at *Fulta*.

As soon as the *Kent* arrived in *Ballasore* road, two *English* pilots came on board us, who gave the admiral a farther account of the miserable situation of affairs in *Bengal*; as, that since the reduction of *Calcutta*, almost every inhabitant who survived the attack of the place, or the dreadful catastrophe of the *Black-hole* prison, had made their escape to *Fulta*, a despicable village on the river's side; that some families lived in tents on shore, while others continued on board the same ships and vessels in which they had escaped from *Calcutta*. In short, they represented the deplorable state in which the *ladies* as well as gentlemen were, in so pathetic a manner, that the admiral was greatly affected with the relation, and determined to push on immediately to their relief. He was thoroughly sensible indeed, that no time was to be lost, because he was informed that the *Nabob* was then raising several additional batteries on purpose to obstruct his passage. He therefore consulted the two pilots, whether the *Kent* and *Tyger*, at the most favourable time of the tide, could possibly pass the *Braces*; they both

both hesitated very much in their answers; but at last the admiral, biased by the enterprising spirit and sound judgment of Captain *Speke*, who had been in the river several times before, came to a resolution of making the attempt; which we happily succeeded in, though not without great risk to the ships in pushing through the shoals, for through them, and not entirely over them, we forced our way*.

On the 14th of *December* we had the satisfaction to arrive at *Fulta*, where we had the pleasure of meeting Captain *King*, who being sick at *Madras* when the squadron sailed, was left behind; but, eager for action, before he was quite recovered, had taken his passage in the *Protector*, one of the company's ships, commanded by Captain *England*, who was ordered to *Bengal* with *Sepoys*, to reinforce the troops under Colonel *Clive*†. Captain *King's* ship the *Blaze* (commanded in his absence by Lieutenant *Peter Porter*, an excellent but unfortunate officer, and who was afterwards killed in the expedition against *Manilla*) having been obliged to bear away for *Bombay*, and not joining the squadron afterwards, the captain served on board the *Kent* as a volunteer; and this unlucky incident reduced his share of prize-money, in consequence of our victories in the *Ganges*, 10000 *l.* less than otherwise it would have been.

The reader may better conceive than I express, what welcome visitors we were to our distressed countrymen at *Fulta*; who, after having lived in the most affluent circumstances, were now sunk down to a condition that scarcely afforded them common necessaries. The cup of affliction is always bitter, but has the taste of gall itself, when it suddenly succeeds a state of opulence. To sink at once into the lowest poverty from an easy fortune; and from a condition that drew respect from others, to be reduced to one too often attended with derision and contempt; are circumstances that quicken the sense of misery, and make misfortunes more intolerable. This was exactly the case of the present unhappy sufferers; they had sustained some figure in the world; they had kept a generous and hospitable table, where the friend and the stranger had tasted of the elegancies of life; but now, by a sudden reverse of fortune, were themselves obliged to descend to the most servile offices, and to be dependent on the commiseration of others for a precarious subsistence. They were crowded together in the most wretched habitations, clad in the meanest apparel, and for almost five months had been surrounded by sickness and disease, which made strange havoc among them; and yet, when we saw them first, to our great surprise, they appeared with as chearful countenances, as if no misfortunes had happened to them. This serenity of theirs was certainly in great

* In the year 1769 the *Lord Holland*, one of the company's ships, was lost on these shoals.

† The *Protector* sailed the 29th of *October*, thirteen days after the squadron, and arrived two days before us, by pursuing the track before mentioned.

1756. measure owing to the pleasing hopes they now entertained of a speedy deliverance from their afflictions: though some little share of it might also be imputed to their having been so long disciplined in the school of adversity, as to make them kiss the rod, and in the true spirit of christianity cheerfully submit themselves to the dispensations of that benevolent Being, who, for wise and good reasons, had laid the burthen upon them.

From these reflections, to which the subject insensibly led me; I shall now proceed to our operations for their relief.—The third day after our arrival at *Fulta* the admiral sent the following spirited letter to the *Nabob*, on the behalf of his injured countrymen.

Admiral *Charles Watson*, the great commander of the fleet belonging to the puissant king of *Great Britain*, irresistible in battle, to *Munserood Muluk Serajah Dowlah*, *Soubahdar* of the provinces of *Bengal*, *Babar* and *Orixa*.

“THE king my master (whose name is revered among the monarchs of the world) sent me to these parts with a great fleet to protect the *East India* company’s trade, rights, and privileges; the advantages resulting to the *Mogul’s* dominions from the extensive commerce carried on by my master’s subjects, are too apparent to need enumerating: how great was my surprize therefore to hear that you had marched against the said company’s factories with a large army, and forcibly expelled their servants, seized and plundered their effects, amounting to a large sum of money, and killed great numbers of the king my master’s subjects.

I am come down to *Bengal* to re-establish the said company’s servants in their former factories and houses, and hope to find you willing to restore to them their ancient rights and immunities. As you must be sensible of the benefit of having the *English* settled in your country, I doubt not you will consent to make them a reasonable satisfaction for the losses and injuries they have suffered, and by that means put an amicable end to the troubles, and secure the friendship of my king, who is a lover of peace, and delights in acts of equity. What can I say more?”

From on board his *Britannic Majesty’s* ship
Kent, at *Fulta*, the 17th of Dec. 1756*.

On the 27th of *December* the admiral sailed from *Fulta* with the *Kent*, *Tyger*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater*, *King’s-fisher*, and *Walpole Indiaman*, having first embarked the troops, which had been landed to refresh them, and which now amounted to 600 *Europeans* and about one thousand *Sepoys*: These were made up of the troops which we brought with us, and the remains of a detach-

* To this letter the *Nabob* returned no answer, till after our taking *Calcutta* and *Haughley*.

ment from *Madras*, which, as far back as *August*, had been dispatched to this river under the command of Major *Kilpatrick*, an experienced and good officer; and intended for the relief of *Calcutta*, then supposed to be in danger. The detachment at first consisted of 240 men; but an epidemical fever had made such destruction among them, that not above ten were capable of doing duty when we arrived at *Fulta*, and, to the best of my remembrance, not thirty of the whole detachment were left alive.

On the 29th of *December*, at six o'clock in the morning, the admiral having landed the company's troops the evening before at *Mayapore*, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel *Clive*, cannonaded *Bougee Bougee* fort, which was strong and built of mud, and had a wet ditch round it. The fort began to fire at the *Tyger* at 7 in the morning, and soon after at the whole squadron till 1 in the afternoon, but its batteries were at length silenced by the cannon from the ships. About 11 o'clock the admiral made the signal for the king's troops to land, and join some of the company's, that were seen marching under the bank of the river. Captain *Coote* accordingly landed with the troops from the *Kent* and *Tyger*, joined the company's division, and advanced and took possession of two out-forts which the enemy had quitted without taking away their colours: about 4 o'clock, two of the *Kent's* 9 pounders were sent on shore to make a breach in the gate-way, and Colonel *Clive's* troops, after a very fatiguing march, were posted at the back of the fort to intercept the enemy, should they attempt to make a retreat, and for this purpose were divided into several different parties. One of these was unexpectedly attacked by 3000 horse and foot under the command of *Monich-chund* the *Indian* governor of *Calcutta*, and in this skirmish more than twenty of our troops were killed and wounded; but notwithstanding this advantage, as soon as the colonel himself came up with a reinforcement, and had discharged a few of his field-pieces, which did great execution among the *Moors*, this commander in chief of the *Nabob's* army, after a musket ball had passed through his turban, retired with precipitation.

The cannon of the fort being silenced by the squadron, but the garrison not offering to surrender, and continuing to discharge fire-arrows and small arms, it was determined in a council of sea and land officers on board the *Kent*, that Colonel *Clive* should endeavour to take it by assault. For this purpose, at five o'clock in the evening, the admiral landed an officer, two midshipmen, and about forty sailors from each ship, under the command of Captain *King*, to assist the colonel in storming the fort, which he intended doing just before day-light, under the cover of two 24 pounders mounted close to the ditch. In the mean time, the colonel had given directions, that the whole army, (the necessary guards excepted) and the detachment from the ships, should rest on the ground, in order to recover themselves as much as possible from the great fatigues they had under-gone in the preceding day's service. All now was quiet in the camp; and we on board the ships,

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which lay at their anchors but at a small distance from the shore, had entertained thoughts of making use of this interval to refresh ourselves also with an hour or two of sleep; but suddenly, a loud and universal acclamation was heard from the shore, and soon afterwards an account was brought to the admiral, that the fort had been taken by storm. This was a joyful piece of news, and the more so, as it was quite unexpected; but when the particular circumstances that ushered in this success, were related, our exultation was greatly abated, because we found that the rules so indispensably necessary in all military exploits, had been entirely disregarded in the present instance, and therefore could not help looking upon the person, who had the principal hand in this victory, rather as an object of chastisement, than of applause.—The case was this.—During the tranquil state of the camp, one *Straban*, a common sailor belonging to the *Kent*, having been just served with a quantity of *grog*, (arrack mixed with water,) had his spirits too much elated to think of taking any rest; he therefore strayed by himself towards the fort, and imperceptibly got under the walls; being advanced thus far without interruption, he took it into his head to scale at a breach that had been made by the cannon of the ships; and having luckily gotten upon the bastion, he there discovered several *Moor-men* sitting on the platform, at whom he flourished his cutlass, and fired his pistol, and then, after having given three loud huzzas, cried out, “*The place is mine.*” The *Moorish* soldiers immediately attacked him, and he defended himself with incomparable resolution; but in the rencounter had the misfortune to have the blade of his cutlass cut in two about a foot from the hilt: this mischance however did not happen, till he was near being supported by two or three other sailors, who had accidentally straggled to the same part of the fort, on which the other had mounted. They, hearing *Straban’s* huzzas, immediately scaled the breach likewise, and echoing the triumphant sound, roused the whole army, who taking the alarm, presently fell on pell-mell, without orders and without discipline, following the example of the sailors. This attack, though made in such confusion, was attended with no other ill consequence, but the death of the worthy Captain *Dougal Campbell*, who was unfortunately killed by a musket-bullet from one of our own pieces in the general confusion. Captain *Coote* commanded the fort for that night, and at day-light the fort saluted the admiral. It was never exactly known what number of *Moors* there were in the fort when our people first entered: probably there were but very few, the major part of the garrison having made their escape soon after their batteries were silenced. We took in the fort 18 cannon from 24 pounders downwards, and 40 barrels of powder.

Straban, the hero of this adventurous action, was soon brought before the admiral, who, notwithstanding the success that had attended it, thought it necessary to shew himself displeased with a measure in which the want of all military discipline so notoriously appeared. He therefore angrily enquired into the desperate step which he had taken: “*Mr. Straban, what is this that you have been doing?*”—The fellow, after having made his bow, scratched

scratched his head, and with one hand twirling his hat upon the other, replied, "Why, to be sure, Sir, it was *I* who took the fort, but *I hope there was no harm in it.*" The admiral with difficulty was prevented from smiling at the simplicity of *Straban's* answer; and the whole company were exceedingly diverted with his awkward appearance, and his language and manner in recounting the several particulars of his mad exploit. Mr. *Watson* expatiated largely on the fatal consequences that might have attended his irregular conduct, and then with a severe rebuke dismissed him; but not before he had given the fellow some distant hints, that at a proper opportunity he should certainly be punished for his temerity. *Straban*, amazed to find himself blamed, where he expected praise, had no sooner gone from the admiral's cabin, then he muttered these words; "*If I am flogged for this here action, I will never take another fort by myself as long as I live, by G—d.*" The novelty of the case, the success of the enterprize, and the courageous spirit which he had displayed, pleaded strongly with the admiral in behalf of the offender; and yet at the same time the discipline of the service, required that he should shew him outwardly some marks of his displeasure. This the admiral did, for some little time; but afterwards, at the intercession of some officers, which intercession the admiral himself prompted them to make, he most readily pardoned him. And it is not improbable, that had *Straban* been properly qualified for the office of boatswain, he might on some other pretence, before the expedition had ended, have been promoted to that station in one of his majesty's ships; but unfortunately for this brave fellow, the whole tenor of his conduct, both before and after the storming of the fort, was so very irregular, as to render it impossible for the admiral to advance him from his old station to any higher rank, how strongly soever his inclinations led him to do it *.

December 30, the same afternoon of our taking possession of *Bougee Bougee* fort, the king's and company's troops were again sent on board the squadron to proceed up the river; but the *Sepoys* were ordered to march on by land.

On the 1st of January 1757, the boats of the *Kent* and *Tyger* took possession of *Tanna* fort, which was built with bricks; and of another mud-fortification on the opposite bank; both of which, after one fire of their cannon, were abandoned on our approach, leaving us 40 cannon, many of which were 24 pounders. The next morning all the squadron weighed, and proceeded on to *Calcutta*, except the *Salisbury*, which was ordered to stay behind, and, after bringing off the guns, &c. demolish *Tanna* and *Bougee Bougee* forts.—At nine o'clock the *Tyger*, which was the foremost ship, got

* Since these sheets were first sent to the press, *Straban* has paid the author a visit, and told him that he had served in every of Admiral *Pocock's* *East-India* engagements; and that, in consequence of a wound he received in one of them, he is become a pensioner to the chest at *Chatbam*: at present he acts also as a sailor in one of the guard-ships at *Portsmouth*; and he says, that his highest ambition is to be made cook of one of his majesty's capital ships.

1757. within sight of *Calcutta*, when the enemy began the attack by firing upon her. Captain *Latham* however had no sooner brought his ship to an anchor, (which he did very much like an expert and gallant officer) but he briskly returned the fire: and the *Kent* having come to an anchor also and discharged a few broadsides, the *Indians* at 11 o'clock gave up the contest; and observing also that Colonel *Clive* at the same time had nearly invested the town on the land side, they abandoned the fort. On this some of the old inhabitants of the town waved their hands from the shore, and one of them hoisted an *English* pendant on a tree. The admiral immediately sent Captain *King* ashore to take possession of the fort in his majesty's name, and in a few minutes after it was garrisoned with a detachment of *Adlercron's* regiment, under the command of Captain *Coote*, who served on board the *Kent*, and who was appointed governor of this new conquest.

Soon after Captain *Coote* had taken possession of the fort, Colonel *Clive* entered the place at the head of the company's troops, when the captain presented to the colonel an order † which he had received from the admiral, appointing him governor of the fort; the colonel denied any authority Admiral *Watson* had to appoint an inferior officer to him as governor, and told Captain *Coote* that he would take on himself the command; and if he offered to obstruct him, or disobey his orders, he would immediately put him under an arrest: the captain desired that he might acquaint Mr. *Watson* with these particulars; to which the colonel consented.—Upon this the admiral sent Captain *Speke* on shore to know by what authority the colonel took upon him the command of the fort; who answered, by the authority of his majesty's commission as lieutenant-colonel and also commander in chief of the land forces. Captain *Speke* went to the admiral with this answer, and soon returned with a message from Mr. *Watson* to the colonel, that if he did not abandon the fort, he would fire him out. The colonel replied, he could not answer for the consequences, but that he would not give up his command. Soon after this, Captain *Latham*, who was in a strict intimacy with him, was sent by the admiral to

† “By *Charles Watson*, Esq; Vice-admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet, and commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels employed in the *East Indies*, and of the marine forces of the united company of merchants trading to and in these parts.

You are hereby required and directed to garrison the fort of *Calcutta* with his majesty's troops which you have now on shore, and take care to post centinels and guards so as not to be surprized by the enemy. In the evening I shall be on shore; and you are not to quit your post, or deliver up your command till farther orders from me. During your continuance on shore, you are to take care that no disorders be committed by his majesty's troops, or any other people, but to treat the natives with humanity, and take particular care that there is no plundering, as such offenders may depend on the severest punishment. Given under my hand on board his majesty's ship the *Kent*, off *Calcutta*, 2d Jan. 1757.

CHARLES WATSON.”

To Captain *Eyre Coote*, of his majesty's 39th regiment
of foot.

By command of the admiral.

Henry Doidge.

Colonel

Colonel *Clive*; they talked the affair over with calmness, and soon settled a dispute which otherwise might have ended greatly to the prejudice of the public cause. The colonel's messages to Mr. *Watson* implied, that if the admiral would come on shore and command in person, he should have no manner of objection to it: And on Admiral *Watson's* going on shore the next day, the colonel delivered the keys of the garrison into his hands, and then the admiral delivered them to the late governor, Mr. *Drake*, and his council. And these gentlemen, persuaded by Colonel *Clive* of the necessity of the step, immediately published a declaration of war against the *Nabob*, in the name of the *East India* company, as did Admiral *Watson* in that of the king his master.

C H A P. IX.

Operations against Houghley, and burning the Granaries.—The Nabob marches with a great army towards Calcutta.—A brisk cannonade between him and Colonel Clive.—Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton sent to the Nabob with proposals of peace, which prove abortive.—Colonel Clive attacks the Nabob in his camp.—The Nabob concludes a treaty of peace very advantageous to the English East India company.—Admiral Watson resolves to reduce the French power in Bengal.—Correspondence between the Admiral and the Nabob.—Account of the attack of Chandernagore.—The English forces take possession of the place.—Gallant behaviour of Captain Speke and his son, &c.

1757. **A**FTER the success of our forces at *Calcutta*, some of the council of the *French* settlement at *Chandernagore*, and also of the *Dutch* settlement at *Chinsura*, came to pay their congratulatory compliments to the admiral and colonel. The first were empowered to propose a formal confirmation of the neutrality which had been hitherto strictly observed between the two companies in the *Ganges*: they suggested, that such a neutrality was not only necessary for the mutual interests of both nations, but pleaded a claim of particular indulgence on account of the many good offices they had done the *English* in the time of their distresses at *Fulta*. These arguments certainly carried great force with them, and they were attentively listened to by Admiral *Watson*, and our other principals; who would not have scrupled to close with them, if the *French* in return would have joined our forces in the war we were now to carry on against the *Nabob*. But when this proposal was made to their deputies, they replied, that they were not invested with proper authority to treat on that subject. They therefore desired that they might be allowed to return to *Chandernagore*, to consult their governor and council on so important a subject.

The uninterrupted train of successes we had met with since our first entering the mouth of the *Ganges*, had struck the *Nabob* and his adherents with such a panic, that our commanders came to a resolution of losing no time, but to push on the war with the greatest vigour. Accordingly *Houghley*, a very large and rich city belonging to the *Nabob*, situate on the river about thirty miles above *Calcutta*, was fixed upon as the next object of our military operations.

rations. This resolution was no sooner taken, but the *Bridgewater*, Captain *Henry Smith*, the *King's-fisher* sloop, Captain *Toby*, and the *Thunder* bomb-ketch, Captain *Warrick*, (which vessel had been added to the squadron in the *Ganges*) with all the boats of the squadron mann'd with 150 sailors, 200 *European* troops and 250 *Sepoys*, were ordered on the expedition. Major *Kilpatrick* was appointed by Colonel *Clive* to command the land forces, and Captain *King* was, by the admiral, put at the head of the sailors who were to act on shore. This armament sailed from *Calcutta* the 5th of *January*, and though they were impeded two days in their passage, owing to the *Bridgewater's* running ashore, yet we had the satisfaction to hear, that on the 9th they came to an anchor off the place, and on the 10th the ships cannonaded the fort till 12 o'clock at night, when Major *Kilpatrick* sent Captain *Coote* to examine the breach they had made; he finding it practicable to enter, two attacks were immediately formed; 50 men went to the main gate, and kept a constant firing, while the chief force entered privately at the breach, and with very little resistance took possession of the city and fort, the enemy going to the place of the false attack, and then running away through one of the gates. The fort was much stronger than was at first imagined, and the garrison consisted of 2000 men, who fired very smartly from five in the afternoon till ten at night, and killed and wounded several of our men before they stormed. We took some ammunition, and 20 guns, from 24 pounders downwards. A small quantity of *Tutenegg*, *Tinkal* and *Japan Copper* was also found here, but far short of what was reported to have been in the place: however, it is very certain, that in *Houghley* we should have met with a very considerable booty, had not our old friends the *Dutch* at *Chinsura* taken all the valuable effects and principal persons of the *Moors*, under their protection.

Soon after the storming and capture of *Houghley*, Captain *Speke* of the *Kent*, being sent up by the admiral, took on him the command of the sailors, and in conjunction with 50 soldiers and 100 *Sepoys*, under the command of Captain *Coote*, undertook to burn a place called the *Gongee*, containing several large granaries and other storehouses belonging to the *Nabob*, for the support of his army, about three miles from the fort. In their march, they entered a *Portuguese* convent, where they were informed that between three and four thousand of the enemy were encamped behind the village they were going to burn. Nothing daunted, they proceeded, and marched into the village for about a mile and half, when Captain *Coote* desired the sailors, and ordered the land-forces to begin to set fire to all the houses in the rear, as they marched back. This was done; but before they had gotten half way, some of the advanced guard came running and told the captain, that the enemy to the number of 5000 were marching up towards them, and had taken possession not only of some houses, but of the men of war's boats. As the rear of the detachment was well secured by the houses in flames, Captain *Coote* formed his 50 *European*

1757.

foldiers into three platoons; but the street was so narrow, they were obliged to march by files, and the captain made every platoon into two firings, and so advanced by street firing briskly upon them. At our first fire the chief officer and 5 of the enemy fell, on which their horse gallop'd off; but their musketry, under cover of some houses, and at the corner of lanes, killed and wounded some of our men, but dared not openly attack us. Major *Kilpatrick*, on hearing the firing, marched out of the garrison at *Houghley* to support the detachment, but the affair was over before he joined it, and on their return they found the ships boats all safe.

After this service was performed, Captain *Speke* gave his commands to the sailors to repair on board their boats, when three of them were missing, who were then supposed to be either killed or desperately wounded; but it afterwards appeared that they had straggled into the country, and through their great fatigue had thrown themselves on the ground, and fallen fast asleep. About the middle of the following night, several of the country villages were seen in flames by the officers on board the ships, which appeared to them very extraordinary, and they could not possibly account for it. Early the next morning, however, a raft was observed floating down the river, and on it sat, with the greatest composure imaginable, our three missing sailors; who, after they were taken off, and brought on board their ships, gave the following account of their adventure: "that awaking in the beginning of the night, and perceiving their companions had left them, they judged it expedient to set fire to all the villages, in order to intimidate the enemy, and make them believe that the whole detachment still continued on shore, which had done them so much mischief the preceding day. That as soon as the day broke they repaired to the water's edge to search for a boat, in which they hoped to be conveyed on board their ships. No such thing however could be found; but luckily for them this raft at length presented itself, on which they resolved to trust themselves." By good fortune, they arrived safe among their companions, before their enemies had so far recovered from their panic, as to think of cutting off their retreat.

I cannot now ascertain the number of seamen killed in this expedition; but by the books of the hospital, it appeared that twenty-five were wounded; among whom was Mr. *Edward Roberts*, a young gentleman of the *Isle of Wight*, who served as midshipman on board the *Kent*, and was so much hurt by a musket-ball he received in his hand, as to be obliged to have it taken off, and was in great danger of his life for some time afterwards. The admiral being informed of his misfortune, of the intrepidity he had shewn in the action, and of his manly resolution at the time of the amputation, sent him a message by me, desiring him to keep up his spirits, and that for his good behaviour, he would soon make him a lieutenant.

This

This promise Mr. *Watson* most punctually fulfilled, by giving him a commission, dated *January 1757* *. Mr. *Hamilton*, another brave young gentleman, a midshipman also of the *Kent*, was killed upon the spot. Mr. *Owen* and Mr. *Samble*, midshipmen of the *Tyger*, were wounded, but not mortally. And in consequence of this expedition to *Houghley*, though not by the shot of the enemy, Lieutenant *James Roddam* of the *Kent*, lost his life: he was a most amiable young gentleman in every respect, and so nicely scrupulous of his honour, that when the expedition took place, he carefully concealed from the admiral's knowledge an indisposition which he had laboured under for some days, and cheerfully set off with the armament from *Calcutta*; but through the great fatigue he underwent when the *Bridgewater* ran ashore, his disease, which was a *Diarrhoea* and fever, so much increased, that it became absolutely necessary for Captain *Smith* to send him back to the hospital. He was received there on the 11th, and died the 16th of *January*, greatly lamented by all his acquaintance, who respected him not less for his social than his military virtues. Lieutenant *John Clerke*, (a sensible and gallant young officer, a great favourite of the admiral's, and who from his earliest youth had been bred up at sea under him) had a very narrow escape in this expedition, from a musket-ball which entered at the fore-part of the crown of his hat, and went through it, but did him no kind of harm. Mr. *Pye*, storekeeper to the Squadron, who went a volunteer to *Houghley* with his friend Captain *Speke*, was very near losing his life; a bullet from the enemy went through the breast of a sailor, and killed him on the spot, as he was walking close by Mr. *Pye*'s side.

Soon after the reduction of *Houghley*, the admiral dispatched Captain *Richard King* in a sloop of 60 tons, to *England*, with an account of our fortunate proceedings thus far; and preparations were made for carrying the war as far as *Dacca*, by another branch of the river: had this expedition taken place, doubtless it would have been attended with success, and consequently we should have been put in possession of an immense treasure; for here were no *Dutchmen* to counteract us in securing the persons, and secreting the effects of our enemies. But our attention was called off from this very desirable and tempting object, by the alarming intelligence we received, that the *Nabob*, incensed at the loss of all his late conquests, and alarmed at the rapidity of ours, had raised a formidable army, and was marching at the head of it from his capital *Muxadabad* towards *Calcutta*, fully determined to drive the *English* out of all his territories, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces we had brought upon him.

* This gallant officer remained in the *East Indies* after the author left that country, and served with great honour in all the sea engagements which happened between the *English* and *French* fleets under the command of Admiral, now Sir *George Pocock*.

1757.

On our taking of *Houghley*, and burning the granaries, the *Nabob* thought proper to take some notice of Admiral *Watson's* letter to him on his arrival at *Fulta*; and the following is a translation of the letter sent by *Serajab Dowlab* to the admiral; dated *January 23d, 1757.*

“ YOU write me, that the king your master sent you into *India* to protect the company's settlements, trade, rights, and privileges: the instant I received that letter, I sent you an answer*; but it appears to me that my reply never reached you, for which reason I write again. I must inform you that *Roger Drake*, the company's chief in *Bengal*, acted contrary to the orders I sent him, and encroached upon my authority: he gave protection to the king's subjects, who absented themselves from the inspection of the *Durbar* †, which practice I did forbid; but to no purpose. On this account I was determined to punish him, and accordingly expelled him my country. But it was my inclination to have given the *English* company permission to have carried on their trade as formerly, had another chief been sent here. For the good therefore of these provinces, and the inhabitants, I send you this letter; and if you are inclined to re-establish the company, only appoint a chief, and you may depend upon my giving currency to their commerce, upon the same terms they heretofore enjoyed: If the *English* behave themselves like merchants, and follow my orders, they may rest assured of my favour, protection, and assistance.

IF YOU IMAGINE THAT BY CARRYING ON A WAR AGAINST ME, YOU CAN ESTABLISH A TRADE IN THESE DOMINIONS, YOU MAY DO AS YOU THINK FIT ‡.

The slave of *Allum-gueer*, king of *Indostan*, the mighty Conqueror, the Lamp of Riches, *Shah Kuly Khan*, the most valiant among warriors.”

To this letter, the admiral sent the following answer, dated 27th of *January, 1757.*

“ YOUR letter of the 23d of this month I this day received. It has given me the greatest pleasure, as it informs me you had written to me before; a circumstance I am glad to be assured of under your hand, as the not answering my letter, would have been such an affront as I could not have put up with unnoticed, without incurring the anger of the king my master.

* This assertion was never credited.

† The court or levee of the *Nabob*.

‡ This paragraph, printed in SMALL CAPITALS, was written with the *Nabob's* own hand; and the Reader is desired to observe, that in the several letters which passed between the Admiral and *Nabob*, here inserted, what was written by themselves is thus distinguished.

You

You tell me in your letter, that the reason of your expelling the *English* out of these countries, was the bad behaviour of Mr. *Drake*, the company's chief in *Bengal*. But besides, that princes, and rulers of states, not seeing with their own eyes, nor hearing with their own ears, are often misinformed, and the truth kept from them by the arts of crafty and wicked men; was it becoming the justice of a prince to punish all for one man's sake? Or to ruin and destroy so many innocent people, as had no way offended, but who, relying on the faith of the royal *Phirmaund**, expected protection and security both to their property and lives, instead of oppression and murder, which they unhappily found? Are these actions becoming the justice of a prince? Nobody will say they are. They can only then have been caused by wicked men, who have misrepresented things to you through malice, or for their own private ends; for great princes delight in acts of justice, and in shewing mercy.

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If therefore you are desirous of meriting the fame of a great prince and lover of justice, shew your abhorrence of these proceedings, by punishing those evil counsellors who advised them; cause satisfaction to be made to the company, and to all others who have been deprived of their property; and by these acts turn off the edge of the sword which is ready to fall on the heads of your subjects.

If you have any cause of complaint against Mr. *Drake*, as it is but just the master alone should have a power over his servant; send your complaints to the company, and I will answer for it, they will give you satisfaction.

ALTHOUGH I AM A SOLDIER AS WELL AS YOU, I HAD RATHER RECEIVE SATISFACTION FROM YOUR OWN INCLINATION TO DO JUSTICE, THAN BE OBLIGED TO FORCE IT FROM YOU BY THE DISTRESS OF YOUR INNOCENT SUBJECTS."

The *Nabob* being determined by all means to extirpate the *English*, took no notice of this letter, till he had collected together his forces, and began his march towards us, when the admiral received from him the following.

" YOU have taken and plundered *Houghley*, and made war upon my subjects: these are not actions becoming merchants! I have therefore left *Muxadabad*, and am arrived near *Houghley*; I am likewise crossing the river with my army, part of which is advanced towards your camp. Nevertheless, if you have a mind to have the company's business settled upon its ancient footing, and to give a currency to their trade; send a person of confidence to me, who can make your demands, and treat with me upon this

* *Phirmaund* or *Firmaun*, a grant or decree of the *Mogul* or emperor; but commonly used in *Bengal* for the patent of the emperor *Furrukhsier* which granted to the *English* several important privileges.

1757. affair. I shall not scruple to grant a *Perwannab* * for the restitution of all the company's factories, and permit them to trade in my country upon the same terms as formerly. If the *English*, who are settled in those provinces, will behave like merchants, obey my orders, and give me no offence, you may depend upon it, I will take their losses into consideration, and adjust matters to their satisfaction. You know how difficult it is to prevent soldiers from plundering in war; therefore if you will on your parts relinquish something of the damages you have sustained by being pillaged by my army, I will endeavour to give you satisfaction even in that particular, in order to gain your friendship, and preserve a good understanding for the future with your nation. You are a *Christian*, and know how much preferable it is to accommodate a dispute, than to keep it alive; but if you are determined to sacrifice the interest of your company, and the good of private merchants, to your inclinations for war, it is no fault of mine: to prevent the fatal consequences of such a ruinous war, I write this letter."

The *Nabob* waited not for a reply, but advanced with his forces, which consisted of 18,000 horse and 15,000 foot, 10,000 pioneers, and about 40,000 *Cooleys*, horsekeepers, cooks, *Bazar-men*, &c. 50 elephants, and 40 pieces of cannon; and yet, infinitely inferior as our troops were in number to this vast multitude, being but 711 *Europeans* in battalion, about 100 artillery, 1300 *Sepoys*, with 14 field pieces 6 pounders, besides the cannon on our batteries, they placed such confidence in the good fortune and abilities of their commander, that they did not in the least hesitate to abide the attack. Agreeable to this resolution, the colonel formed his camp on a spot of ground near the river, about four miles to the northward of *Calcutta*, between it and the *Nabob's* army: indeed *Calcutta* was then not defensible, the fort had no ditch, its bastions did not deserve the name, and there were houses so near the fort as to command the few fortifications it had †.

On the 2d of *February*, the admiral by invitation dined with the colonel in his camp; but they had not finished their meal, before the *Nabob's* army appeared in view, marching at about a mile distance from them, in the way towards *Calcutta*. The admiral soon took his leave of the gentlemen of the army, and returned in his boat to *Calcutta*, to give the enemy a proper reception, should they attempt to recover the fort; one or two of their scouting parties fired at him as he passed down the river. The same evening, the colonel marched out of the camp with a detachment of men and six field pieces two miles towards the enemy, and drew up opposite to their line of march. A cannonade presently began between him and the *Nabob*, (who fired from 10 pieces of cannon, some of them 32 pounders) and which con-

* An order or grant.

† While the colonel was in search of a proper place for an encampment, a wild buffalo ran at his guard; and although the *Sepoy* it attacked, discharged his musket ball into its body, and received it on his bayonet, yet the creature killed the man, and made off. The wild buffaloes are here very large; they exceed the largest ox in *England*, and have legs remarkably thick and strong: their horns lie on their back as they walk, their head being in an horizontal posture; but when they feed, their horns stand erect.

tinued till it was quite dark, when the colonel perceiving that nothing of consequence could be gained by it, ordered his men to desist, and to return to their camp. In this little affair, we had a few men killed, and among the wounded were Captain *Nicholas Weller* of the king's regiment, and Captain *Frazer* of the company's troops. 1757.

The following day, Messrs. *Walsh* and *Scrafton*, in consequence of a proposal made by the *Nabob*, that two proper persons might be sent to him to treat of a peace, were dispatched with the admiral's and colonel's demands. But these gentlemen, instead of meeting with him at the place he himself had appointed, were conducted to *Omicbund's* garden, which lies within the bound-ditch of *Calcutta*, and which he had now fixed upon for his head quarters. His army was encamped on a plain about 4 miles to the eastward of the town, and now between it and our army. They did not fail to express their surprize to the *Nabob* at not finding him at the place of his own appointment, and to which they had been directed to repair, by their principals; adding that they very much doubted whether it was in their power to treat with him in any other place. After entering however a little upon the business that brought them thither, they soon found from his conversation, that his intention was only to amuse; they therefore pressed for a permission to leave him, and presently after withdrew. He referred them, for a farther explanation of his sentiments, to one of his principal agents, who was a *Seraf* or *Banker*; but as soon as Messrs. *Walsh* and *Scrafton* could get from him, they thought it prudent (for fear of any treachery) to put out their light, and then made the best of their way to the colonel at his camp.

As soon as the colonel had been acquainted with the issue of their negotiation, he came to an immediate resolution of attacking the *Nabob* in his camp that very night. For this purpose, he dispatched away an express to the admiral, acquainting him with his design, and desiring him to strengthen his little army with a reinforcement of sailors. Orders were accordingly issued to the several captains of the Squadron to send their proportion of officers and sailors for this service, all volunteers, and who made up a body of five hundred and sixty-nine men. They had orders to proceed immediately by water to the camp, under the command of Captain *Thomas Warrick* of the *Thunder* bomb-ketch, and they joined the colonel about two in the morning, whose troops were already under arms. Captain *Warrick* with his reinforcement was ordered to attend and guard the train of artillery, which consisted of six field-pieces and one cohorn. Soon afterwards they marched off the ground in the following order: The king's and company's granadiers in the front; the sailors with the train next; then followed the battalion; and the *Sepoys* brought up the rear. At three, the colonel altered his disposition, and marched the battalion before the train. In this order they went on unperceived till day-break, (having Mr. *Amyatt*, one of the council, and a black man, for their guides.) About

five

1757. five o'clock they got over the trenches into the *Nabob's* camp, and then began firing away on all sides, making their way quite through the camp, and killing great numbers of the enemy. Unfortunately, there was at that time one of those remarkable thick fogs, which at certain seasons of the year prevail in *Bengal*, and render objects at the distance of two or three yards as invisible as in the darkest night; by this the guides mistook their way, and instead of going on to the *Nabob's* head quarters, as the colonel intended, they turned too much to the left, and led the troops without the *Bungelo* ditch, behind which the enemy had entrenched themselves. This mistake in all probability saved the *Nabob's* whole army from an entire defeat; it is certain, that it made the colonel's victory much less complete than it otherwise would have been; for as the day advanced, and the fog dispersed, he could not think of renewing the action by attacking the enemy again with his small body of forces, secured as they were behind a strong intrenchment made some years before by the *English* for the defence of *Calcutta* against the *Maharattas*. He therefore drew off his little army, and gaining a pass over the intrenchment about a mile from the place of action, advanced amidst a brisk cannonading on both sides towards *Calcutta*, where the army arrived about noon.

We lost upwards of fifty men in this action; a platoon of the company's grenadiers being blown up before day by a shower of the enemies arrows with fire-rockets falling upon them, which set fire to the powder that they carried in their pockets. Captain *Pye*, and Captain *Bridges*, (the last of whom was also Colonel *Clive's* secretary) were killed early in the morning. Lieutenant *Lutwidge* * of the *Salisbury* was mortally wounded, and about 15 other seamen lost their lives. The carriages of two pieces of our cannon which were in the rear of the army, breaking, we were obliged to leave them behind.

We had various accounts of the number killed in the *Nabob's* army in this action. A *Brabmin*, who was in his camp soon afterwards, assured us, that he had 1300 men killed and wounded. Among the former, were two of his principal generals, 22 captains, &c. Five hundred horses were also killed, and three or four elephants. So great a slaughter however was made among them, as to alarm the *Nabob*, and fill his mind with continual apprehensions of being soon attacked again. For the colonel, presently after his return to *Calcutta*, by a very spirited and excellent manœuvre, at five the same afternoon took possession of his former camp, and like a heavy cloud, seemed to hang over the *Nabob's* army, ready to burst upon it. This timorous *Barbarian* therefore, for fear of a second surprize, kept his troops under arms the whole night.

* Mr. *Lutwidge* was one of those many spirited young gentlemen who went in Admiral *Watson's* squadron to the *East Indies*, and who were often justly denominated the flower of the navy; he died at sick quarters the 10th of *March*, of the wound he received.

Immediately

Immediately after the storming of the *Nabob's* camp, the admiral wrote the following letter to him, dated *February 6, 1757.* 1757.

“ THE letter, which you will receive with this, was written the day before yesterday *; but before that I could get it translated into the *Persian* language in order to its being sent to you, I was informed by Colonel *Clive*, that you had treated his deputies with disrespect, and that you was within the bounds of *Calcutta*, from which you had refused to retire.

Evidences so full and positive, of your bad intentions towards us, that however strong my inclinations might be towards peace, I could no longer entertain any reasonable hopes of seeing it accomplished. I therefore desired Colonel *Clive* to shew you what an army of *Englishmen* was capable of doing, that before it was too late you might agree to the proposals, which would be made to you. He yielded to my desire, and marched through your whole camp, as if it had not been filled with armed men; after which he returned to his own, where he will remain yet a little while, in hopes of seeing you accede to the reasonable proposals, which are now offered to you for the last time, from the secret committee. If you are wise, you will grant them the justice that is their due; otherwise, the sword is going to be drawn that never will be sheathed again.”

* The inclosed letter, was as follows:

“ THE letter which you sent me in answer to my reply to your former letter, I received the day before yesterday. But as I was sitting down to write an answer to it, intelligence was brought me, that part of your army had entered *Calcutta*, and that the remainder was advancing in great haste towards our camp. I had no sooner heard these things, than looking towards the town, the smoke and flames which I saw ascending from it, confirmed their truth. Wherefore, from such appearances, looking upon all treating as at an end, I gave over the thoughts of writing. Since this, I hear from Colonel *Clive* that you have again made offers of treating, and that in consequence thereof he has sent to you Messrs. *Walsh* and *Scrapsion* with proposals of accommodation; a proof so demonstrative of our pacific inclinations, that nothing can be added to it. For my own particular sentiments, if you will look back upon my letters, you will find that they always proposed amicable methods; and my actions have always corresponded with them, for it was not till after despairing of peace, by having no answers to my letters, that I could prevail on myself to commit any hostilities; to which I was always so averse, that even in the midst of victory, I stopt short to listen to the voice of peace. I am still inclined to it, notwithstanding the little prospect of its taking place. However, to take away all blame from me, both in the eyes of God and man, and to convince the world how much rather I wish to see the happiness of mankind than their misery, I write this.

If you really and sincerely mean to treat of peace, listen to the proposals which will be made by the gentlemen who are now with you. They ask nothing but justice, nor mean any thing more than the mutual good of both nations. If you refuse it, remember, that princes are only placed at the head of mankind to procure their happiness; and that they must one day give a very severe account, if through ambition, revenge, or avarice, they fail in their duty. I have done mine in giving you my advice.”

The

1757.

The day following, the *Nabob* made overtures for a peace, and drew off his forces, and began his march back to his capital *Muxadabad*; and on the 9th of *February* the following letter was received by the admiral, with the treaty of peace.

The Nabob to the Admiral.

“THE colonel’s letter I have received, with the agreement of the governor and council signed and sealed. He desires me to get the articles of the treaty now made, ratified by my great men and principal officers. I have complied with his request: it will be proper likewise for you and the colonel on one part, and myself on the other, to execute an agreement, that hostilities between us shall cease; that the *English* will always remain my friends and allies; and that they will assist me against my enemies. For this purpose, I send a person of distinction and confidence who will speak at large the sentiments of my heart, and I hope you will inform him of your disposition towards me. The articles which were sent to me, I have returned, signed by myself, the king’s *Duan*, my own *Duan*, and the *Bukhsbi* of my army. I should be glad if you would confirm this treaty by a paper under your hand and seal, as the colonel has done. I have in the most solemn manner called God and the *Prophets* to witness, that I have made peace with the *English*. As long as I have life I shall esteem your enemies as enemies to me, and will assist you to the utmost of my power whenever you require it. Do you likewise, and the colonel, and chiefs of the *English* factory swear in the presence of the Almighty God to observe and perform your part of the treaty, and to esteem my enemies as your own, and always be ready to give me your assistance against them: and though you may not come yourself, I flatter myself you will send the aid I shall at any time ask for. God is the witness between us in this treaty.

GOD AND HIS PROPHETS ARE WITNESSES, THAT I NEVER WILL DEViate FROM THE TERMS OF THE TREATY I HAVE NOW MADE WITH THE ENGLISH COMPANY, AND THAT I WILL ON ALL OCCASIONS SHEW THEM MY FAVOUR, RELYING ON YOUR FAITH TO OBSERVE INVIOLABLY YOUR PART OF THE TREATY.

ARTICLES acceded to, signed and sealed by the NABOB, 9th of February, 1757.

I. Whatever rights and privileges the king hath granted to the *English* company in the *Pbirmaunds* * and *Husbalhookums* † sent from *Delhi*, shall not be disputed, or taken from them, and the immunities therein mentioned stand good and be acknowledged. Whatever villages are given by the *Pbirmaunds* to the company, shall likewise be granted, notwithstanding they

* Patents or papers signed by the *Mogul*.

† Papers signed by the *Fixin*.

have been denied them by former *Soubahdars*, but the *Zemindars* of these villages are not to be hurt or displaced without cause. 1757.

I do agree to the terms of the Phirmaund.

II. All goods passing and repassing through the country by land or water in *Bengal*, *Babar*, and *Orixa* with *English* *Dustucks*, shall be exempt from any tax, fee or imposition from *Choquedars*, *Gaulivahs*, *Zemindars** or any others.

I agree to this.

III. All the company's factories seized by the *Nabob* shall be returned. All the money, goods and effects belonging to the company, their servants and tenants, and which have been seized and taken by the *Nabob*, shall be restored. What has been plundered and pillaged by his people shall be made good by the payment of such a sum of money as his justice shall think reasonable.

I agree to restore whatever has been seized and taken by my orders, and accounted for in my Sincany †.

IV. That we have permission to fortify *Calcutta* in such a manner as we think proper without interruption.

I consent to it.

V. That we shall have liberty to coin *Siccas* both of gold and silver, of equal weight and fineness to those of *Muxadabad*, which shall pass current in the province, and that there be no demand made for a deduction of *Batta*.

I consent to the English company's coining their own Bullion into Siccas.

VI. That the treaty shall be ratified by signing, sealing, and swearing in the presence of God and his *Prophets* to abide by the articles therein contained, not only by the *Nabob*, but his principal officers and ministers.

I have sealed and signed the articles in the presence of God and his Prophets.

VII. That Admiral *Charles Watson* and Colonel *Robert Clive*, on the part and behalf of the *English* nation and of the company, do agree to live in a good understanding with the *Nabob*, to put an end to the troubles, and be in friend-

* Officers belonging to the customs and revenues.

† Government books.

1757. ship with him, whilst these articles are observed and performed by the Nabob.

I have signed and sealed the foregoing articles upon these terms, that if the governor and council will sign and seal them with the company's seal, and will swear to the performance on their part, I then consent and agree to them.

Then followed the Nabob's seal, and Meer Jaffier and Rajah Dullub, two of his general officers, also undersigned it.

The Governor and Council's agreement with the Nabob of Bengal.

"WE the *English East India* company, in the presence of his Excellency the Nabob Munferood Muluk Serajah Dowlah, Soubabdar of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orixia, by the hands and seal of the council, do agree and promise in the most solemn manner, that the business of the company's factories, which are in the jurisdiction of the Nabob, shall be transacted as formerly; that we will never do violence to any persons without cause; that we will never offer protection to any persons having accounts with the government, to any of the king's *Fuluckdars* or *Zemindars*, to any murderers or robbers, nor will ever act contrary to the tenor of the articles granted by the Nabob; we will carry on our trade in the former channel, and never in any respect deviate from this agreement."

The admiral also made the following return to the Nabob.

"I received the letter, you have done me the honour to write me, by Runjel Roy, who has given me the greatest satisfaction by acquainting me with your good disposition towards our nation, and your sincere desire to live with us in the strictest terms of friendship and alliance.

Before this letter can come to your hands, he will have made known to you, how much I agree in the same sentiments; the sincerity of which I hope every day to manifest more and more, that you may be thereby convinced how much the *English* have been wronged by those who have represented them to you, as an ambitious, troublesome people. I trust you will live to see by their conduct henceforward, that their character is the very reverse; and that there is not in the world a more peaceable people, when not oppressed; although I confess there are none more ready to draw the sword, when greatly injured.

The paper of agreement to the treaty on my part, I send you herewith, done in the manner you desired it, signed with my hand and sealed with my seal. And I call upon the Almighty, whom we both worship, to bear witness against and punish me, if I ever fail in observing to the utmost

utmost of my power, every part of the treaty, concluded between yourself and the *English* nation, so long as you shall faithfully observe your part, which I make no doubt will be as long as you have life. What can I add more? but my wishes, that your life may be long, and crowned with all manner of prosperity.” 1757.

“ I *Charles Watson, &c. &c.* in the name of his *Britannic* majesty, and in the presence of God and *Jesus Christ*, do solemnly declare, that I will faithfully observe and maintain the peace concluded on the 9th of *February*, 1757, between the *Soubahdar, &c.* and the *English*, in every part and article thereof. And that so long as the *Soubahdar, &c.* shall abide by his promises, and the articles signed by him, I will always look upon his enemies as the enemies of my nation, and when called upon, will grant him all the assistance in my power.”

The *Soubahdar* or *Nabob*, on the ratification of the treaty, sent the usual present to the admiral, governor, and colonel; to each an elephant, a dress or vest, and head jewel, and which were received by the governor and colonel as representatives of the company; but Mr. *Watson*, as representative of the king, refused to accept the present. However, he received the *Nabob's* officers who brought them, in a very polite manner on board the *Kent*, and displayed to them his lower tier of 32 pounders, of which they made a dreadful report to their master, who not conceiving any great liking to his new friends, continued his march with all haste to the capital, happily for his subjects somewhat humbled by his late defeat. Mr. *Watts*, one of the council, being well versed in the country language, and in their politics and customs, accompanied the *Nabob* to attend the fulfilling of the treaty*.

Mr. *Watts* carried with him the following letter from the admiral to the *Nabob*, dated the 16th of *February* 1757.

“ *OMICHUND* has informed me of the particulars you was pleased to instruct him with. The advice you have received of a fleet of *French* men of war, and a large land army under the command of Monfr. *Bussy*, being in their way to these provinces, I believe is true; I have likewise heard that they are coming here to commit hostilities against us. In regard to your desire, that I would do all in my power to prevent their coming into these territories; you may assure yourself, I will use my best endeavours to prevent it, in order to manifest my friendship for you. A request of this nature I shall always take pleasure in granting, and by my readiness to comply with your desire, you will be sufficiently convinced of the sincerity of my friendship and esteem, and be satisfied with my actions. What has been destroyed and ruined by your anger and resentment, I trust will again

* *Scrafton's reflections on the government of Indostan.*

1757. flourish under your favour and protection. Mr. *Watts* is now sent to wait upon you, in behalf of the governor and council, and I flatter myself you will consent to the petitions he may have to make *."

Thus by the spirited and gallant behaviour of the two *English* commanders, the affairs of the company, which a few months before seemed verging on inevitable ruin, were not only quite retrieved, but put upon a firmer and better footing than ever; and the treaty would have been yet more advantageous than it was, had not the admiral and colonel, just at the time of drawing it, received intelligence of a war with *France*, which was soon afterwards fully confirmed by the arrival of Commodore *James* † in the *Revenge*; and the *French* garrison at *Chandernagore* was well known to consist of 500 *Europeans* and more than a 1000 *Sepoys*, which if they had then joined the *Nabob*, must have probably terminated in our company's ruin. Considering all circumstances, the treaty was honourable and advantageous for us, and the *Nabob* was in some measure punished for those unheard of cruelties which he had so wantonly exercised against many innocent individuals ‡.

As soon as all difficulties with the *Indians* were thus happily removed, the next object that naturally presented itself, was the reducing the *French* power in this province. The committee indeed, who had the direction of the company's affairs in *Bengal*, took care to represent to the admiral, that as a peace had been concluded with the *Nabob*, this was the only opportunity he perhaps might ever meet with for acting offensively against the *French*, from whose councils, great evils were still to be expected.

The admiral, who plainly saw the force of this reasoning, most readily came into the proposal; and nothing would have prevented his immediately commencing hostilities against the *French*, had not some gentlemen of that nation arrived at this time from *Chandernagore* with fresh proposals for a neutrality. These were thought so reasonable by many gentlemen of our company's council, that for a while matters stood in a state of suspense, and

* These were for his consent to our attacking the *French*.

† Mr. *James*'s arrival in the *Ganges*, was very opportune, not only on account of the certain intelligence of the war with *France*, but by bringing with him in his own ship and two transports, a detachment of 500 men, which enabled us immediately to act offensively against the *French*. His great merit in undertaking, and unremitting perseverance in accomplishing, the passage round from *Bombay* in that uncommon late season of the year, ought also to be particularly noticed; as well as his taking on the passage *L'Indien*, a *French* Indiaman, laden with warlike stores and provisions for the *French* Squadron then at the island of *Mauritius*, which greatly distressed them, and retarded their operations.

‡ Upon the ratification of the treaty with the *Nabob*, the admiral sent home Captain *Warrick* with expresse of intelligence to the Secretary of State and the Admiralty.

nothing was talked of but a treaty of peace and amity between the two nations in *Bengal*. At length, the following suggestion arose: "Whether the government of *Chandernagore*, (being subordinate to that at *Pondicherry*) had in themselves sufficient authority to make the treaty valid, should the presidency at *Pondicherry* chance to disapprove of their proceedings." This single question put an end to all thoughts of a neutrality; for as the *French* deputies, upon its being put to them, did not presume to answer in the affirmative, and as it was by this time known that war had actually been declared between the two nations in *Europe*, the admiral came to a resolution of breaking off the negotiation. Accordingly he, on the part of his majesty, and the committee, on that of the *English East India* company, entered into an agreement for attacking *Chandernagore*, the principal settlement of the *French* in this part of the *Indies*, and strongly garrisoned. The fort was a regular square, about three quarters of a mile in circumference, with 4 bastions, each mounting 16 guns, besides some on the curtain, and a battery of 4 pieces of cannon on the top of a church. There was a dry fosse round the three sides to the land, with a glacis of about 40 yards. At the northward port was a ravelin mounting 5 guns, and opposite the port towards the water side was a mud battery of 6 guns which flanked down the river.

The expedition would have taken place in a few days, had not the *Nabob* interposed: as early as the 19th of *February*, he sent the following letter to the admiral.

"TO put an end to the hostilities in my country and dominions, I consented and agreed to the treaty of peace with the *English*, that trade and commerce might be carried on as formerly; to which treaty you have agreed, and a firm accommodation between us is settled and established: you have likewise sent me an agreement, under your own hand and seal, not to disturb the tranquility of my country; but it now appears that you have a design to besiege the *French* factory near *Houghley*, and to commence hostilities against that nation. This is contrary to all rule and custom, that you should bring your animosities and differences into my country; for it has never been known since the days of *Timur*, that the *Europeans* made war upon one another within the king's dominions. If you are determined to besiege the *French* factories, I shall be necessitated in honour and duty to my king, to assist them with my troops. You seem inclined to break the treaty so lately concluded between us; formerly the *Maharattas* infested these dominions, and for many years harrassed the country with war, but when the dispute was accommodated, and a treaty of peace with that people concluded, they never broke, nor will they ever deviate from, the terms of the said treaty. It is a wrong and wicked practice, to break through and pay no regard to treaties made in the most solemn manner; you are certainly bound to abide by your part of the treaty strictly, and never to attempt or be the occasion of any troubles or disturbances in future within the provinces under

1757. under my jurisdiction. I will on my part observe most punctually what I have promised and consented to.

I WILL MAINTAIN AND PRESERVE ON MY PART THE TREATY OF PEACE I HAVE MADE WITH THE ENGLISH, WHICH WITH THE PERMISSION OF GOD I HOPE WILL CONTINUE FOR EVER. YOU MAY HAVE HEARD, THAT FOR SEVEN YEARS, WE HAD CONSTANT WARS WITH THE MAHARATTA'S, BUT WHEN A TREATY OF PEACE WAS CONCLUDED WITH THEM, THEY STRICTLY OBSERVED THE TERMS, AND NEVER DEVIATED FROM THEM. IT IS BUT JUST AND REASONABLE THAT YOUR NATION SHOULD PAY REGARD TO THE LATE TREATY, AND COMMIT NO HOSTILITIES IN MY COUNTRY, NOR DISTURB ITS TRANQUILITY WITH ANY DIFFERENCES, THAT MAY SUBSIST BETWEEN YOU AND OTHER EUROPEAN POWERS.

To this, the Admiral sent the following reply, dated the 21st of February, 1757.

"YOUR letter of the 19th, I was honoured with this morning, and observe that you disapprove of our committing hostilities against the *French* settled in these provinces. Had I imagined it would have given you any umbrage, I should never have entertained the least thoughts of disturbing the tranquility of your country, by acting against that nation within the *Ganges*; and am now ready to desist from attacking their factory, or committing other hostilities against them in these provinces, if they will consent and agree to a solid treaty of neutrality; and if you as *Soubahdar* of *Bengal* will under your hand guarantee this treaty, and promise to protect the *English* from any attempts made by that nation against our settlements during my absence. I am persuaded you have heard of no people in the world who pay a stricter regard to their word, and to the faith of treaties, than the *English*; and I do sincerely assure you, that I will inviolably preserve the peace we have concluded with you, and I dare answer for the colonel and the company's representatives, that they will not attempt to infringe any part of it.

I HAVE RATIFIED THE LATE TREATY BETWEEN YOU AND THE ENGLISH WITH MY HAND AND SEAL; AND I NOW REPEAT MY ASSURANCES, MADE IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD AND OF JESUS CHRIST, THAT I WILL MAINTAIN AND PRESERVE INVIOABLY MY PART OF THE SAID TREATY, NOT DOUBTING OF YOUR SINCERITY IN PERFORMING SUCH ARTICLES AS YOU HAVE CONSENTED TO. I LIKEWISE PROMISE THAT I WILL NOT DISTURB THE TRANQUILITY OF YOUR COUNTRY, BY COMMITTING ANY HOSTILITIES AGAINST THE FRENCH, PROVIDED YOU WILL BE ANSWERABLE FOR THEIR OBSERVANCE OF A STRICT NEUTRALITY WITH US."

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The *French*, by the prevailing power of corruption, had gained some of the courtiers, and they so influenced the *Nabob*, that without waiting for the above answer to his letter of the 19th, on the 20th he sent another letter to the admiral. 1757.

“ THE letter I wrote to you yesterday, I imagine you have received ; since which I have been informed by the *French Vackeel* that five or six additional ships of war have arrived in the river, and that more are expected. He represents likewise, that you design commencing hostilities against me and my subjects again, as soon as the rains are over. This is not acting agreeable to the character of a true soldier, and a man of honour, who never violated their words. If you are sincere in the treaty concluded with me, send your ships of war out of the river, and abide stedfastly by your agreement ; I will not fail in the observance of the treaty on my part. Is it becoming or honest to begin a war, after concluding the peace so lately and solemnly ? The *Maharattas* are bound by no *gospel*, yet they are strict observers of treaties. It will therefore be matter of great astonishment, and hard to be believed, if you, who are enlightened with the *gospel*, should not remain firm, and preserve the treaty you have ratified in the presence of God and *Jesus Christ*.”

To this the Admiral replied in a letter dated the 25th of *February*, 1757.

“ YOUR letter of the 20th instant I received two days ago ; but being just in the height of my dispatches for *England*, I was not able to answer it till now. I know not how to express to you my astonishment, at finding myself taxed with having a design to break the peace, on so slight a foundation as a base fellow’s having dared to tell you so, without any one action of mine being produced to support so extravagant and impudent an accusation, which has not the least shadow of probability to render it credible. You tell me, “ It is unworthy the character of a *soldier*, and “ man of *honour*, to violate their words ! ” In what single instance, since my being here, have I acted so unworthily as to make you think me capable of violating mine ? Yourself can answer for me, *in none*. My dealing with you hath always been full of that frankness and sincerity, for which my countrymen are remarkable throughout the known world. From you, Sir, I expect justice on that base man, who has dared falsely to accuse me, and to impose upon you. In the mean time, I have complained to the *French* of their *Vackeel*’s behaviour ; who have promised me to write to you their knowledge of the falsity of his accusation. You may rest assured, that I will always religiously observe the peace ; and I beg you to believe, that people who raise reports to the contrary, can only do it to create

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jealousies,

1757. jealousies, which they hope will break the friendship they are sorry to see between us."

Notwithstanding the perfidious *Nabob* had by this time sent a body of forces to assist the *French*, he had yet the address to send the following letter to the Admiral.

"THE letter you wrote me about the *French* affair, I have received and perused. You may depend upon it, that I neither have nor will assist the *French*. If they begin any troubles or commit any hostilities in my territories, I will oppose them with my whole force, and punish them very severely. I was informed you designed to attack *Chandernagore*, which made me write you what I thought was reasonable and just upon that head. The forces I sent down were to guard and protect the King's subjects, and not to assist the *French*. If the purport of my letter has been the occasion of your desisting from the attack of *Chandernagore*, it gives me great satisfaction. I have written the *French* likewise, what I thought was proper, in order to make them apply for a neutrality; I suppose they will act conformably. I will send a person of consideration to bring me the treaty you may conclude with them, and will order it to be registered in my books. Assure yourself that I have no other design or inclination than to live upon terms of good understanding and friendship with the *English*. By the grace of God, I never intend to do any thing that you will not esteem just; this rely upon, and do not expect a failure. Do you likewise remain fixed to your treaty and word, and give no credit to the reports of people of no consideration or figure. If you have any thing to write about, please to address me, and no body else; I will always send a fair and unreserved answer.

THE VAN OF THE KING OF DEHLI'S ARMY IS ADVANCING TOWARDS THESE PROVINCES; UPON THIS INTELLIGENCE I DESIGN MARCHING TOWARDS PATNA TO MEET THEM. IF AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE YOU WILL BE MY FRIEND, AND SEND ME ASSISTANCE, I WILL PAY YOUR FORCES A LACK OF RUPEES MONTHLY, WHILE THEY REMAIN WITH ME. SEND ME AN IMMEDIATE ANSWER."

This last request was instantly complied with.

The Admiral to the *Nabob*.

"I this moment received your letter, which gives me the greatest satisfaction. I own I had a suspicion, from your so easy crediting *French* reports, that you entertained a partiality for that nation to the prejudice of mine: your letter has removed all my doubts, so that henceforward

ward I shall rely with confidence on your friendship, and every day study to give you the strongest proofs of mine. 1757.

The ready obedience I paid to your desire in not attacking the *French*, will, I persuade myself, convince you that nothing but the strongest necessity, could make me again apply to you on that subject. I beg you will give your most serious attention to what I am going to say: Immediately on the receipt of one of your past letters, I not only gave over all thoughts of attacking the *French*, but invited them to enter into a treaty of neutrality, and to send people here to settle the terms; but judge what must have been my surprize, when, after they were in some manner settled, the *French* deputies owned that they had no power to secure to us the observance of the treaty, in case any commander of theirs should come with a great power after my departure! You are too reasonable not to see, that it is impossible for me to conclude a treaty with people who have no power to do it; and which besides, while it ties my hands, leaves those of my enemies at liberty to do me what mischief they can. They have also for a long time reported, that Monsieur *Buffy* is coming here with a great army. Is it to attack you? Is it to attack us? You are going to *Patna*—You ask our assistance.—Can we with the least degree of prudence march with you, and leave our enemies behind us? You will be then too far off to support us, and we shall be unable to defend ourselves. Think what can be done in this situation. I see but one way. Let us take *Cbandernagore*, and secure ourselves against any apprehensions from that quarter, and then we will assist you with every man in our power, and go with you even to *Dehli*, if you will. Have we sworn reciprocally, that the friends and the enemies of the one should be regarded as such by the other? And will not God the avenger of perjury punish us, if we do not fulfill our oaths? What can I say more? Let me request the favour of your speedy answer.

YOU TELL ME THE VAN OF THE KING OF DEHLI'S ARMY IS ADVANCING TOWARDS THESE PROVINCES, AND THAT YOU ARE GOING TOWARDS PATNA TO MEET THEM; IN CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH YOU ASK ME TO BE YOUR FRIEND, AND GIVE YOU ASSISTANCE. HAVE WE NOT ALREADY SWORN A FRIENDSHIP? PUT IT BUT IN MY POWER TO ASSIST YOU, BY YIELDING TO MY REQUEST, AND YOU SHALL FIND I WILL SUPPORT YOU TO THE UTMOST OF MY ABILITY. BELIEVE ME, AND MOST ASSUREDLY YOU WILL NOT BE DECEIVED. IF YOU DOUBT ME, LOOK BACK INTO ALL MY DEALINGS TOWARDS YOU, AND JUDGE FROM THEM. I ESTEEM YOU NOW TO BE SUCH A FRIEND TO MY NATION, THAT I THINK IT WOULD BE DOING INJUSTICE TO YOUR GOOD INCLINATION TOWARDS ME TO KEEP ANY OCCURRENCE FROM YOUR KNOWLEDGE; THEREFORE I TAKE THIS EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY TO TELL YOU, THE TROOPS WHICH SHOULD HAVE COME HERE WITH ME, ARE NOW ARRIVED IN THE RIVER, A CIRCUMSTANCE THAT WILL BE BENEFICIAL TO YOUR INTEREST, IF YOU WILL BUT GIVE ME THE MEANS OF MAKING IT SO."

1757.

A few days after this, the admiral's favourable sentiments of the *Nabob* were entirely changed; he was convinced that he had entered into a private negotiation with the *French*, and was determined to support them even with his whole force, while every article of his treaty with us remained unfulfilled; he therefore on *March* the 4th sent the following letter.

The Admiral to the *Nabob*.

"I answered your letter of the 20th of last month some days past; I suppose you have ere now received it, and are thereby fully convinced of the falshood of the *French Vackeel's* informations of my intention to break the peace. If you still want farther proofs of the sincerity with which I made it, and the desire I have to preserve it, you will find them in my *patience*; which has not only suffered your part of the treaty to be thus long unexecuted, but has even borne with your assisting my enemies the *French* with men and money, contrary to your faith pledged to me in the most solemn manner, "that my enemies should be yours."

"Is it thus that soldiers and men of honour never violate their words?" But it is time now to speak plain: if you are really desirous of preserving your country in peace, and your subjects from misery and ruin; in ten days from the date of this, fulfill your part of the treaty in every article, that I may not have the least cause of complaint: otherwise, remember, you must answer for the consequences; and as I have always acted the open, unreserved part in all my dealings with you; I now acquaint you, that the remainder of the troops, which should have been here long since (and which I hear the colonel told you he expected) will be at *Calcutta* in a few days; that in a few days more I shall dispatch a vessel for more ships and more troops; and, that I will kindle such a flame in your country, as all the water in the *Ganges* shall not be able to extinguish. Farewel: remember that he promises you this, who never yet broke his word with you, or with any man whatsoever."

The admiral on the 9th of *March* received from the *Nabob* the following answer.

"I have already answered the letter you wrote me some days ago. Be so good as to consider the purport of what I wrote *, and send me a speedy reply. I am fixed and determined to abide by the terms of the treaty we have concluded, but have been obliged to defer the execution of the articles on account of the *Hooly*, during which holidays my *Banians* and ministers do not attend the *Durbar*. As soon as that is over, I will strictly comply with every thing I have signed. You are sensible that there is no avoiding this delay, and I flatter myself it will not be thought much of. It is not my

* Concerning the king of *Delhi*.

custom to break any treaty I make, therefore be satisfied that I will not endeavour to evade that which I have made with the *English*. I rely on your friendship and bravery in giving me the assistance I asked against the van of the *Pytan* army who are advancing this way, and that you will oblige me with a compliance to the request I made in my last letter. What shall I say more? 1757.

I BEG YOU WILL BE SENSIBLE OF MY SINCERITY. I PROMISE YOU IN THE MOST FAITHFUL MANNER, THAT I WILL NEVER BREAK OR INFRINGE MY PART OF THE TREATY I HAVE MADE WITH YOUR NATION."

Inclosed in this letter came a small paper with these lines:

" This you may be sure of, that if any person or persons attempt to quarrel with you, or become your enemies, I have sworn before God that I will assist you. I have never given the *French* a single Cowry, and what forces of mine are at *Houghley*, were sent to *Nundcomar* the *Fougedar* * of that place: the *French* will never dare to quarrel with you; and I persuade myself that you will not, contrary to ancient custom, commit any hostilities within the *Ganges*, or in the provinces of which I am *Soubabdar*."

The admiral received also from the *Nabob* another letter, dated the 10th of *March* 1757.

" YOUR obliging answer to my letter I have received, wherein you write, that your suspicions are at an end, and that on the receipt of my letter you forbore attacking *Chandernagore*, and sent for their people to make peace, and wrote out the terms of agreement; but when they were about signing them, they declared that if they signed the articles, and any other commander should arrive, they could not be answerable for his adhering to them; and that on this account there was no peace. You also write many other particulars, of which I am well acquainted. It is true, if it is the custom of the *French*, that if one man makes an agreement, another will not comply with it, what security is there? My forbidding war on my borders, was, because the *French* were my tenants, and upon this affair desired my protection: on this I wrote you to make peace, and no intentions had I of assisting or favouring them. You have understanding, and generosity; if your enemy with an upright heart claims your protection, you will give him his life, but then you must be well satisfied of the innocence of his intentions; if not, whatever you think right, that do †.

* *Fougedar*, or *Phowadar*, governor and chief magistrate of the district.

† It was this paragraph that encouraged the admiral and colonel to proceed in their attack of *Chandernagore*.

1757. I am firm to my agreement, and look upon your enemies as my own, which I shall never swerve from.

Daily our friendship will increase *."

Colonel *Clive*, the latter end of *February*, left his camp near *Calcutta*, and crossed the *Ganges*, which was equally convenient either to commence hostilities against the *French*, or to join the *Nabob* against the *Pytan* forces; but the intentions both of the *Nabob* and of the *French* being very manifest, on the 8th of *March* he turned his face towards *Chandernagore*, and on the 13th he invested it. On the 14th the enemy sallied out, in which affair Captain *Coote* greatly signalized himself, and soon made them retreat; on this they quitted their outer works, and we became masters of the town, and the batteries in and about it, with very little loss; and the enemy by this means were shut up within their fort.

As soon as every thing was in readiness on board the fleet, and the ships cleared of their superfluous stores, they also moved up the river with the flood tides †. To the great mortification as well as astonishment of the *French*, (who had flattered themselves that it would be impracticable for us to bring up our largest ships) on the 18th the *Kent*, *Tyger*, and *Salisbury* appeared in sight of the fort, and then turning the point of *Chandernagore* reach, anchored the 19th off the *Prussian Ostragon*; from whence we had a full view of the town and fortifications. As soon as we came to an anchor, the *French* threw a shell, and fired a shot or two, to try if they could reach our ships; but they fell short.

* From Mr. *Watts's* translation.

† Mr. *James* sent the admiral the following letter on the occasion.

"SIR,

I have, in obedience to your directions, sent all my sick people to the hospital, and now inclose to you the present state of the ship.—Though it will appear that a great number of the crew are ill, yet as their complaints are chiefly scorbutical, occasioned by the late tedious passage, I hope a very few days will perfect their recovery; and as I shall ever esteem it an honour to serve under you, and study to merit the continuance of your approbation of my conduct, I hope, Sir, nothing will prevent your taking me with you on the intended expedition against *Chandernagore*. I flatter myself, you will find the *Revenge* of some good use, from her drawing but little water; at the same time she can fight most commodiously 24 twelve pounders upon one deck. I shall remain on board to-day to get every thing as forward as possible, and shall do myself the favour of waiting on you in the morning to receive what farther commands you may have to honour me with; being, Sir, with true respect,

Your most obliged,

Revenge, at *Calcutta*,
10th of *March*, 1756.

and obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM JAMES."

With this request, the admiral could not comply, as the public service obliged him to dispatch the *Revenge* to *Fort St. George* on business of great importance.

Our

Our preparations for the attack of this place had unavoidably been carried on so openly, that it was impossible they should be a secret to the *French*, who had therefore made use of every possible method to frustrate our design. Just below the fort of *Chandernagore*, there was a large bank of sand, which made the passage very narrow; to block up this channel, they had sunk three ships loaded with ballast; the masts of which however appeared above water. Three other large ships lay at anchor above the fort: These, it was said, were prepared as fire-ships, to be sent down with the tide to burn our Squadron in the middle of the night. The admiral therefore resolved to be beforehand with them, and gave orders that all the boats of the ships should go up as soon as the night came on, and endeavour to cut their cables. This was accordingly done, and they all drove upon the sands. It afterwards appeared, that the crews belonging to those ships had been taken out to reinforce the garrison. 1757.

The attack of the fort would probably have taken place the next morning, had the tides in the river been at all favourable for that purpose; but unfortunately for us, they served either too early in the morning, or too late in the afternoon. This circumstance obliged the admiral to postpone the attack for two or three days. In the mean time he sent Lieutenant *Hey* with a flag of truce to the governor, demanding a surrender of the place, which he politely, but resolutely refused to give up. Mr. *Hey*, having observed, as he passed between the vessels masts, which were sunk in the channel of the river, that their hulls were not deep under water; Mr. *John Delamotte*, a brave and active officer, and who was master on board the admiral's ship, was the next day sent to sound around them; and notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to interrupt him by an incessant firing of their cannon, he brought back the agreeable news, that there was room for our ships to pass with safety between them. But besides the obstruction which we expected to meet with from these sunken vessels; the *French* had taken care to erect two batteries of heavy cannon to render this narrow pass still more difficult and dangerous. One of these was constructed in the form of a half moon, and lay on the very brink of the river, within musket shot of the sunken vessels; the other was a fascine-battery on the glacis of the fort, and was intended to rake our ships fore and aft.—The cannon on their south bastion could also be brought to fire down the river.

The disposition made for attacking the fort was as follows. The *Tyger* was to be placed against the N. E. bastion; the *Kent* against the curtain between the bastions opposite the gate; and the *Salisbury* against the S. E. bastion. Before we began the attack, it was judged absolutely necessary that Colonel *Clive* should erect a battery on the side of the river, to fire on the south face of the enemy's S. E. bastion, and in case of an obstinate resistance, that we might breach that bastion by a cross fire from the ships, and

1757. and from this intended battery. Preparations were accordingly made for this purpose; but before they could be carried into execution, the army were obliged to make themselves masters of the half-moon battery, which they did with great gallantry, driving the enemy's troops before them into the fort.

All things being ready; on the 22d the admiral appeared extremely anxious to begin the attack; but the flood-tide in the afternoon was so very late, the ships could not possibly be placed in their proper stations while there was sufficient day-light to direct our fire; the enemy therefore would have had a great advantage over us; for though the nights were too dark for us to distinguish the embrasures of their fortifications, yet they could plainly see the hulls of our ships, which would have lain so near the fort, that a shocking carnage must have been made amongst their crews. That another day however might not be lost, the admiral the same evening ordered lights to be placed on the masts of the vessels that had been sunk, with blinds towards the fort, that we might see how to pass between them a little before day-light, and without being discovered by the enemy.

At length, the *glorious* morning of the 23d of *March* arrived, and upon the ships getting under sail, the Colonel's battery, which had been finished behind a dead wall, began firing away on the S. E. bastion. The *Tyger*, with Admiral *Pocock's* flag flying*, took the lead, and about six o'clock in the morning got very well into her station against the N. E. bastion. The *Kent*, with Admiral *Watson's* flag, quickly followed her; but before she could reach her proper station, the tide of ebb unfortunately made down the river, which occasioned her anchor to drag; so that before she brought up, she had fallen abreast of the S. E. bastion, the place where the *Salisbury* should have been, and from her mainmast aft, she was exposed to the flank guns of the S. W. bastion also. This accident of the *Kent's* anchor not holding fast, and her driving down into the *Salisbury's* station, threw this last ship out of action, to the great mortification of her captain, officers, and crew, for she never had it in her power to fire a gun, unless it was now and then, when she could sheer on the tide. The *French*, during the whole time of the *Kent* and *Tyger's* approach towards the fort, kept up a terrible cannonade upon them, without any resistance on their parts; but as soon as the ships came properly to an anchor, they returned it with such a fury as astonished their adversaries. Colonel *Clive's* troops at

* Mr. *Pocock* a few days before this, had arrived at *Ballafore* in the *Cumberland*, and though he could not get his own ship up the river, yet he would by no means be inactive, and therefore in his barge joined the Squadron the 21st, and the next evening, (which preceded this attack) he hoisted his flag on board the *Tyger*; his arrival was very mortifying to the gallant Captain *Latham*, who was obliged to yield to his superior officer a great part of those honours which otherwise would have been solely due to him as commander of the *Tyger*.

the same time got into those houses which were nearest the fort, and from thence greatly annoyed the enemy with their musketry *. 1757.

The fire now became general on both sides, and was kept up with extraordinary spirit. The flank guns of the S. W. bastion galled the *Kent* very much, and the admiral's aid-de-camps being all wounded, Mr. *Watson* went down himself to Lieutenant *William Brereton*, who commanded the lower deck battery, and ordered him particularly to direct his fire against those guns, and they were accordingly soon afterwards silenced. At eight in the morning, several of the enemy's shot struck the *Kent* at the same time; one entered near the foremast, and set fire to two or three 32 pound cartridges of gunpowder, as the boys held them in their hands ready to charge the guns. By the explosion, the wad-nets, and other loose things, took fire between decks, and the whole ship was so filled with smoke, that the men in their confusion cried out, she was on fire in the gunner's store-room; imagining from the shock they had felt from the balls, that a shell had actually fallen into her. This notion struck a panic into the greatest part of the crew, and 70 or 80 jumped out of the port-holes into the boats that were a long side the ship. The *French* presently saw this confusion on board the *Kent*, and resolving to take the advantage, kept up as hot a fire as possible upon her during the whole time. Lieutenant *Brereton* however, with the assistance of some other brave men, soon extinguished the fire, and then running to the ports, he begged the seamen to come in again, upbraiding them for deserting their quarters: but finding this had no effect upon them, he thought the more certain method of succeeding would be to strike them with a sense of shame, and therefore loudly exclaimed, "*Are you Britons? You Englishmen, and fly from danger? For shame, for shame!*" This reproach had the desired effect; to a man they immediately returned into the ship, repaired to their quarters, and renewed a spirited fire on the enemy.

In about three hours from the commencement of the attack, the parapets of the north and south bastions were almost beaten down; the guns were mostly dismounted; and we could plainly see from the main top of the *Kent*, that the ruins from the parapet and merlons had entirely blocked up those few guns which otherwise might have been fit for service. We could easily discern too that there had been a great slaughter among the enemy; who finding that our fire against them rather increased, hung out the white flag: Whereupon a cessation of hostilities took place, and the admiral sent Lieutenant *Brereton* (the only commission officer on board the *Kent* that was not killed or wounded) and Captain *Coote* of the King's

* Our ships lay so near to the fort, that the musket-balls fired from their tops, by striking against the Chunam walls of the Governor's palace, which was in the very center of the fort, were beaten as flat as a half-crown.

1757. regiment, with a flag of truce to the fort, who soon returned; accompanied by the French Governor's son, with articles of capitulation, which being settled by the admirals and colonel, we soon afterwards took possession of the place.

Articles of Capitulation proposed by the Director and Council for the French East India Company's Affairs at Chandernagore, to Vice-admiral Watson; with his answers, March 23d. 1757.

ART. I. The lives of the deserters shall be saved.

ANS. *The deserters shall be absolutely given up.*

II. All the officers of this garrison shall be prisoners on their parole of honor; and shall have liberty to carry with them all their effects, and go where they please, on promising they will not serve against his Britannic Majesty during the present war.

A. *The admiral agrees to this.*

III. The soldiers of the garrison, shall be prisoners of war, so long as the present war continues: and when peace is made between the King of France, and the King of England, they shall be sent to Pondicherry, and till then be entertained at the expence of the English company.

A. *The admiral likewise agrees, with this difference only, that instead of sending the soldiers to Pondicherry, they shall be sent to Madrafs, or to England, as the admiral shall hereafter think proper; and that such foreigners, who are not of the French nation, and chuse voluntarily to enter into the English service, shall have liberty.*

IV. The Sepoys of the garrison shall not be prisoners of war; they shall have leave, on the contrary, to return to their own country on the coast.

A. *The admiral agrees to this.*

V. The officers and men of the company's European ship *St. Contest*, shall be sent to Pondicherry in the first English ship, which goes to the coast.

A. *The officers and men of the European ship shall be upon the same footing as the soldiers, and be sent to Madrafs or to England as soon as possible.*

VI. The French Jesuit fathers shall have liberty to exercise the functions of their religion in the house which has been assigned them since the demolishing

molishing of their church : the silver ornaments and every thing that belongs to the church, shall be given them, and also their effects. 1757.

A. The admiral cannot agree to any Europeans residing here; but the French Jesuits may go to Pondicherry, with all the ornaments of their church, or wherever they please.

VII. All the inhabitants, of what nation or quality soever, as *Europeans, Mustees, Christians, Blacks, Gentils, Moors*, and others, shall be put in possession of their houses, and of all in general as shall be found belonging to them, either in the fort, or on their estates.

A. This article to be left to the admiral, who will do justice.

VIII. The factories of *Cassimbuzar, Dacca, Patna, Feuda*, and of *Bal-lasore*, shall remain at the command of the chiefs who direct them.

A. To be settled between the Nabob and the admiral.

IX. The directors, counsellors, and those employed under them, shall have leave to go where they please, with their cloaths and linen.

A. The admiral agrees to this.

The admiral expects an answer by three o'clock this afternoon, and that the British forces may take possession of the fort by four.

The above-mentioned propositions have been accepted of by the council, in consequence of which, we have delivered up the fortrefs of *Chandernagore* to Admiral *Watson*.

*Chandernagore, the 23d
of March, 1757.*

P. RENAULT,	LA-PORIERE,	M. FOURNIER,
F. NICOLAS,	A. CAILLOTT,	SUGUES.

It must be acknowledged that the *French* made a gallant defence; for they stood to their guns as long as they had any to fire. We never could learn how many of their men were killed and wounded in the whole; tho' they confessed that they had forty carried off dead from the S. E. bastion. The north-east bastion was also cleared of its defendants twice, and among many others that were wounded there, was one *Lee*, a corporal and deserter from the *Tyger*, who pledged himself to the enemy that he would throw two shells out of three into the *Tyger*; but while he was bringing the mortars to bear for that purpose, he was disabled by a musket-bullet from the *Kent's* top.—He was afterwards sent home a prisoner to *England*.

1757.

On our side, three of the *Kent's* lower deck guns were dismounted, and the same number on the upper deck. The ship received 138 cannon shot through her side next the fort, besides being greatly damaged in her masts and rigging. Thirty-seven men were killed upon the spot in her, and 74 wounded in a greater or less degree. Among the dead was Mr. *Perreau* the admiral's first lieutenant, who fell in the bloom of youth, unspeakably lamented by us all. Mr. *Rawlins Hey*, our third lieutenant, and much of the same age as *Perreau*, lost his thigh, and died on the 31st of March at the hospital, not less regretted than *Perreau*. Captain *Speke* was dangerously wounded in the leg, and the same shot carried off the thigh of his son Mr. *William Speke*, who afterwards died of the wound. Mr. *Stanton*, our second lieutenant, received many contusions, but he soon got the better of them. Mr. *Marriot*, a midshipman, was wounded in the thigh, but not mortally. Mr. *Wood*, another midshipman, was slightly wounded. Mr. *James Lister*, under-secretary to the admiral, as he was standing by him taking minutes, was wounded in the leg; and Mr. *Barnes* the purser, received a violent contusion in both his thighs from the wind of a ball, which passed very near, but did not strike him.

The number of the slain on board the *Tyger* almost equalled those of the *Kent*. Admiral *Pocock* himself was slightly wounded, but Mr. *Phillips* the master, mortally; and his mate Mr. *Pater* lost an arm. Mr. *Wilkinson*, Mr. *Thompson*, and Mr. *Gribble*, midshipmen, were also wounded. The whole number sent to the hospital from this ship was forty-one. In which were included a few volunteers from his majesty's frigate and sloop, who had been permitted to act this day on board the *Tyger* under the command of the *Bridgewater's* Lieutenant Mr. *Charles Saxton*, a young gentleman then lately promoted to the rank of a commission officer by Admiral *Watson*, and distinguished for his alacrity in offering himself as a volunteer on every emergent occasion.

Every humane bosom must needs commiserate the death of so many gallant *British* youth, as fell in this day's action. The killed and wounded indeed on shore were trifling; the enemy were so much employed against the ships, that the army had but one killed, and 10 wounded; but on board the two ships they were so numerous, that I would willingly forbear any farther mention of such a mournful scene; but the behaviour of Captain *Speke* and his son, a youth of 16 years of age, was so truly great and exemplary on this glorious but melancholy occasion, that I must beg leave to describe it, with some of it's most interesting circumstances.

When Admiral *Watson* had the unhappiness to see both the father and son fall in the same instant; he immediately went up to them, and by the most tender and pathetic expressions tried to alleviate their distress. The captain, who had observed his son's leg to be hanging only by the skin, said to the admiral, "Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel shot, to knock down both the father and the son!" Mr. *Watson's* heart was too full to make

the

the least reply; he only ordered them both to be immediately carried to the surgeon. The captain was first brought down to me in the after-hold, where a platform had been made, and then told me how dangerously his poor *Billy* was wounded. Presently after, the brave youth himself appeared, but had another narrow escape, the quarter-master, who was bringing him down in his arms after his father, being killed by a cannon ball: his eyes o'erflowing with tears, not for his own, but for his father's fate, I laboured to assure him, that his father's wound was not dangerous, and this assertion was confirmed by the captain himself. He seemed not to believe either of us, until he asked me *upon my honour*, and I had repeated to him my first assurance in the most positive manner. He then immediately became calm; but on my attempting to enquire into the condition of his wound, he solicitously asked me, if I had dressed his father, for he could not think of my touching him, before his father's wound had been taken care of. I assured him, that the captain had been already properly attended to: "*Then,*" (replied the generous youth, pointing to a fellow sufferer) "*Pray, Sir, look to and dress this poor man, who is groaning so sadly beside me!*" I told him, that he already had been taken care of, and begged of him with some importunity that I now might have liberty to examine his wound: he submitted to it, and calmly observed, "*Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint!*" I replied, my dear, I must!—Upon which, he clasped both his hands together, and lifting his eyes in the most devout and fervent manner towards heaven, he offered up the following short, but earnest petition; "*Good God, do thou enable me to behave in my present circumstances, worthy my Father's son!*"—When he had ended this ejaculatory prayer, he told me that he was all submission. I then performed the operation above the joint of the knee; but during the whole time the intrepid youth never spake a word, or uttered a groan that could be heard at a yard distance.

The reader may easily imagine, what, in this dreadful interval, the brave, but unhappy captain suffered, who lay just by his unfortunate and darling son. But whatever were his feelings, we discovered no other expressions of them, than what the silent, trickling tears declared; though the bare recollection of the scene, even at this distant time, is too painful for me.—Both the father and the son, the day after the action, were sent with the rest of the wounded back to *Calcutta*. The father was lodged at the house of *William Mackett*, Esq; his brother-in-law; and the son was with me at the hospital. For the first eight or nine days, I gave the father great comfort, by carrying him joyful tidings of his boy; and in the same manner I gratified the son in regard to the father. But alas! from that time, all the good symptoms which had hitherto attended this unparalleled youth, began to disappear! The captain easily guessed, by my silence and countenance, the true state his boy was in; nor did he ever after ask me more than two questions concerning him; so tender was the subject to us both, and so unwilling was his generous mind to add to my distress. The first, was on the tenth day, in these words, "*How long, my friend, do you think my*"

"*Billy*"

1757. "Billy may remain in a state of uncertainty?" I replied, that "If he lived to the 15th day from the operation, there would be the strongest hopes of his recovery." On the 13th however he died; and on the 16th the brave man looking me stedfastly in the face, said, "*Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy?*" I could make him no reply;—and he immediately attributed my silence to the real cause. He cried bitterly, squeezed me by the hand, and begged me to leave him for one half hour, when he wished to see me again; and assured me, that I should find him with a different countenance, from that he troubled me with at present.—These were his obliging expressions.—I punctually complied with his desire; and when I returned to him, he appeared, as he ever after did, perfectly calm and serene.

The dear youth had been delirious the evening preceding the day on which he died; and at two o'clock in the morning, in the utmost distress of mind, he sent me an incorrect note, written by himself with a pencil, of which the following is an exact copy. "*If Mr. Ives will consider the disorder a son must be in, when he is told he is dying, and is yet in doubt whether his father is not in as good a state of health. If Mr. Ives is not too busy to honour this chitt*, which nothing but the greatest uneasiness could draw from me. The boy waits an answer.*" Immediately on the receipt of this note, I visited him, and he had still sense enough left to know who I was. He then began with me.—"*And is he dead?—Who my dear? My father, Sir.*" No, my love; nor is he in any danger, I assure you; he is almost well. "*Thank God!—then why did they tell me so? I am now satisfied, and ready to die.*" At that time he had a locked jaw, and was in great distress, but I understood every word he so inarticulately uttered: he begged my pardon, for having (as he obligingly and tenderly expressed himself) disturbed me at so early an hour, and before the day was ended, surrendered up a valuable life.

The following exquisite simile so finely illustrates the beauty and untimely death of this incomparable young man, that I am persuaded every good-natured reader will excuse my inserting it.

"As a gay flower, with blooming beauties crown'd,
Cut by the share, lies languid on the ground:
Or some tall poppy, that o'ercharg'd with rain
Bends the faint head, and sinks upon the plain;
So fair, so languishingly sweet he lies,
His head declin'd, and drooping as he dies†."

* A Note in India is called a *Chitt*.

† *Purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
Languescit moriens; lassove papavera collo
Demisere caput, pluviâ cum fortè gravantur.*

VIRG. *Æn.* 9.

Captain

1757.

Captain *Speke* was confined to his bed and chamber, for some weeks after the action, nor did he perfectly recover from his wound; at times he was much indisposed, and in a great deal of danger. While incapable of duty, the admiral ordered his first lieutenant Mr. *John Clerke* to take upon him the command. At length, the *Kent* being condemned as unserviceable, the captain took his passage to *England* in one of our *East India* company's ships; leaving behind him the character of, a sensible and complete gentleman, as well as the gallant and skilful sea officer. He afterwards commanded the *Resolution* of 70 guns in the memorable engagement off *Bellisle*, when Sir *Edward Hawke* defeated the *French* fleet, and particularly distinguished himself by obliging the *Formidable* to strike to him, though a ship superior in force to his own. The *Resolution* in the night succeeding the action, was wrecked on a shoal called *Le'Four*, but the captain with the crew were providentially saved. Captain *Speke* afterwards returned to *England*, and for a while enjoyed in quiet those applauses which the public justly bestowed on his superior merit. He was afterwards appointed captain of the *Modeste*, and once more went to sea; but before he could render any farther services to his country, he died at *Lisbon* in the 43d year of his age, to the great grief of all his acquaintance, but especially of those whom he had honoured and made happy with a more intimate share of his friendship.

I have already cited some lines from Mr. *Pitt's* translation of *Virgil*, because I thought them applicable to the death of this great man's son: the reader will now excuse my quoting a few others from Mr. *William Whitehead*, and placing them here to the memory of both these heroes.

† "O happy both! if ought my muse cou'd shed.

"Of tears eternal which embalm the dead;

"While round *Britannia's* coast old ocean raves,

"And to her standard roll th' embattled waves,

"Fair empress of the deep: so long your names

"Should live lamented!"——

To alleviate our concern, it is to be observed, that by the reduction of *Chandernagore*, the *French* power and commerce in *Bengal* were totally ruined. The captors also met with no inconsiderable booty in the place; the guns, stores, and valuable effects found there, selling for above 130,000 *l.* sterling. It happened unfortunately however, that *Monf. Nicolas*, a man of a most amiable character, and the father of a large family,

† Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt;
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo;
Dum domus Æneæ capitolii immobile saxum
Accolet, imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

VIRG. ÆN. 9.

had.

1757. had not been so provident as the rest of his countrymen, in securing his effects within the fort, but had left them in the town; consequently upon Colonel *Clive's* first taking possession of the place, they had all been plundered by our common soldiers; and the poor gentleman and his family hereby were to all appearance ruined. The generous and humane Captain *Speke* having heard of the hard fate of *Monf. Nicolas*, took care to represent it to the two admirals in all its affecting circumstances; who immediately advanced the sum of 1500 rupees each. Their example was followed by the five captains of the Squadron, who subscribed 5000 between them. Mr. *Doidge* added 800 more; and the same sum was thrown in by another person, who was a sincere well-wisher to this unfortunate gentleman: so that a present of 9600 rupees, or 1200*l.* sterling, was in a few minutes collected towards the relief of this valuable *Frenchman* and his distressed family.

One of the company was presently dispatched with this money, who had orders to acquaint *Monf. Nicolas*, "that a few of his *English* friends desired his acceptance of it, as a small testimony of the very high esteem they had for his moral character, and of their unfeigned sympathy with him in his misfortunes." The poor gentleman, quite transported at such an instance of generosity in an enemy, cried out in a sort of extacy, "*Good God! they are friends indeed!*"—He accepted of the present with great thankfulness, and desired that "his most grateful acknowledgments might be made to his unknown benefactors; for whose happiness, and the happiness of their families, not only his, but the prayers of his childrens children, he hoped, would frequently be presented to heaven.—He could add no more:—The tears which ran plentifully down his cheeks, bespoke the feelings of his heart; and indeed implied much more, than even *Cicero* with all the powers of oratory could possibly have expressed.

Soon after the capture of *Chandernagore* the admiral sent an express with an account of it to *England*, by Captain *Richard Toby* of his majesty's sloop the *King's-fisher*.

C H A P. X.

Correspondence between the Admiral and the Nabob.—Admiral Watson and the Colonel resolve to recommence hostilities against him.—The grandees of his court confederate to dethrone him.—The chiefs of the council at Calcutta enter into a treaty with them: Articles of that treaty.—Colonel Clive takes the field with his forces.—Account of the battle of Plassey. — Jaffier Ali-Khan is handed to the Soubahdar's seat by Colonel Clive.—Serajah Dowlah, the late Nabob, is taken prisoner, and put to death.

THREE days after the reduction of the important fortress of Chander-nagore, the admiral renewed his correspondence with the Nabob; willing, if possible, to cultivate friendship with him, and desirous also to put an end to the French power in Bengal.

1757.

The Admiral to the Nabob, dated the 26th of March 1757.

“ I HAVE the honour of several of your letters, which I would have paid due attention to, and answered immediately, had not the service I came here upon engaged all my time: I hope you will accept this as a reasonable excuse for my long silence. I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that on the 23d of this month, after two hours fighting, we, by the blessing of God, and the happy influence of your fortune and friendship, subdued and took possession of the French fort, making our enemies prisoners, except a small number who fled up the river with their effects. I have sent a few armed men to seize them; and I persuade myself you will not be displeased at this step, since I have given the strictest orders not to molest or disturb any of your subjects.

I have often declared to you my unalterable resolution of strictly adhering to the treaty made between us; and as we have sworn reciprocally that the enemies of either should be esteemed the enemies of both, I hope, by your favour, the enemies I have now remaining will be delivered into my hands, together with their effects.

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The

1757.

The moment I received your letter complaining of Mr. *Drake's* having addressed himself to *Monickbund* in a manner displeasing to you, I wrote to Mr. *Drake*, and desired he would make an apology to you for the expressions he had made use of to *Monickbund*; which he has done, and I hope you are satisfied therewith: you may rest assured, you will have no cause of such complaint for the future.

I observe by your letter of the 22d of this month, that you were under a necessity of sending your brother *Raja Roy Dullubram Babader* into the *Burdwan* country, to collect the revenues which *Monickbund* excused himself from paying: as you have given me your word, that this is the purpose of his march, it is not in the power of any artful designing villain to make me believe the contrary; and as it will be evermore my first principle to promote and establish the friendship made between us, I shall be very cautious how I give credit to any idle stories, tending to break the unity, which I hope will endure for ever between you and the *English*. I am sensible our nation has many enemies at your court; but as you are a wise and prudent prince, I hope you will in time discover all the wickedness of those, who by asserting for positive truths what have appeared to be notorious falsehoods, have attempted to injure us in your opinion. As I know your ears have been filled with evil reports of us, and you will still be subject to hear the stories of such deceivers, the Major will be sent to you: receive what he may say, as my sentiments, and be assured you shall not be deceived. What can I say more?"

This letter not producing the desired effect, and being too well convinced that the *Nabob* had hostile intentions in his breast; for, instead of delivering up, he corresponded with and protected our *French* enemies, the admiral addressed another letter to him, dated the 31st of *March*, 1757.

"I HAVE already informed you of our conquest of *Chandernagore*, and making all the *French* our prisoners, except some fugitives who fled up the river, after whom, I told you I had sent some armed men in boats. I am sorry I should be under a necessity of sending you another letter; but having received information that you have not as yet performed your agreement, I must take leave to acquaint you, that from the repeated promises you have made of keeping your word in every respect, I now expect you will act conformable to the oath you have taken before God and your *Prophet*, and comply immediately with all the articles of the treaty. Deliver also the cannon to Mr. *Watts* which you now have belonging to the company; and strictly keep to the oath we have both sworn, of living in friendship, and esteeming each other's enemies our own; and deliver up into my hands all the *French* in your dominions, with their effects. This will be keeping your oath, and behaving like a prince, whose pursuit is justice, and whose utmost glory as a soldier, is preserving his word inviolable. Depend upon it, if there are any about you bold enough to advise you to act contrary to these just demands, they

they are your enemies, and want to see your country involved in a ruinous war, which nothing but your breach of promise, of faith, and of honour, shall ever prevail on me to engage in. Nothing will give me more satisfaction, than the being assured that continual peace and friendship will for ever last between you and the *English*. 1757.

Since I began this letter, I am informed the fugitive *French* have offered to enter into your service. If you accept this offer, I shall conclude that you intend to favour the *French*, and desire to live no longer in friendship with me; especially as you have declined the assistance of the *English* troops, after strongly soliciting them."

The admiral, not able to obtain any answer, either in words or deeds, sent another letter.

The Admiral to the Nabob.

Kent, off Chandernagore, 2d of April 1757.

" I HAVE been informed, that you express some uneasiness at our ships remaining at this settlement, and at our army being encamped near *Houghley*. I find that our enemies have taken the advantage of your uneasiness, and endeavoured to persuade you our troops propose marching up in a hostile manner against you to *Muxadabad*. It is amazing to me, that any one should dare to impose so grossly on your understanding, without trembling at the consequence, should his villainous arts be discovered. And it also surprizes me, that you should hearken to such idle stories. You, as a foldier, must know, that while I have enemies yet in your dominions, it would be very impolitic in me not to pursue them. Yet, if you will deliver up my enemies and their effects to me, my ships and troops shall immediately return to *Calcutta*; and then, and not before, shall I be convinced of your sincerity and resolution in abiding by the oath you have taken, of regarding my enemies as your own."

The day after the forwarding of the above, the admiral received the following letter from the *Nabob*, though dated the 1st of *Rajab*, or 22d of *March* 1757.

" WHAT I have promised, and set my hand to, I will firmly maintain, nor in any respect deviate therefrom. All Mr. *Watts's* demands, and whatsoever he has represented to me, I have complied with, and what remains, shall be given up by the 15th of this moon. This, Mr. *Watts* must have written to you, with all the particulars; but notwithstanding all this, it appears to me from many instances, that you seek to obliterate your agreement with me. The country within the territories of *Houghly*, *Ingely*, *Burdwan* and *Nuddea*, have been ravaged by your troops. For what

1757.

cause is this? Add to this, that *Govendram Metre* wrote to *Nundcomar* by the son of *Ramden Gose*, requiring him to deliver *Colligant*, as belonging to the districts of *Calcutta*, into his the said *Metre's* possession. What is the meaning of this? I am sure this has been done without your knowledge. In confidence of your engagement, I made peace; with the view of procuring the welfare of the country, and to prevent the ruinous consequences which would befall the royal territories from both armies, and not that the people should be trampled upon, and the revenues obstructed.

Your endeavours should be daily to strengthen more and more the friendship which has taken root betwixt us, and to that end put a stop to the influence of this mischief-maker, and discountenance the aforesaid *Metre* in such manner, that he may not dare to say these things, nor be guilty of such false proceedings for the future. By the will of God, the agreement shall never be infringed upon my part. I have spoken to Mr. *Watts* fully on this subject; the particulars of which you will have in his letter.

P. S. I have just learned that the *French* are bringing a large force from the *Deccan*, to make war against you; for this reason I write to you, that if you stand in need of any forces of the government for your support, you will immediately acquaint me, and they shall be ready to join you whenever you shall have occasion for them."

This produced the following reply.

The Admiral to the Nabob.

Dated *Calcutta*, 3d of *April*, 1757.

" THE letter you did me the honour to write the 22d of last month, did not come to my hands till this day. As the subject of it required an answer as soon as possible, I make no doubt but you have been surprized at not having found any thing in my three last letters relating thereto. But this informs you of the true reason, and I hope will satisfy you of my readiness always to acknowledge the receipt of your favours. The assurances you continue to give me, of firmly maintaining the agreement between us; makes me hope you will listen to all the just demands I have made in my last letters, as the delivering up my enemies into my hands with all their effects, and complying with all the articles of the treaty: the latter part, you promise me shall be done the 15th of this *Moon*, which will be to-morrow, when I hope Mr. *Watts* will be able to write, and assure me you have fulfilled your promise. You tell me, that notwithstanding the order you have given for every thing being complied with, and fixing the day for its being done, yet it appears to you from many instances that I intend to break my agreement. You must suffer me to tell you, that your apprehensions of my not strictly abiding by the treaty I have made, are founded on false repre-

representations, made to you by *Monickbund*, to excuse himself from paying the revenues of the several countries you say have been pillaged by the *English*. How can this possibly be? When the *English* troops, since the happy peace made with you, have penetrated no farther into the *Burdwan* country, than marching from *Bankebusar* to *Chandernagore* along shore; and since the conquest of the *French*, a few armed men were sent after some fugitives a little way, but they have been ordered back some time since, and are returned. Of this, upon very little reflection, you must be sensible; why then will you hearken to those who seek every opportunity to deceive you, and make you believe such things as are in their nature impossible? For how could the territories of *Houghly*, *Ingely*, *Burdwan* and *Nuddea*, be ravaged by our troops, when the troops have been no farther than I have assured you? I am afraid the person who dares attempt the imposing on you so gross a falsehood as this, has reason to think you may be easily persuaded into the belief of any thing, that would serve as a pretence for your displeasure against the *English*; otherwise, I think no one would presume to fill your ears with such false and idle stories. What you tell me relating to *Govendram Metre*, you do me great justice in believing he has acted in the manner he did, without my knowledge. You may be assured, I will take pains to enquire into every circumstance of that matter, and will see that strict justice is done to you, and give *Metre* a severe rebuke for his late behaviour.

Need I give you any farther assurances of my immoveable resolution strictly to regard our treaty, and every moment to improve the friendship growing up between us? I hope not. I would willingly believe, you now know me sufficiently to place a confidence in what I say, without having any doubts of being deceived; which you may depend upon you never shall by me: deceit is detestable in the heart of an honest man, and much too low a practice for the true soldier to stoop to.

Give me leave to render you my thanks for your intelligence concerning the *French* from the *Deccan*, and your readiness in offering me assistance, if I should have occasion. Should the *French* leave the *Deccan*, and come into this country with such a number as to make the junction of our troops necessary, I then will do myself the honour to write to you on that business. In the mean time, if you would wish to preserve peace in your country, deliver up my enemies into my hands, and by that means they will be less able to oppose me, if such a force should arrive. This will convince me of the sincerity of your offer. It is now in your power to settle *everlasting peace* in your country, and if you suffer the opportunity to slip, it may never offer again. You see that God, by whose power all human events are determined, has given me the victory over my enemies. He seeth the justness of my cause, and therefore fighteth for me. Hesitate then no longer about the things I have written to you, but openly fulfill the oath you made before God and your *Prophet*, of making my enemies your own; and let us evermore become as one people. Then, we shall see peace and tranquility.

1757. tranquility will flourish; for our enemies beholding us cemented in unity, will not venture to bring war into the country.

Reflect on what I have written, and be assured nothing is so much my desire, as to see peace and concord perfectly settled throughout the whole kingdom; and to give you the strongest proof of my sincerity, I have ordered the King's ships down to *Calcutta*, as I heard such a measure would be acceptable to you. WHAT CAN I SAY MORE?"

After a great many inward struggles, and still dissembling his resentment, the *Nabob* sent the following answer.

The Nabob to the Admiral, dated 14th of April, 1757.

"YOUR letters at several times, I have received, with the news of your health, which has given me great pleasure. The purport of them I have duly understood; and for your satisfaction, and in observance of the agreement between us, to look upon each others enemies as our own, I have expelled Mr. *Law* with all his adherents from my country, and have given strict orders to all my *Naibs* and *Fougedars* not to permit them to remain in any part of my dominions. I am ready upon all occasions to grant you my assistance. If the *French* ever enter the province with a great or small force, with a design of making war upon you; God and his *Prophets* are between us, that whenever you write to me, I will be your ally, and join you with all my force. Rest satisfied in this point, and be assured of my resolution to remain inviolably by the promises which I have made in my letters, and in the treaty concluded betwixt us. With regard to the *French* factories and merchandize, I must acquaint your excellency, that I have been informed, the *French* company are indebted to the natives, and have several *Lacks* belonging to my subjects in their hands; should I comply with your demands in delivering up the effects, how can I answer it to the creditors of the *French*? Your excellency is my well-wisher and my friend; weigh all this affair, and return me your answer, that I may act accordingly.

I have written before, and now repeat, that if the *English* company want to establish their trade, do not write me what is not conformable to our agreement, by the instigation of self-interested and designing men, who want to break the peace between us. If you are not disposed to come to a rupture with me, you have my agreement under my hand and seal; when you write, look upon that, and write accordingly.

Mr. *Watts* will inform you fully of all particulars: What shall I write more?

IF YOU DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE, WRITE NOTHING CONTRARY TO THE TREATY."

This

This letter, and daily instances of the *Nabob's* perfidious and hostile intentions, engaged the Admiral to address the *Nabob* more plainly in a letter dated *April 19th, 1757.*

1757.

“ I AM honoured with your letter of the 14th of this month, acquainting me with your having received at several times the letters I lately wrote you. Your forbearance, and not writing to me, hath not the appearance of that friendship, you would persuade me you have for my countrymen; and with regard to myself, I must take the liberty to say, I was more particularly entitled to a speedy answer to my letters, from my high rank and station; and I cannot help looking upon your neglect in this respect, but as a slight offered to the King my master, who sent me into *India* to protect his subjects, and demand justice wheresoever they were oppressed.

I observe in your letter the following particulars, viz. “ That for my satisfaction and according to our mutual agreement to look upon each others enemies as our own, you have expelled Monsieur *Law* and his adherents from your dominions, and given strict orders, &c. &c.” My brother Mr. *Watts*, who is entrusted with all the company's concerns, always writes me the particulars of your intended favours towards us; but I have never found that what he writes is put in execution, neither do I find that what you wrote me in your letter dated the 1st of *Rajub* (22d of *March*) is yet complied with. You therein assured me, that you would fulfill all the articles you had agreed to, by the 15th of that *Moon*. Have you ever yet complied with them all? No. How then can I place any confidence in what you write, when your actions are not correspondent with your promises? Or how can I reconcile your telling me in so sacred a manner, you will be my ally, and assist me with your forces against the *French*? when you have given a *Perwannab* to Mr. *Law* and his people to go towards *Patna*, in order to escape me, and tell me it is for my satisfaction, and in observance of the mutual agreement, you have taken this measure. Is this an act of friendship? Or is it in this manner I am to understand you will assist me? Or am I to draw a conclusion from what you write, or from what you do? You are too wise not to know when a man tells you one thing, and does the direct contrary, which you ought to believe. Why then do you endeavor to persuade me you will be my friend, when at the same time you give my enemies your protection, furnish them with ammunition, and suffer them to go out of your dominions with three pieces of cannon? Their effects I esteem a trifling circumstance, and as far as they will contribute to do justice to your people, who are creditors to the *French* company, I have no objection to your seizing them for their use, for money is what I despise, and accumulating riches to myself is what I did not come here for.

But I have already told you, and now repeat it again, that while a *Frenchman* remains in this kingdom, I will never cease pursuing him; but if they will deliver themselves up, they shall find me merciful: and I am

confident

1757. confident those who have already fallen into my hands, will do me the justice to say, they have been treated with a much greater generosity, than is usual by the general custom of war.

If you will reflect upon the oath you have taken, you cannot but join with me in what follows: As soon as *Cassimbuzar* is properly garrisoned, to which place our troops will speedily begin their march, I desire you will grant a *Dusuck* for the passage of two thousand of our soldiers by land to *Patna*. You may be assured they will do no violence, nor commit the least injury to the natives: the only design of sending them is to seize the *French*, and restore tranquility and perfect peace in your kingdom, which can never be truly established in these dominions, while a war continues between us and them. If you are apprehensive of any injury arising to your subjects from the march of our troops to *Patna*, send some of your trusty *Hircars* to go with them, with orders to acquaint you from time to time of their transactions, and I dare answer you will find their reports agreeable to what I now write you.

Instead of sending Mr. *Watts* only *ten* guns, why did you not deliver up all that belonged to the company? I will not write you what is not conformable to our agreement, and which you suppose was by the instigation of self-interested and designing men: I must take the liberty to say, I never yet have written a syllable contrary to our agreement, and the oath and promise I have made; and be assured it is not in the power of any artful or designing men to make me write any thing inconsistent with my honour. I ask nothing more than your fulfilling the articles of your agreement, and abiding by the oath you have taken: This I have strongly urged you to do, because you have been very slow in the execution, and this surely I have a right to demand, so long as you neglect to perform it. If it is disagreeable to you to hear these things, put it out of my power ever to ask again, by your immediate compliance; and as you have desired me when I write, to look upon our agreement, and take that for my guide, let me request you to compare my letters with my agreements, and with what you have promised, and when you find me differ from that, or ask any thing contrary to it, then tax me therewith; point out to me expressly, wherein I have deviated from this rule, and you shall find me ready to confess it as an error: but till then, you must excuse me for insisting on your having charged me wrongfully, and which upon an examination of my letters, I make no doubt will appear to you too plain to be contradicted.

Let me again repeat to you, I have no other views than that of peace. The gathering together of riches is what I despise; and I call on God, who sees and knows the spring of all our actions, and to whom you and I must one day answer, to witness to the truth of what I now write; therefore if you would have me believe that you wish peace as much as I do, no longer let it be the subject of our correspondence, for me to ask for the fulfilment of the treaty, and you to promise and not perform it; but immediately

mediately fulfill all your engagements: thus let peace flourish and spread ^{1757.} throughout all your country, and make your people happy in the re-establishment of their trade, which has suffered by a ruinous and destructive war. What can I say more?"

After this letter, the correspondence ceased on the part of the admiral; and from the date thereof, to the month of *June*, the *Nabob* continued to give full proofs of his enmity towards us, and his design to embrace the first convenient opportunity of extirpating us. Hostile preparations were now made on each side; and on the 13th of *June* things drew near to a crisis, when the *Nabob* sent the following, and his last letter to the admiral.

25th of *Ramazan* (13th of *June*) 1757.

"ACCORDING to my promises, and the agreement made between us, I have duly rendered every thing to Mr. *Watts*, except a very small remainder, and had almost settled *Monichbund's* affair: Notwithstanding all this, Mr. *Watts* and the rest of the council of the factory at *Cassimbuzar*, under pretence of going to take the air in their gardens, fled away in the night. This is an evident mark of deceit, and of an intention to break the treaty. I am convinced it could not have happened without your knowledge, nor without your advice. I all along expected something of this kind, and for that reason I would not recall my forces from *Plassey*, expecting some treachery.

I praise God, that the breach of the treaty has not been on my part: God and his *Prophet* have been witnesses to the contract made between us, and whoever first deviates from it will bring upon themselves the punishment due to their actions."

By the letters, as well as by a multiplicity of facts, it is evident that *Serajah Dowlah*, from the time of signing the treaty with us, had shewn himself but little inclined to abide by any of it's articles; it was indeed intended by him to lull us into a fatal security. He was very liberal in his promises, but always took care to put off the performance of them, and that upon such trifling pretences, as demonstrated his ill intentions towards us. His positive orders at first, that we should not besiege *Chandernagore*, strongly indicated his attachment to our enemies; though, after we had taken that place, he put the best face he could upon it, and pretended that he was not displeased at our success. We were not ignorant however, that he had ordered a body of near 2000 men to the assistance of that garrison, who might have greatly obstructed if not defeated our enterprize, had we not found means to prevent their acting. It is certain, that a *French* corps under the command of Monsieur *Law*, was protected by him, and even in his pay; and that he had invited *Buffy* with the *French* army to enter

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Bengal

1757. *Bengal* against us. Besides these instances of his ill disposition towards us, it is to be remarked, that although four months were elapsed, the material points of the treaty were not fulfilled; and even his solemn engagement to restore to the company the villages which of right belonged to them, was evaded, without framing an excuse for such an atrocious breach of faith.

The *English* in this situation saw no other remedy for their present grievances, nor any other means of preventing the fatal blow of extirpation, which was to be expected on the arrival of the *French* army, than by opposing openly the man who was thus planning the ruin of the company's affairs, and only waited for the return of the squadron to the coast of *Coromandel*, to effect it. This point was much agitated in the council, and canvassed with all that caution and circumspection, which a matter of such consequence required. It certainly was a very difficult and dangerous measure, and perhaps would never have been carried into execution, had not a most fortunate incident happened, which almost insured success.

Serajah Dowlab, after his taking *Calcutta*, had behaved with such insolence and cruelty towards his own subjects, that several of the *Grandeos* or considerable persons of his court entered into a confederacy to depose him. He had displayed the severity of his nature in so many instances, as to strike an universal terror; and from the fickleness of his disposition, no man who was near him, and in his power, could think himself safe. *Meer Jaffer Ali Khan*, a man of great power and influence, (and who had married the sister of *Serajah's* predecessor and grandfather, *Aliverdy Khan*) conducted the design of depriving the *Nabob* of that power, he had so egregiously abused; he was seconded in it by *Roydullub*, general of horse, and by *Jugget-Seet*, who was banker to the *Nabob*, and esteemed the richest merchant in all *India*. These three leading men soon communicated their designs to Mr. *Watts* the *English* resident at the *Durbar* or *Nabob's* court, and he to Colonel *Clive* and the secret committee at *Calcutta*. The chiefs there did not hesitate long about coming into the scheme. Great dexterity, as well as secrecy, being necessary in executing the plan for a revolution, the whole management thereof, was left to Colonel *Clive*, and to Mr. *Watts*. To avoid suspicion, it was necessary that Mr. *Watts* should not be observed to have frequent intercourse with *Jaffer*: he therefore entrusted one *Omichund* a *Gentoo* merchant with the secret, and through him carried on his correspondence with *Meer Jaffer*. *Omichund* was a man of the deepest cunning and most insatiable avarice, and strongly suspected to have been the principal person that fomented the late troubles against the *English*, in hopes of pecuniary advantages to himself: Mr. *Watts* did not sufficiently know the man till too late. *Omichund*, after the plot was so far advanced, that a treaty was just on signing with *Meer Jaffer*, unreasonably demanded a quarter part of all the *Nabob's* treasure, which was supposed to amount to 64 *Crore*, or 80 millions sterling. His

final terms were 30 *Lack* of *Rupees* for himself, by a special article in the treaty; and he made no scruple to assure Mr. *Watts*, that if his demand was not complied with, he would instantly inform the *Nabob* of our schemes, when every *Englishman* within his reach would certainly be put to the severest death. In this dilemma, Mr. *Watts* applied to *Meer Jaffier*, who was determined not to accede to such terms, if any means of obviating them could be devised. Mr. *Watts* then wrote to the select committee, who seeing that the fate of all depended upon temporizing with *Omicund*, and being at the same time very averse to submit to the extortions of such a consummate rogue, contrived that two treaties should be executed and sent up to *Meer Jaffier*, who was to be let into the secret. One treaty was the real one to be abided by; the other was fictitious, but with no other difference than that it contained the article of 30 *Lack* for *Omicund*. The real treaty was executed privately by *Meer Jaffier*; the fictitious treaty was executed also by him, and in the presence of *Omicund*, who was thereupon perfectly satisfied. It may be necessary here also to observe, that this fictitious treaty was signed by Colonel *Clive* and all the select committee: Admiral *Watson* did not chuse to sign it, because he had signed the real treaty. A strict principle of delicacy, which in him was superior to any point of policy, operated too strongly on his mind to permit him to join even in a necessary deception of this nature: however, while he manifested no displeasure against the actors, all classes of people, from their knowledge of *Omicund*'s avarice and treachery, applauded the artifice by which he was so deservedly outwitted.

TREATY executed by *Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahadar*, with *Admiral Watson*, *Colonel Clive*, and the *Counsellors Drake and Watts*.

I SWEAR BY GOD, AND THE PROPHET OF GOD, TO ABIDE BY THE TERMS OF THIS TREATY WHILE I HAVE LIFE*.

ART. I. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the *Nabob Serajah Dowlah*, I agree to comply with.

II. The enemies of the *English* are my enemies, whether they be *Indians* or *Europeans*.

III. All the effects and factories belonging to the *French* in the province of *Bengal*, (the paradise of nations) and *Babar*, and *Orixa*, shall remain in the possession of the *English*, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.

IV. In consideration of the losses which the *English* company have sustained by the capture and plunder of *Calcutta* by the *Nabob*, and the charges

* This was written by his own hand.

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occasioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one *Crore* of *Rupees*, [1,250,000*l.*]

V. For the effects plundered from the *English* inhabitants at *Calcutta*, I agree to give fifty *Lack of Rupees*, [625,000*l.*]

VI. For the effects plundered from the *Gentoos*, *Moors* and other inhabitants of *Calcutta*, twenty *lack of rupees* shall be given, [250,000*l.*] &c.

VII. For the effects plundered from the *Armenian* inhabitants of *Calcutta*, I will give the sum of seven *lack of rupees*, [87,500.] The distribution of the sums allotted to the *English*, *Gentoo*, *Moor* and other inhabitants of *Calcutta*, shall be left to Admiral *Watson*, Colonel *Clive*, Roger *Drake*, William *Watts*, James *Kilpatrick* and Richard *Becher*, Esquires, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.

VIII. Within the ditch which surrounds the borders of *Calcutta*, are tracts of land belonging to several *Zemindars*; besides these, I will grant to the *English* company six hundred yards without the ditch.

IX. All the land lying south of *Calcutta*, as far as *Culpee*, shall be under the *Zemindary* of the *English* company; and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by the company in the same manner as other *Zemindars*.

X. Whenever I demand the assistance of the *English*, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

XI. I will not erect any new fortifications near the river *Ganges*, below *Houghley*.

XII. As soon as I am established in the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated the 15th of the month Ramazan,
(June 1757) *in the fourth year of*
the present reign.

On the 12th of *June*, advice was received from *Meer Jaffier* and the other confederates, that all things were in readiness with them. The dye was cast, and on the 13th of *June*, the whole army marched forwards, and the colonel wrote to the *Soubabdar* the very day of his march, to the following purport: "That from his great reputation for justice, and faithful observance of his word, he had been induced to make peace with him, and to pass over the loss of many *crores of rupees* sustained by the *English* in the capture of *Calcutta*; and to rest content with whatever he in his justice and generosity should restore to them: that his excellency had not thought fit to set any value on the friendship of the *English*, but had in every thing discouraged.

as much as possible the company's business, by turning their *Vaqueel* disgracefully from his presence, refusing free passage to the *English* through his country, intercepting their trade, and searching their factory at *Cassimbuzar* for ammunition and warlike stores, on pretence of their intending an attempt on his life, in the time of profound peace; threatening them with an instant rupture, if they did not submit to the search. That these were but trifles however, compared to his open and avowed protection of the king's enemies, of which his letters to *Monf. Bussy*, wrote but a few days after his entering into a solemn treaty with us, inviting him to his country, was a flagrant proof: that his protection and allowance of ten thousand rupees per month to *Monf. Law*, and many other circumstances, were not only so many deviations from the treaty, but evidently shewed his excellency's intention to fall upon the *English*, as soon as the absence of their troops and fleet might expose them to it; that the main article of the treaty was infringed, in his proffering only a fifth part of the sum paid into the treasury, for the plunder of *Calcutta*, and yet demanding a discharge for the whole." The colonel complained bitterly of so many insults put upon him, and reminded the *Soubahdar* how different his own conduct was, when called upon to assist him against the *Pytans*. He solemnly declared, that his intentions were to have fought for him to the last drop of his blood; but seeing his excellency had chosen his friends from among his enemies, and had in every respect deviated from his engagements, he had determined, with the approbation of all who were charged with the company's affairs, to proceed immediately to *Cassimbuzar*, and submit their disputes to the arbitration of *Meer Jaffier*, *Roydullab*, *Jugget-seet*, and others of his great men; that if it should be found, that he, the colonel, had deviated from the treaty, he then swore to give up all farther claims; but that, if it appeared his excellency had broken it, he should then demand satisfaction for all the losses sustained by the *English*, and all the charges of their army and navy; and concluded with telling him, "that the rains being so near, and it requiring many days to receive an answer, he had found it necessary to wait upon him immediately *."

Our army consisted of 750 military (including 100 *Topasses*) about 150 of the train (including 50 sailors with 7 midshipmen under the command of Lieutenant *Hayter*), 2100 *Sepoys*, 8 pieces of cannon six pounders, and 1 haubitzer. The *Europeans* and artillery were embarked in boats, and the *Sepoys* marched on to the northward through *Houghley*. The *Bridge-water* also sailed up the river as far as *Houghley*, to keep that place in awe, and to preserve a communication between the colonel and the squadron. The admiral's first lieutenant, Mr. *John Clerke*, with a detachment of 150 seamen, garrisoned *Chandernagore*, and the ships effectually secured *Calcutta* from

* *Sraffon's* reflections on the government of *Indostan*.

1757. any kind of insult, while a few *Topasses* were appointed to guard the French prisoners.

These previous and judicious measures being taken, the army advanced towards *Muxadabad*. On the 14th of June, Mr. *Watts* and other gentlemen, with 30 soldiers, who had made their escape from *Cassimbuzar*, arrived at the army; and on the 18th, Major *Coote* (lately promoted from the rank of captain) was sent forward with a detachment of 200 *Europeans*, 500 *Sepoys*, one field-piece, and a haubitzer, to reduce *Cutwab*, a fort belonging to the *Nabob*, situated on the bank of *Cassimbuzar* river, about half a mile in circumference. As he was reconnoitring the place, one of the soldiers of the party suddenly grew delirious, and while in the agonies of death made so great a noise, as to discover to the enemy where they were; on which they began a brisk firing, and obliged the major for the present to alter his position; but he presently afterwards made a lodgement on a large bastion, and the next day, after some opposition, the enemy abandoned the fort, and left to the conqueror 14 pieces of cannon of different calibers, and a large quantity of grain and ammunition.

When the army was within two days march of *Muxadabad*, Colonel *Clive* received some disagreeable advices from *Meer Jaffier*, which he immediately laid before a council of war summoned upon the occasion, the majority of whose members were of the colonel's opinion, that he ought not to advance any farther. He therefore halted where he was, and sent an express to *Calcutta*, desiring fresh orders. However, the same evening Colonel *Clive* received a second message from *Meer Jaffier*, assuring him of his due performance of the articles mentioned in the treaty, but informing him that he was so surrounded with spies, as to be obliged to act with the greatest caution. This intelligence soon determined the colonel to push on; and that very night, without waiting for any instructions from *Calcutta*, he gave orders for the army to hold themselves in readiness to march the next morning, when, leaving a subaltern officer with all the sick at *Cutwab*, he broke up his camp, and marched towards the enemy, through water almost to the soldiers' middles; the rainy season being now set in. At 6 o'clock in the morning the army crossed the river, and marched about two miles farther, to a large tope (or grove) where they halted till the evening: about 4 the next morning, the whole army reached *Plassey* grove, after a very fatiguing march, and through a whole night's rain. Advice having been brought to the colonel, on his arrival at the grove, that the *Nabob's* vanguard, consisting of 6000 men, was within three miles of our army, he ordered an advance guard of 200 *Europeans*, and 300 *Sepoys*, with 2 pieces of cannon, to post themselves at *Plassey* house; and several guards of *Sepoys*, at proper distances from each other, round the grove.

At day-break of the 23d, the *Nabob's* army was perceived marching out of their lines towards the grove which we were in possession of. Their intention

tion seemed to be to surround us. The colonel hereupon formed his army; the *Europeans* he told off in four divisions; the 1st he put under the command of Major *Kilpatrick*, the 2d under Major *Grant*, the 3d under Major *Coote*, and the 4th under Captain *Gaupp*. The *Sepoys* were formed on the right and left. *Plassey*-grove is surrounded by a bank; our army's left flank was covered by *Plassey*-house and river, and the right flank by the grove.

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The enemy's army kept marching towards ours in deep columns, supported by a large train of artillery consisting of 53 pieces of cannon, chiefly of 18, 24 and 32 pounders. Their manœuvres, upon this occasion, differed materially from those they had been accustomed to; for instead of posting their artillery all together, as was their usual practice, they dispersed them between the divisions of their troops, and had not above two or three pieces of cannon on a spot: so that an attack upon any one part of their artillery, could not have been decisive. In this order they continued marching as far as the river would permit; but as soon as their rear was gotten out of the camp, failing in their plan to surround us, they halted; and a body of about 50 *French*, advancing in front of a large detachment of their army commanded by *Meer Modun* one of their principal generals, with 4 pieces of cannon, lodged themselves within the banks of a *tank* (or pond of water) distant from us about 600 yards, and began a brisk cannonade.

Our little army was at first drawn up without the bank which surrounded the grove, but soon found such a shower of balls pouring upon them from the enemy's cannon, that the colonel thought proper they should retire under cover of the bank, leaving two field pieces without, while the other four were kept playing through the breaches in the bank. Our left wing was still covered by *Plassey* house, which was about 50 yards distant, and close to the river side.

In this situation, both armies remained till about 12 o'clock; when a heavy shower of rain falling, the enemy's horse advanced, as if to take advantage of it: but when they found that our field-pieces continued firing, notwithstanding the rain, their ardor was checked. The rain ceasing, the cannonading continued till about 3 in the afternoon, when they retired without confusion to their old camp, their artillery marching first. And now, a large corps, on the left of our troops, was seen moving in such a manner, as to make it doubtful whether their aim was to possess themselves of the village to the left, against us, or whether they were friends, and wanted to join our army; but they proved afterwards to be friends under *Meer Jaffer's* command; however, as no signal had been agreed on (owing to the miscarriage of a messenger which he had dispatched to the colonel in the morning) they were kept at a distance by our field-pieces. After this retreat of the enemy, Colonel *Clive*, leaving orders with Major *Kilpatrick* to send him notice if the *Nabob* should make any new motions, went into *Plassey*-house to put on dry cloaths, and consider whether, notwithstanding

1757. standing the fatigue which his troops had already undergone, he should pursue the blow, by an immediate attack upon the *Nabob's* camp, or defer it till night, when he judged from past experience the success would be certain.

During this interval, information was brought to the colonel, that a detachment of our army, with some field-pieces, was marching towards the before-mentioned *tank* and eminence, at about the distance of 600 yards, which had been possessed by the *French*, but who abandoned it when the army of *Serajab Dowlah* retired to their camp. Colonel *Clive* expressed his surprize, that such a step should have been taken without his orders, and immediately hastened after the detachment, which he reached nearly at the same time it arrived at the *tank*. He now found that this detachment was commanded by Major *Kilpatrick*, whom he at first ordered under arrest for such unmilitary conduct, but was pacified by the major's making him an apology.

The colonel then ordered Major *Kilpatrick* back to the grove, and took the command of the detachment himself, resolving, since such a step had been taken, not to make any retreat, but rather to bring on a second action and make it decisive. He therefore ordered a reinforcement from the main body in the grove; upon which Major *Coote* with his detachment joined the colonel. The colonel then sent the king's grenadiers, and a grenadier company of *Sepoys* to lodge themselves behind a bank that was close upon the enemy's lines; from whence they kept a continual fire with their small arms, as did the detachment at the *tank*, with four pieces of cannon.

In the mean time the enemy's infantry and cavalry pushed out towards our several little bodies of troops, and endeavoured to bring their heavy artillery to bear, but they met with so warm a reception, and lost so many draught-oxen and drivers, that they failed in their attempt. When the infantry and cavalry had faced our troops for some time, and stood a very smart cannonading, in which they lost a great number of men and horses, it was observed they were in some confusion, and that their elephants grew very unruly. The colonel took immediate advantage of this critical moment, and sent orders to Major *Coote* to attack a large body of horse and foot upon a rising ground at about the distance of 150 yards, and ordered another officer at the same time to storm the angle of the camp. Both these attacks succeeded, the enemy making but a faint resistance; Major *Coote* marched into their lines, and a general rout ensued*. The assailants pursued till it was dark, and then halted at *Doudpore*, a place about 6 miles distance from the field of battle, where they were joined by the rest of the army from *Plassey* grove under Major *Kilpatrick*, who at the commencement

* Mr. *Shoreditch*, a midshipman of the *Kent*, was wounded by a musket bullet which went through his thigh, as he was eagerly advancing to shoot one of the *French* officers in the *Nabob's* army.

of the rout received orders from the colonel to march.—The *Nabob's* army was computed to consist of 20,000 horse, and 40,000 foot: our loss was very inconsiderable; but he had about 500 men killed, among whom was *Meer Modun* (whose death was the occasion of the confusion just mentioned) besides 3 elephants, and a great many horses. Their 53 pieces of cannon, of 18, 24, and 32 pounders, fell into our hands, with their camp, baggage, elephants, &c. &c.

I have been more minute in the description of this battle of *Plassey*, than was *Mr. Scrafton*, because some persons have taken great pains to mispresent it, with a view to tarnish the glory of Colonel *Clive* on that important victory; pretending that their accounts were taken *verbatim* from *Sir Eyre Coote's* journal, as read by him to the select committee of the house of commons, which sat the preceding sessions on *East India* affairs. Having therefore been lately favoured with the perusal of *Sir Eyre Coote's* journal, I can aver, that the several publications alluded to, are totally devoid of truth; and the public may be assured that the description here given of the battle, corresponds in every *material* particular with that journal. *Sir Eyre Coote* himself also, in a late conversation with me, declared, “that the publications before-mentioned were absolutely false; that any person might be convinced thereof, by appealing to the minutes of the committee of the house of commons, where what was delivered by him on this examination, was committed to paper.” He also authorised me publicly to declare, “that he has on all occasions been ever ready to do justice to Lord *Clive's* merit.”

While our army was pursuing, a large body of horse was observed on our right; after firing a few shot at them, a messenger arrived with a letter from *Meer Jaffer* to the colonel, acquainting him, that the corps was under his command, and requesting an interview that night or the next morning. Accordingly, the next day he had an interview with the colonel, when after congratulating him on his victory, he declared himself ready to perform the articles of the treaty between them. The colonel saluted him as *Soubahdar* or *Nabob* of *Bengal*, *Babar*, and *Orissa*, and advised him to advance immediately to *Muxadabad* after *Serajah Dowlah*, promising that he would follow to support him with his whole force. The late *Nabob* reached his capital, which was 20 miles distant from the field of battle, a few hours after his defeat: and the next evening, not knowing whom to trust, or what to do, abandoning himself to his fears, on *Meer Jaffer's* arrival, he disguised himself in the habit of a *Faquier*, and with one or two attendants attempted to make his escape. *Meer Jaffer* immediately entered the palace, where all was anarchy and confusion; but presently, *Messieurs Watts* and *Walsh* arrived from the colonel to pacify the inhabitants, and assure them of protection: and on the 27th of *June* Colonel *Clive* himself made his public entry into *Muxadabad*. *Meer Jaffer* visited the colonel the next day, and the 29th Colonel *Clive* went to the palace, and in the presence of the *Rajahs* and *Grandeeds* of the court, he solemnly

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handed him to the *Musnud* or carpet and throne of state, where he was unanimously saluted *Soubahdar* or *Nabob*, and received the submission of all present. He afterwards, and as soon as he was able, punctually fulfilled the several articles stipulated in the treaty; and conferred upon the company, the navy, and army, such liberal rewards, as fully compensated for the courage and intrepidity they had exerted in his behalf. The remaining part of the month was spent in settling many important matters, consequent to such an amazing revolution.

On the 3d of *July*, *Serajah Dowlah* the late *Nabob*, after wandering about, forsaken and almost naked, was taken in his way to *Patna*, near *Rajamaul*; betrayed, it is said, by one whom he had in his prosperity cruelly treated, by causing his ears to be cut off: The next day, he was brought back to *Muxadabad*, and in a few hours afterwards, privately put to death by *Meer Jaffier's* eldest son, to whose custody he was committed. The father outwardly seemed desirous of having him confined for life; but the son and other chief men did not think it prudent to hazard such a step in the present critical situation of affairs, and therefore, agreeable to the cruel maxims of *Eastern* policy, had him murdered in prison, and his remains were exposed on an elephant round the city. He had not quite compleated his 25th year, and but one of his reign, when he thus fell: an exit, too suitable to his sanguinary disposition, and tyrannical acts!

On the 26th of *July* the new *Nabob* sent presents, after the custom of the country, and of the east in general, to the admiral, consisting of an elephant, two fine horses, a rich *Moorish* dress of gold gingham, with turbans and sashes; and a rose and plume composed of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds, which though not of great value, made a pompous appearance. Admiral *Pocock* was also complimented with a present of the same kind. Admiral *Watson* received the ambassadors on this occasion with marks of great respect; he made a present of fine cloth and velvet to each in return; dressed his ships, displaying as many flags of different nations as could be disposed of on the yards, masts, and rigging of the ships; saluted them with his cannon; and wrote the following congratulatory letter to the *Nabob*.

Admiral CHARLES WATSON, the great commander of the fleet belonging to the most puissant King of Great Britain, irresistible in battle;—To the Nabob SHUJAH AL MULUK HASSAM O DOWLAH MEER MAHOMED-JAFFIER KHAN BAHADAR MAHABUT JUNG.

“ *MIRZA JAFFIER BEG*, whom you have done me the honour to depute to me, has delivered me your letter and the other marks of friendship, with which you have been pleased to favour me. He has also satisfied my desire, in giving me an ample account of your health and prosperity.

But

But what pleases me beyond expression, is, to hear that all men rejoice in them; and while they acknowledge you are worthy of them, pray for their continuance. This is a satisfaction which your predecessor never knew, and which while it gives the most sublime pleasure to a mind generous like yours, promises happiness to yourself, and a quiet succession to your son.

How much I and all my countrymen wish it, can only be known by the benefits you have conferred on us, the extent of which can alone be measured by your generosity, and our gratitude. May day by day make known the latter to your content, and our honour!"

C H A P. XI.

Major Eyre Coote's expedition up the Ganges, in pursuit of Monsieur Law, and his party.

1757. **B**Y the articles of the capitulation of *Chandernagore*, the whole of that garrison were to continue prisoners of war; but about the time of signing the treaty, Mr. *Law*, with a small body of troops, made his escape out of *Cassimbuzar*, and with them marched northward, towards *Patna*. At that place, he was protected by the late *Nabob**; and on our recommencing hostilities, Mr. *Law* collected together about 200 of his nation, the only remains of the *French* in *Bengal*, to assist him; and which were within two days march of the *Nabob's* camp, when the battle of *Plassey* was fought. On receiving the news of the defeat, Mr. *Law* stopped; but hearing also of the *Nabob's* escape, he advanced again, and was within a few hours march of joining him, when he was taken.

To clear *Bengal* entirely of so restless an enemy to the *English*, and the new *Nabob*; on the 4th of *July* a detachment of troops, under the command of Major *Archibald Grant*, of Colonel *Adlercron's* regiment, was ordered by Colonel *Clive* to hold themselves in readiness to go in pursuit of Mr. *Law* and his party. *Mootenbeg*, a *Sepoy* officer in the company's service, was sent on before, with two grenadier companies of *Sepoys*, as an advanced guard. These orders, a few hours afterwards were countermanded, and Major *Eyre Coote* was then appointed to the chief command of the expedition, who accordingly on the 5th marched to *Muxadabad*, and there took on him the command of the detachment.

On the 6th the Major left *Muxadabad* with 223 *Europeans*, officers and artillery included, 2 pieces of cannon 6 pounders, 3 companies of *Sepoys*, 50 *Lascars* or *Indian* sailors, and 10 *Marmutty* men, or pioneers to clear the road; and the same night arrived at *Rumna*, where he was greatly distressed by the drunkenness and disorder that prevailed among his people.

* See Admiral *Watson's* letters to the *Nabob* complaining of the protection given to Mr. *Law* and his party, p. 143. &c.

On the 7th, he continued his rout by water; only the *Sepoys* marching by land on the banks of the river: At night he reached *Chepoua*. The next day he went on to *Belgutta*, where meeting with the *Dacca* fleet of king's boats, he thought it necessary, for forwarding the expedition, to get two *Bolias**, a *Goordore*†, and 87 *Dandies* or boatmen, from the *Nazir*, or officer who commanded the boats, to whom he gave a receipt for them. After this, the major left the boats and *European* soldiers under the command of Captain *Alexander Grant* (an officer in the company's military service) and pushed on by land, with Mr. *Johnstone*, a gentleman in the civil employment of the *East India* company, and who now acted as his secretary, endeavouring to get up with the advanced body of *Sepoys*. That night he arrived at *Sooty*, a place situate at the conflux of the *Ganges* and *Cassimbuzar*-river. On the 9th the major quitted *Sooty*, and in the evening of the same day got into a creek near to *Dogatchy*. Captain *Grant*, with the *Europeans*, lay by at *Cogatchy*. The next morning the major joined *Mootenbeg* with the advanced party of two grenadier companies of *Sepoys*, who had been before reinforced with about 120 horse and 7 gunmen, under the command of two of the *Nabob's Jamedars* or military officers. 1757.

The major had an interview at *Dogatchy* with *Doad Khan*, brother of *Nabob Jaffier Ali Khan*, who informed him, that Mr. *Law* and his detachment had left *Teriagurry* but a few days before. He then pushed on with the *Sepoys* to *Rajemaul*; where *Duan Siburtray* shewed him a letter from Mr. *Law*, dated the 6th, from *Baghelpoor*, acquainting him with his arrival at that place, and that he intended to proceed by slow marches to *Patna*, at which place he expected to receive a *Perwannah* from *Meer Jaffier*, and to that end had inclosed an *Arzy* or petition to that *Nabob*. The major took possession of this, and inclosed it in a letter to Colonel *Clive* the same night; which letter informed him likewise, "that the two *Jamedars* having received no orders to advance with him, had refused to go any farther; and that the *Phousdar*, or chief magistrate of the district, who had promised to have 500 gunmen and 100 horsemen ready in the morning to reinforce the parties already posted at the passes of *Sicarigully*, and *Teriagurry*, had been worse than his word, pretending that those two places were already sufficiently secured, 200 gunmen and 40 horse being stationed at the former, and 50 gunmen and 15 horse at the latter:" The major concluded, with requesting the colonel's orders concerning one *Alexander Saufure*, a *Swiss*, whom the *Sepoys* had apprehended disguised in a *Moor's* dress. This express packet was sent to Captain *Grant*, to be forwarded by him to Colonel *Clive*, and the captain at the same time was expressly ordered by the major to come up and join him with all expedition.

* *Indian* boats, very long, but so narrow, that only one man can fit in them abreast. They carry however a multitude of rowers, and are remarkable for their swiftness.

† A vessel pushed on by paddles.

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On the 11th the major received a letter from Captain *Grant*, on this side *Dogatchy*, acquainting him with the loss of the boat which carried the arrack designed for the use of the troops, and that the whole fleet was in great distress for want of proper tackle and *dandies*; but he hoped to be able to join the major some time in the night with the light boats only. On the receipt of this, the major was again obliged to apply to the *Phousdar*, who promis'd to procure him some country arrack, 10 light boats, 500 additional *dandies*, and ropes for tackling: But on his being reminded of his late promise of assisting the major with a body of men, he desired to be excused, telling him his troops were so dispersed in different quarters, it was impossible to collect them together; but, if that had not been the case, he should never have prevailed on them to march, unless the two months arrears which were then due to them from the *Nabob* were first paid. The major advised the colonel of all these difficulties by letter, earnestly desiring him to procure proper orders from the *Nabob* to the *Jamedars* and other officers of the places he was to pass through, to supply him with all the necessaries he might stand in need of.—Captain *Grant*, agreeable to the hopes he had given him, joined the major this night with all the boats, except that which carried the ammunition, and a tumbril-boat, of which no tidings could be learned.

The next day, Major *Coote* sent out some parties in search of the boats that were missing, and employed all the caulkers and carpenters that could possibly be procured, in refitting the other boats. The *Phousdar* again assured him, that he had dispatched people every where to collect the boats and *dandies* he had promised, and said he made not the least doubt but they would be all ready the next day. At night the major had the satisfaction to be joined by the ammunition and tumbril-boats, both of which were supposed to have been lost.—At the same time, he received a letter from Colonel *Clive*, ordering him to follow Mr. *Law* as far as *Patna*, if he could not come up with him sooner.

The 13th, Serjeant *Devergue* having reported, that the prisoner *Alexander Sausure*, (who at first came from *Europe* to *Bombay* as a volunteer, in a *Swiss* company of soldiers, but soon after left our *East India* company's service) had been endeavouring to persuade him to desert, and carry over with him as many men as he could to the *French*, and that he had also disclosed to him a scheme he had formed for his escape, by the connivance of the *Sepoy*, who was sentinel over him; and farther, that he had communicated to him the contents of a letter which he had written to Mr. *Law*, giving an account of the proceedings of this *English* detachment, and of its force; the major, on the serjeant's information, sent Lieutenant *Flatton* to the prisoner, who took from him a letter addressed to Mr. *Law*, and another to some other person. From the last letter it appeared, that *Sausure* had been formerly in the *Dutch* service at *Batavia*, where he had killed one officer, and wounded two others in different duels; that he had the good fortune to escape

to.

to *Pondicherry*; but lately, upon account of a rencounter of the same kind, he had been obliged to leave that place also, in a *Danish* ship bound to *Bengal*, and that just before the battle of *Plassey* he had joined the few *French* who were then at *Cassimbuzar*. In his letter to Mr. *Law*, he gave an account of that battle; the defeat of *Serajah Dowlah*, with his confusion and perturbation of mind after the death of *Meer Modun* his chief general, and finally, his flight from his capital. He added, that had himself, previous to the action, been supported with 4000 men as an advanced guard, and which the *Nabob* had actually promised him, he would have prevented the little *English* army from taking possession of *Plassey* grove; to which, and to his not being properly supported in the *tank*, where he had placed the few *Frenchmen* who were with him, he attributed the loss of the battle. — He went on with saying, that he had proposed to *Monf. St. Frais*, the commander of the *French* troops, to march with his handful of forces up the country, with a view of joining Mr. *Law*, but *St. Frais* answered, it was impracticable, and therefore desired his people to disperse, and take the best care they could of themselves. He added, that he had designedly secreted himself until Major *Coote* had began his march; and advised Mr. *Law* to get a passport from *Meer Jaffier* to secure him a safe and uninterrupted passage through his country, though he acknowledged, that the *Nabob*, influenced by Colonel *Clive*, had actually dispatched orders to the *Nabob* of *Patna* for detaining him and his party on their march. However, said he “You, Sir, have it in your power, with
 “ the troops under your command, to get the better of the *English* detach-
 “ ment, who are now in pursuit of you. In the twinkling of an eye, you
 “ may entirely change the face of affairs here. Your name is in high
 “ repute among the *Moors*, and the military reputation of Mr. *Bussy* is so
 “ great and dreaded, that this party must instantly fly at his very name.”
 He proceeded with advising Mr. *Law*, by a counter-march, to attack our troops in the night-time, in a certain place which he particularly described; assuring him, that by such a *coup* he might easily kill or make prisoners all the officers, especially those of the *Sepoys*, who were more addicted to drunkenness than even the *Europeans* themselves.—He concluded his letter with these words: “I wished to have delivered to you in person this intelli-
 “ gence, but on the third day of my journey, I had the misfortune to be
 “ arrested, disguised like a *Moor*: I shall do every thing in my power
 “ however to make my escape; for which purpose I beg you to send with
 “ the bearer, a good *Alcara**, who understands the *Portuguese* language.—
 “ The *English* arrived at *Rajamaul* the 11th instant.”

The prisoner being brought before Major *Coote* and the other officers, acknowledged the above letters to have been written with his own hand; and having nothing to plead in his defence, was judged unanimously to be deserving of death, as a spy; and the major thinking it proper to carry the

* A guide and spy.

1757. sentence into immediate execution, he was accordingly hanged in the front of the battalion. The *Sepoy* whom he had seduced, was tried the next day by a court-martial composed of *Subadars** and *Jamedars*, who finding him guilty of consenting to connive at, and assist *Alexander Sausure* in making his escape, ordered him 500 lashes with a ratan, and to be turned out of the service.

The *Phoufdar*, representing to the major, that he could not assure him of the boats and *dandies* before the ensuing night, and expressly promising that every thing should be then ready, the major thought it most advisable to postpone his march till the 15th in the morning. When this day arrived, he found himself under the disagreeable necessity of putting off from *Rajamaul* in the same embarrassed condition he arrived there; the *Phoufdar* and *Duan* an officer next in command, having neglected to procure him the boats and *dandies* which they had so faithfully promised, and in the former of which he intended to have embarked the *Sepoys*. This body of troops therefore were still obliged to march on by land, and at night arrived at *Sicarigully*, where they joined the major; who had a little before arrived there with the other part of the detachment, excepting 11 boats that were under the command of the officer of the rear-guard, and who could not get up that night through want of a sufficient number of *dandies* to track against the current. At *Sicarigully*, the major visited the pass of that name, which is a road from about 9 to 12 feet wide, cut through a rock, and covered on each side by an impenetrable *Jungle* or coppice, while a rivulet or water-course, very hollow and impassable, runs near to the *Futtacks* or gate: if a ball was discharged here, it could not go above 100 yards in a line, the road every where abounding with so many intricate windings. In this pass too, such deep breast-works and trenches are thrown up, that it would be very difficult to force a passage, if well defended. The *King's Road* is said to be easier of access than this, and lies about a mile nearer the foot of the mountain. The major went also to see the tomb of *Seid Abmud Mahdum*, which stands upon the top of the rock, and was built at the expence of *Sharefhe Khan*, uncle to the famous *Aurengzebe*: here he received a visit from the *Jamedar*, who promised to procure him a fresh supply of *dandies*, assuring him however at the same time, that the *French* party he was in pursuit of, were already gotten beyond *Patna*.

On the 16th, the major left *Sicarigully*, and on his arrival at *Goujapoor*, was complimented with a visit from the *Duan* and *Jamedar* of *Teriagurry* pass; who informed him, that the *French* had halted there two days, at the time *Serajah Dowlah* was prisoner at *Rajamaul*; and that upon the *Jamedar's* assuring them, that no kind of assistance would be given them; should they persist to advance farther down the river, they had returned

* Black commanders of a company.

back; and he added, that the present *Nabob*, *Meer Jaffier*, had done him the honour to thank him, for having rendered to him and his people so acceptable a service. The major soon afterwards proceeded on to *Teri-agurry* pass. This is only a wall carried on from the brink of the river (which at this place is prodigiously rapid) to the foot of the mountain, and is almost impassable, being covered, like that at *Sicarigully*, with thick woods and *Jungle*; and hath this farther impediment, that very near to the wall, runs a rivulet, on the side of the hill, seemingly impracticable to pass over. The bastions are without parapets, having eight sides that are not eight feet wide, and they have contrived to build the walls so artfully, that the rivulet serves for a ditch in front. The bastion-wall, which is about 14 feet high, and 50 yards long, entirely commands the river, which though it be $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile broad here, yet the current is such as to carry all boats close under the platform. 1757.

The major arrived this night at *Shakabad*; where being informed by *Mootenbeg*, who commanded the *Sepoys*, that the *French* were a little beyond *Baghelpoor*, he dispatched two *Hircars* or spies for more certain intelligence, detaching at the same time 100 *Sepoys* with orders to endeavour to overtake them, to fire into their boats, and so harrafs them, as to give him an opportunity of coming up with them.

On the 17th the major left *Shakabad* at day-break, and at 10 o'clock arrived at *Pyntaby*, which is a pretty strong post on the top of a hill, in which are quarries of lime. He here visited the tomb of *Shah Cummul*; and was told by the *Nabob's* *Peons* who were quartered in the place, that the *French* had left it about ten days before. On this intelligence, the major continued to push on, and leaving *Bolgutta* on his left, rowed up to *Calgow-Nulla*, and arrived in the evening with some of the light boats at *Calgow*, where the rest of his troops did not get up till midnight, and the next morning. The situation of *Bolgutta* is most delightful, but what greatly adds to the beauty and pleasure of the place and prospect, is, in the river near to it, are several large rocks, which in the dry season cause a great fall of water and some very fine cascades. The *Sepoys* made heavy complaints here of the fatigues they had undergone, by such long and continued marches through bad roads; and the *Dandies* declared, that they could work no longer at the rate they had hitherto pushed forwards: the major therefore, to silence all complaints, and to induce them to go on without delay, was obliged to make each of them a present in money. This day, a *Coast-Sepoy* joined *Mootenbeg* on the march, who told the major that he had deserted from the *French*, and left them about ten days before, encamped at *Mongbeer*, to the number of about 140 *Europeans*, and 90 *Sepoys*, with three pieces of cannon; that all the men were well armed, but in great want of money; that he and several others who were at *Chandernagore* when it was taken, though allowed to go where they pleased, chose to join Mr. *Law*; but that having had some words with

1757. his *Jamedar*, and not having received his pay with any kind of punctuality, had come to a resolution of quitting the *French*, and offering his service to the *English*. While the major continued at *Calgow*, he received also a visit from the *Phousdar* of that place, who told him, the *French* party were arrived at the fort of *Mongbeer*, where they were collecting all kinds of provisions and stores, for which however they paid a double price: He added, they were enabled to do this, having received a little while before, 10,000 rupees by *Serajah Dowlab's* orders, from the town of *Mongbeer*; and that even at this time, they were in no want of money.

On the 18th, the boats being almost all come up, the major proceeded on to *Bagbelpoor*. Here, he received a letter from Colonel *Clive*, dated the 13th at noon, in which were inclosed others from the *Nabob* to the different *Rajabs*, *Jamedars*, and *Phousdars*, ordering them to supply the major with every thing he stood in need of. The colonel had likewise taken care to inclose the *Nabob's Perwannak*, directing the several *Jamedars* in particular, to obey the major's commands; in consequence of which, Mr. Coote sent for *Mirza Kelbealy*, the son of *Ala Kuly Khan*, the *Phousdar* of *Bagbelpoor*, and after having delivered to him the *Nabob's* letter, he shewed him the *Perwannak* he had received to command all the *Nabob's* forces. He then demanded 60 horse of him, which he readily promised to furnish, and also that they should be in readiness to march the next morning. The major afterwards put into his hands, (to be forwarded by him) the *Nabob's Perwannak*, and a letter of his own, addressed to the *Rajah* of *Caruckpoor*, demanding of him 200 horse, which he said he expected should join him in two days at *Mongbeer*. The major likewise delivered to him another *Perwannak*, inclosed in a letter from himself to the *Jamedar* of *Bhar*, requiring him, on the supposition of the *French* being at that place, to distress them by burning their boats, and throwing every other impediment in their way, that might detain them till he himself could get up. But at midnight, the major received a letter from Mr. *Pearkes*, our company's chief at *Patna*, dated the 16th, in which he informed him, that the *French* had passed by that city, and were going on to the extreme boundaries of the province. Their force, he said, consisted of about 100 *Europeans*, 125 *Coast* and 40 *Bengal Sepoys*, 8 field-pieces, and 9 patteraroes.

On the 19th the major put off with his boats from *Bagbelpoor*, having sent on the *Sepoys* by land. The same day he visited *Mirza Kelbealy*, and desired of him 40 *Dandies* to enable his troops to go on with the greater dispatch in pursuit of the *French*.—Here he saw a *Mosque* built by *Shah Zada*, most beautifully situated on an high rock, by the river's side: also a pretty, romantic house on the top of a still higher rock in the middle of the river, with a number of figures cut in the rock. This very agreeable mansion was inhabited by *Faquiers*, who seemed to think that they did the major great honour by accepting of some money from him. Soon afterwards he passed by *Sattangunge* a neighbouring town, and lay that night at *Jebanguira*. From hence, he wrote to *Rajah Ramnarain*, *Nabob* of

of *Patna*, desiring him to oppose the *French*, and to prevent their going farther up the river; and also a letter to Mr. *Pearkes*, inclosing a number of papers calculated to induce the *French* troops to desert, which he desired, if possible, he would get dropt in the *French* camp. On the 20th the major left *Jebanguira*, and on his arrival at *Gourgat-Nulla*, was joined by *Mirza Kelbealy* with 60 horse, and a party of *Buxerries* or matchlock soldiers. He also this day met *Agab Meer*, a *Faquier*, who told him, that he left *Patna* but three days before, and the *French* were then at a garden-house, three *Coss* or six *English* miles from that city. Late this night, the major arrived at *Mongbeer* fort, and on the *Duan's* visiting him, he demanded of him 40 *Dandies* and 100 trackers *, having been disappointed in receiving those he expected from *Mirza Kelbealy*.—A grenadier-boat, and a tumbril boat, and the rear-guard did not get up with him this night. The 21st, the officer of the rear-guard having joined the major, and reported that the two boats which did not get up the preceding night, were a ground upon a shoal, an officer and 30 *Dandies*, furnished by the *Duan*, were ordered to go and assist in getting them off.

In this interval, the major, accompanied by some of his officers, went to take a view of the fort, but unexpectedly found the gate shut against them, and that no admittance was to be gained, though the *Duan* made one of the company, who seemed greatly disconcerted at this seeming incivility. On the major and his attendants approaching very near to the gate, he perceived the garrison to be so much alarmed, or so hostile in their intentions, as to be actually lighting their matches; on which he resolved only to walk round the fort, which was three miles in circumference, but badly flanked; the wall, though pretty high and faced with stone, was to the land-side ruinous in many places, and might easily be scaled. The wall is also overlooked in some parts by an high bank at the distance of but sixty yards. The current of the river opposite to the fort, is so very rapid, that boats are carried down at least two miles in crossing only to the opposite side. The major however was not deterred from making the attempt; and though he had the good luck to get over safe, yet one of his boats with some *Sepoys* was overset, by which accident one man was drowned, and five stands of arms entirely lost. Many of the other boats not joining the major in the night, he came to a resolution of crossing the river again, and afterwards lay to, in order to give his people an opportunity of getting up with him. Finding however that the *Sepoys* were advanced three *Coss* beyond *Nabobgunge*, he pushed on, and in very little time arrived at *Hybutgunge*.

On the 22d, the major put off from *Hybutgunge*; having first written a letter to Colonel *Clive*, acquainting him that he should follow Mr. *Lowe* until he received his orders to the contrary. He also forwarded to the

* Men to draw the boats up by the help of ropes.

1757.

colonel a letter he had just before received from Mr. *Pearkes*, the contents of which informed him, that the *French* had advanced 3 *Coss* beyond *Chuprab*, from whence they could easily make their escape out of the province; as they were not above 5 *Coss* distant from the territories of *Sujah Dowlab*, *Nabob* of *Oude*. The major lay this night at *Nabobgunge*, and was joined at midnight by the rear-guard. In the mean time, part of the boats passed by, without touching at *Nabobgunge*, and got as far as *Lutchinpoor*. On the 23d, at day-break, the major left *Nabobgunge*, and soon after, his *Budgerow* * by the force of the wind and current, was driven ashore at *Rbua Nulla*; there he left her to be refitted, and proceeded on foot to *Lutchinpoor*, where he joined the rest of the fleet, and the *Sepoys*.—Then putting off from *Lutchinpoor*, he reached *Bharrai* by five in the afternoon. The major now considering the great risk his boats had already run, and still would, from the dangerous navigation of the river, and that a few more such accidents, would inevitably bring on the ruin of the whole expedition; he judged it necessary to order the troops, with the ammunition and artillery, to disembark, and then putting himself at their head, he marched three *Coss* over land, which brought him to *Dirriapoor*; the artillery was drawn, and ammunition carried, by his soldiers. On the 24th he marched with his whole little army from *Dirriapoor* to *Purraruck*, which places are distant about 20 *English* miles from each other. The *European* soldiers during this march, expressed the greatest discontent, complained of the fatigues they had gone through, and the many hardships they had suffered, by the want of shoes and arrack, and at last positively refused to go any farther. The major finding the men in a disposition to mutiny, and perceiving at the same time that the wind and river were more favourable than they had lately experienced, thought it advisable to re-embark the *European* troops, but putting himself at the head of the *Sepoys*, he marched with them to *Bhar*, which was three *Coss* farther.

On the *European* troops arrival at *Bhar*, the major sent some of the serjeants with a message to them, reminding them of the favours he had conferred, and how ready he had been to oblige them upon all occasions; and how sensible he was of their present bad behaviour; and concluded, with assuring them, that if they did not presently amend, he certainly would represent their conduct to Colonel *Clive*, and the rest of the army, and leave them behind him at *Patna*. They returned for answer, that “they should look upon the latter part of the disgrace as the most desirable event that could happen to them, since they were persuaded, that their officers intention was to kill them in order to put their prize-money into their own pockets.”—The serjeants told the major, there was nothing new in their present behaviour, for that they had been grumbling during the whole expedition.—The major, sorry to find his remonstrances had no effect on these fellows, wrote a letter to Colonel *Clive*, informing him,

* One of the most convenient boats to be found in this country.

that if on his arrival at *Patna* he should find Mr. *Law* and his party were still within the bounds of the *Nabob's* country, he then proposed to go on in the pursuit of them with only the *Sepoys*, leaving the *Europeans* (who in their present temper he thought could not be depended upon) to follow by easy marches under the command of Captain *Grant*; and requested his positive orders, whether if the *Nabob's* forces refused to accompany him, he should with the *Sepoys* only, pursue the *French* into the next province. 1757.

On the 25th the major reached *Bykulpoor*, distant from *Bhar* 10 *Coss*, and there received a letter from *Ramnarain*, *Nabob* of *Patna*, expressing his uneasiness at not having had any letters from him, or more early advice of his arrival in his province; adding, that he had sent out some of his principal men to meet him, and conduct him into the city. Soon after this, a relation of the *Rajah's* waited upon the major, who assured him, that *Ramnarain* had sent 2000 men after the *French*, but they unluckily were gotten out of the province. This news was afterwards attempted to be confirmed by a second letter the major received from *Ramnarain* himself, in which he declared, had he been advised in time, he could easily have stopped the *French*, but as that was now impracticable, he would on the major's arrival in the city, consult with him about the best methods which were in future to be pursued. Major *Coote* answered, that he should be at *Patna* the next day, and would then wait upon him, and with his advice settle his plan of operations. The *Dutch* chief was pleased to send his second, in the *State Budgerow*, to attend the major and conduct him into the city. Mr. *Pearkes* also took this opportunity of waiting upon him.

On the 26th, Mr. *Coote*, having sent on the *Sepoys* and artillery by land, put off with the fleet, and at ten, arrived at the *English* factory, where he quartered all the *Europeans* and *Sepoys*. In passing by the *Dutch* factory, he was saluted with 21 guns, and had a visit from Mr. *Delatour* the *Dutch* chief. Here a letter under the mask of complaisance was brought him from *Ramnarain*; the purport of which was to desire him, as the hour was late, and as the major could not but be greatly fatigued, that his visit might be deferred till the next morning.

But in the evening of the same day, as if intended to prevent all amicable intercourse, three of the major's *Sepoys* and the *European* butcher with three of his attendants, bringing in some bullocks from the * *Bazar*, were without any provocation, knocked down, beaten, and wounded. The major, on his being informed of this outrage, sent *Mirza Kilbealy*, to the *Rajah* to complain of it; declaring, that until he should be informed what was the reason for that treatment, he thought himself obliged to provide for his own safety: *Ramnarain* plausibly answered, he was sorry for what had hap-

* Market.

1757. pened, and should he be so fortunate as to find out the guilty persons, he would certainly send them to the major to be punished. On the 27th Major *Coote* wrote to Colonel *Clive*, informing him of the several occurrences, and of the *Nabob's* declining to see him. After he had finished his letter, he visited *Mahmud Ami Khan* (who, with many other men of distinguished rank, though not in the command of a province, was commonly honoured with the title of *Nabob*) and *Meer Cassim*; the one the brother-in-law, and the other the brother of *Jaffier Ali Khan*: At night, both these gentlemen, attended by some of the chief *Jamedars*, returned the major's visit, and had a conference with him in private. The substance of what *Mahmud Ami Khan* said, touching the dependance the major ought to place on the friendship of *Ramnarain*, was to the following purport; "that *Ramnarain's* views were to make himself independant of the *Soubakdar Meer Jaffier*, and that he had the night before been advised in council to fall upon the major unawares, and cut off him and his whole party." On the 28th the major wrote to Colonel *Clive*, acquainting him with what he had learned from *Nabob Mahmud Ami Khan*; and again requested his directions, whether he should follow Mr. *Law* into *Sujah Dowlah's* country. He took this opportunity also of writing a complimentary letter to *Nabob Jaffier Ali Khan*, on account of the assistance which, by his *Perwannahs*, he intended to render him, though in reality they proved but of little service towards facilitating his expedition. Major *Coote* also now wrote a letter to the *Nabob of Oude, Sujah Dowlah*, requesting him not to allow the *French* to enter his dominions, but if they were already there, to seize and deliver them up into his hands, or at least to permit him to advance into his territories after them; and concluded with telling him, that he should expect an answer at his arrival on the borders.

The major finding, that his remonstrances to the soldiers on the 24th had very little weight, and that a tendency to mutiny still remained, now thought it necessary to order a court martial, for the trial of the ring-leaders; 30 of whom were sentenced to punishment, which they received that afternoon; by this timely severity a total stop was put to any such disorders for the future among the *European* troops. But on the 29th several of the major's *Dandies*, *Bazar*, and black servants deserted; and the *Sepoys* when they were paraded to march off, grounded their arms to a man, and refused to go any farther. They complained bitterly of the great fatigues they had already gone through, the immense distance they were now removed from their families, the promises that had been made them at *Madrafs*, that they should go no farther than *Calcutta*, which afterwards were changed to *Chandernagore*, then to *Muxadabad*, and that now they saw no period to their marching: They complained also that they had not received their just pay. The major, having ineffectually endeavoured by fair words and promises to prevail on them again to take up their arms, pointed out to them the ill consequences which must necessarily arise to themselves from their present procedure: As, that they were then surrounded by the *Rajah's*

troops, whom they had no reason to look upon as well affected towards them; that by thus quitting their arms they were of course rendered incapable of defending themselves; and if no greater misfortune happened to them, they might be sure of being plundered of what little they had, besides forfeiting all the prize-money which was still due to them: but if these representations had no weight with them, they were at liberty to go wherever they thought proper, as he had already provided men to take up those arms which they so shamefully abandoned. This operated so effectually upon them, that they immediately resumed their arms, and consented to march. He then ordered the artillery and *Sepoys* to march by land to the *English* gardens at *Baukypoor*, 3 *Coss* N. W. of *Patna*, and the *European* soldiers to embark, and proceed thither by water. Before he himself set off from *Patna*, he was again cautioned by *Mahmud Ami Khan* to be diffident of *Ramnarain* and those troops of his which were to accompany him, who, he assured the major, would be of no service to him; and then put him in mind of the incivility and insult with which the major and his people had been treated by this *Nabob*.

On the 30th Major *Coote* halted at the gardens; and spent the whole day in adjusting his boats, ordering the *Bazar*, paying his men, and preparing every thing for his march. He summoned also the four captains who were under him, to a council of war, and having laid before them two letters he had received from Colonel *Clive* of the 14th and 17th of *July*, directing him to pursue Mr. *Law* as far as he possibly could; he observed to them, that they had now proceeded beyond *Patna*, and that he had received positive intelligence, Mr. *Law* was now a day's march out of the province, and encamped in that of *Sujah Dowlah*; he therefore put the question, whether they thought it possible that the detachment under his command, could go on with the same expedition as they had hitherto done. It was unanimously thought impossible, for the following reasons. 1st. Because the *Sepoys* had already laid down their arms on account of the great fatigue they had undergone in their long march to *Patna*, and had been prevailed on with much difficulty to take them up again. 2dly, Because of the discontent that reigned among the *Europeans*, the desertion of the *Dandies* and black servants, and the very great difficulty which was daily experienced of getting others in their room. The council however were unanimously of opinion, that they should still proceed in the best manner they could, though by easier marches, in pursuit of Mr. *Law*.

On the 31st of *July*, the detachment left *Baukypoor*-gardens, and came to *Dunapoor*, distant 3 *Coss*. From hence the major dispatched three *Hircars*, ordering them to go on 'till they reached the *French* camp, and then bring him all the intelligence they could learn. One of the three, was ordered to make the best of his way back to the major, as soon as they could procure any information on the road that might be depended upon. On the 1st of *August*, the troops reached *Munere*, a place belonging to *Ramnarain*, and situated

1757. situated at the conflux of the *Soan* and *Ganges*; where *Mootenbeg* informed Major *Coote*, that on his arrival at the town, *Hyat Khan*, who commanded *Ramnarain's* troops there, had sent him word, that neither he nor his people should enter it, or go into the *Bazar*, for if they did, he would put them all to death. Lieutenant *Kinch* also, who marched with the artillery, remarked, that the inhabitants of the villages through which they had passed that day, (and which belonged to *Ramnarain*) were all armed; the major on this ordered the *Sepoys* to encamp in the plain by the river's side; he likewise took care to reinforce the picquet, and pointed the artillery towards the town.

On the 2d, all the soldiers and *Sepoys* were ordered to embark, with the guns, tumbrils, &c. and with the assistance of as many *Lascars* as could be gotten on board, to cross the *Soan* and *Ganges* in order to their being conveyed to *Chuprah*. The bullocks, the remaining part of the *Lascars*, *Marmutty-men*, and a *Jamedar* with 16 *Sepoys*, together with the *Bazar*-people, were directed to march by land, till they got opposite to *Chuprah*; and *Pheroosing* (an officer of *Ramnarain's*) undertook to get them all ferried over the river in three days time. The rest of the party arrived at *Chuprah* the same night, and were lodged in the large salt-petre *Godowns* or store-houses, and the factory-house. Here the major learnt, that Mr. *Law* had left that place 17 days before, and was now at *Banaras*. Late at night, *Pheroosing* came to him, and told him, that he must be very cautious how he proceeded, for that his master *Ramnarain* had sent a *great man* to him yesterday, to desire the major not to think of going any farther than *Manere*, and with the most positive injunctions to his own troops not to proceed a step beyond that place: On which account, *Pheroosing* taking it for granted that the major would immediately return to *Patna*, had stopped the bullocks, &c. on the road; the major however insisted on their joining him, and *Pheroosing* promised that they should be with him the next day.

On the 3d, Major *Coote* was joined by the *Lascars*, bullocks, &c. agreeable to the promise given him by *Pheroosing*; he then examined that officer concerning what number of troops *Ramnarain* had on the same side of the river he now was, who assured him, that there were none of any kind whatever; by which circumstance, the reader will easily judge concerning the assistance which the major had to expect from this *Nabob*.

The next day, the major summoned his officers to another council of war, when he laid before them the intelligence received from the three *Hircars*, whom he had dispatched from *Baukypoor-gardens*, " That they had gone quite up to *Banaras*, where the *French* arrived 13 days before; that five of their gentlemen had waited upon the *Rajah Bulwansing* to implore his protection, who had granted them an old ruinous fort, about 2 *Cofs* on this side the town,

town, by the rivers side; that some of their men staid in the fort, and some on board the boats; that the *Rajah* had dispatched letters to *Sujah Dowlah*, acquainting him, that the *French* who had fled from the *Patna* confines were now with him, and desired his permission to continue there; that *Suja Dowlah* now resided at *Lucknow*, 100 *Coss* from *Banaras*, and that the *French* proposed entering into his service; that *Rajah Bulwansing*, had 4000 men encamped in huts close to *Banaras*; that *Pbafel Ali Khan*, *Nabob* of *Gangypour*, with whom the *French* had staid two days, was marching with 3000 men, and had advanced 6 *Coss* towards the borders of his district; and that troops were assembling on all sides on the news of the approach of the *English*.—Finally, that the roads, they the *Hircars* came over, were very bad, with water in them as high as their middle; that there were three rivers to pass over; that the current near *Banaras* was very strong; and that the *French* artillery was not yet landed.” The major desired them to give their opinions, whether it was advisable to proceed any farther in pursuit of Mr. *Law* and his party? And they unanimously resolved, that it was not, for the following reasons. “Because, we apprehend the *French* would not have presumed to remain so long as they have at *Banaras*, but have continued their route up the country, unless they had been very sure of being protected by *Sujah Dowlah*, and the other neighbouring powers; and with this protection, we have not the least reason to expect to succeed at this season of the year against them, since we are in want of boats to carry the *Sepoys* up the river; and the depth of water on the roads, and the three rivers we have to pass, is such as to render it impossible for us to march them by land; not to mention the distress we are sure of suffering in an enemy’s country, through want of provisions for the soldiers, and of *Dandies*; or the many bad consequences that may ensue from engaging ourselves, and the *Nabob Meer Jaffer*, at this juncture, in disputes with the neighbouring princes.”

The next question, was, whether they had better remain where they were, or return to *Patna*, and there expect the colonel’s farther orders? The council, without one dissenting voice, agreed, that it was most expedient, and indeed, absolutely necessary, to return to *Patna*; especially as the surgeon had represented, that the men fell sick apace, owing in a great measure, as he apprehended, to the ground of the quarters they were now in, being prodigiously impregnated with *Salt-petre*. Besides it appeared that the arrack which had been sent for the use of the soldiers, was entirely expended, and no fresh supply could be gotten in their present situation.

This night, two deserters came in from *Petera* (a town 14 miles north from *Chuprah*) who informed the major, that the *Rajah* of that place, *Dunseram*, was collecting forces, and every day people were joining him from the north, and that he had already with him about 3000 horse, 1500 foot, and four pieces of cannon; upon which Major *Coote* again questioned *Pheroosing* on politics, who, after many equivocations, confessed, that the

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several *Rajah's* of the country, after the death of *Serajah Dowlab*, thought themselves no longer obliged to pay the balance of the revenues to *Nabob Jaffer Ali Khan*, but insisted on a *Furkutey* or full discharge being granted them, for which purpose they were assembling troops, and taking every other measure to prevent any demand being made upon them. On the 5th Major *Coote* sent one of his * *Chubdars* to *Rajah Dunseram*, desiring to know his reasons for collecting troops, with orders to dismiss them immediately, assuring him that if he refused to do it, he would instantly march, and attack him with his forces.—The next day the *Chubdar* returned from *Dunseram* with the following answer; That the troops, he had been assembling, were intended for his own security; but that on his receiving the major's orders he had dismissed them all. He apologized at the same time for not waiting upon the major, by saying he was not well, but that he had sent his *Vacqueel* to make his compliments. Major *Coote* however excused himself from seeing this messenger.

On the 11th one *Denautkhan*, who was *Gomastab* or agent for an *Armenian* black merchant named *Coja Wazeed*, an agent to the governor and council at *Calcutta*, complained to the major, that the *Dutch* second was about to take the salt-petre out of his *Godowns* by force, which he had prepared for the *English*; upon this intelligence Major *Coote* immediately sent, and prevented it.

Soon after, he received a letter from Colonel *Clive*, with an order that he should support the black agents employed by the governor and council, for collecting the company's salt-petre, against any person whatever who should offer to obstruct them; which obliged the major to give out the following order.

Major *Eyre Coote*, commander of the united troops of *England*, and those of *Nabob Jaffer Ali Khan*, in the expedition to *Patna*: To all whom it may concern.

WHEREAS the salt-petre belonging to *Coja Asbruff* is collected and provided for the *English* company; let no person touch it, or interrupt him in expediting the said salt-petre.—Moreover, if any persons have seized or carried off any of it without his consent, let it be immediately returned to him by those who have it in their possession, as they will answer the contrary.

EYRE COOTE.

Given at *Patna* the 15th of *August*, 1757.

JOHN JOHNSTONE, Secretary.

* An attendant, whose office is to carry messages and proclaim the approach of visitors, &c. literally a *Staff-bearer*; so called from the staff of wood, (or silver, according to the rank of his master) which he carries in his hand.

Here,

Here, the major and Mr. *Johnstone*, knowing of what consequence the article of salt-petre had ever been, and always must be, as well to the *English* nation in general, as the *East India* company in particular, had ever since their entering this province, (which is well known to be by way of eminence *the country* in which salt-petre is manufactured) made it their business in their leisure hours, to acquire a competent knowledge of this important branch of commerce. And as it appeared to them, that by altering the present mode of collecting it, much greater profits would arise to the company than what they had hitherto experienced, the major thought proper to convey the particulars to the governor and council at *Calcutta*, through the military channel. And some time afterwards, the major and Mr. *Johnstone* still strongly impressed with the idea of its being highly necessary, that this business should be seriously attended to below, they agreed, that Mr. *Johnstone* should in his own name write to the governor and council, in a yet more circumstantial manner, pointing out the ways and means by which, if strictly carried into execution, the company could not avoid making very considerable advantages, and at the same time be enabled to supply government with salt-petre at a much lower price than ever before. Doubtless, due attention was soon paid to these salutary representations; and the good effects of the major's and Mr. *Johnstone's* enquiries and reports, have for many years past been happily experienced in this kingdom. 1757.

On the 13th, the major embarked the *European* troops, artillery, and *Sepoys*. *Pheroosing*, finding by this manœuvre the major was determined to march that day to *Patna*, seemed very uneasy, and framed many excuses to prevent his going; but when he perceived that he could not prevail, he begged of him not to credit the several reports which had been propagated against his master *Ramnarain*; and concluded with asking the major, whether he would have *Hyatt Khan* ordered with his troops into the city; but this Mr. *Coote* would by no means admit of. The major arrived the same night at *Patna*, and no sooner set foot in the city, but he sent for *Nabob Ami Khan*, and after reading him a letter, as he was directed to do, which he had received from Colonel *Clive*, at *Muxadabad*, he desired him to give his opinion of the present situation of affairs in general; and demanded of him in particular how many troops there were in and about the city, &c. &c. The major was now surrounded with a variety of political objects; indeed he had so nice and difficult a part to act, as called for the utmost exertion of all his abilities. We have seen, that *Meer Jaffier's* authority as *Soubahdar*, had hardly reached even the southern confines of this province, when the major entered it with his little detachment, otherwise so many complaints of the want of boats, *Dandies*, &c. would not have been made. Cool, nay even unfavourable, was the reception given to the major by *Ramnarain* at his entering *Patna*; outrages were offered by this *Nabob's* people to the *Sepoys* and butchers belonging to the army; the council held

1757. by the *Nabob* on the subject of the major and his party, was hostile; the intelligence given by *Meer Jaffier's* two brothers, (whom the major had received orders to consult and act in concert with) concerning the aim of *Ramnarain*, to make himself independant of the *Subabdar*, was corroborated by almost every other possible circumstance, in the behaviour of *Ramnarain* himself; besides the preparation for war in the garrison of *Mongbeer*, and the levying troops in almost every different part of the country: add to these particulars, that *Meer Jaffier's* two brothers had from time to time acquainted the *Soubabdar* of the uncertain tenure by which he held even his nominal dignity in the *Patna* country. *Meer Jaffier*, actuated by resentment towards *Ramnarain*, and being in dread of his power and machinations, (encouraged also by the assurances sent him from his two brothers, that it would be an easy matter for them, aided by the major, to depose *Ramnarain*,) sometimes seemed resolved that an attack should be made on the palace, and that *Ramnarain* should be treated as a disaffected person to his government. At other times, moved by political caution and timidity, he would contradict the orders, which but just before he had resolved should be vigorously carried into execution. — These inconstant resolutions, could not but make the situation of the *English* commander extremely unpleasant. At length, after having maturely considered the instructions he had at different times received from Colonel *Clive*, and the state of the *Nabob's* affairs in this province, the major concluded, that if by the strength of his reasons, and the influence of his arms, he could convince *Ramnarain* that it was as consistent with his interest, as it was with his duty, for him to lay aside all ambitious views, and peaceably submit himself to him who was now become *Soubabdar* of *Bengal*, *Bahar* and *Orissa*, the gaining so material a point could not but terminate in the peace and happiness of the provinces in general, as well as the interest of the contending powers in particular. He reflected, that could he but accomplish this desirable end, he had the strongest reason to believe, it would afford great pleasure to Colonel *Clive* the commander in chief, and redound to the honour and advantage of his own country, besides the enjoyment of unspeakable satisfaction, which such happy fruits must undoubtedly afford to his own mind.

Thus actuated, he generously laid aside, and nobly subdued in his breast every emotion of resentment for the indignities and outrage that had been offered to his own person, and the troops under his immediate command; and then conveyed his friendly sentiments and disposition to *Ramnarain*, through the channel of *Pheroosing*: and he had the address to convince that *Asiatic* politician of the sincerity of his professions, who, in consequence, at last appeared truly desirous of having an interview with the major. Accordingly on the 15th, accompanied by most of his officers, and Mr. *Pearkes*, Mr. *Coote* waited upon him in a full *Durbar*, where he was treated politely,

politely, and received the usual compliment of a dress or vest, and a horse. 1757.

The next day, the major had a conference with *Pheroosing*, to whom he urged the absolute necessity there was for his master's swearing allegiance in a public manner to *Meer Jaffier*; and they parted after agreeing that *Pheroosing* should communicate the major's proposal to the *Nabob*. On the 20th, *Pheroosing* came to the major, and said that his master having something of importance to communicate to him, would be glad to see him at any time that was most convenient to himself, but intreated that no mention of this visit might be made to *Meer Cassim* untill it was past; to which request Mr. Coote readily consented, and promised to wait on the *Rajah* the next morning. Accordingly on the 21st the major went to *Ramnarain*, and seriously talked to him on the subject of his duty and public submission. After a great deal of confidential discourse had passed, the *Nabob* declared, that, provided his life, honour, and station were secured to him on the faith of the *English*, as well as the solemn promises of the *Soubahdar*, he was ready to take the oath proposed; and if the major would say that he would be accountable for the same, he would *immediately* do it in a full *Durbar*. The major replied, that he would engage, as far as in him lay, so long as he should prove faithful and just to the *Soubahdar* in every branch of his duty; to this *Ramnarain* rejoined, that this he most certainly ever would; and then proposed as a proof of his sincerity, that he might be allowed immediately to summon a *Durbar*, and requested the major to send for *Mahmud Ami Khan*, *Meer Cassim*, and such *English* officers as he thought proper, to be witnesses of the ceremony.—Mr. Coote, with great delicacy declined the *Rajah's* offer, and begged that he would not think of doing it just at that time, because he was desirous it should appear to be entirely his own voluntary act, advising him to weigh the subject maturely with his friends, and if they approved of his doing it, and he continued in the same resolution the next day, he then would wait upon him again. On the 22d, the major received a message from the *Rajah*, desiring that he would come to him, accompanied by *Mahmud Ami Khan*, *Meer Cassim*, and as many others as he thought proper. Accordingly Mr. Coote waited upon him in the evening in full *Durbar*, where *Ramnarain* performed his promise to him, by swearing allegiance to *Meer Jaffier Ali Khan*; and a few days after, the major wrote a letter to the *Soubahdar*, acquainting him with the steps he had taken towards settling his affairs in this part of the country.

On the 23d Mr. Coote received a very polite answer to the letter he had written to *Sujah Dowlab*, *Nabob* of *Oude*; which assured him of his attachment to the *English*; and that if the *French* had not marched out of his dominions before the receipt of the major's letter, he certainly should have made it his business to have secured them, and afterwards to have given them.

1757. them up into his hands. But on the 26th, notwithstanding these professions of friendship on the part of *Sujah Dowlab*, the major received certain intelligence, that the *French* still continued in his province; and on the 29th, he received a letter from Mr. *Pearkes*, representing the ill usage he and his people had met with from *Cojah Asbruff's* Peons, and requesting him to send a party to his assistance, as he was really in danger of losing his life. Mr. *Coote* on the receipt of this letter, immediately wrote to *Cojah Asbruff*, ordering him to wait upon Mr. *Pearkes*, and deliver up to him those people who had used him ill, otherwise that he would go himself, and find them out. The major wrote also to Mr. *Pearkes*, and communicated the contents of this letter, and added, that if there was a necessity, he would march immediately to his assistance.

On the 1st of *September*, Mr. *Coote* received an order from Major *Kilpatrick*, who then commanded the army at *Muxadabad*, to return thither with his whole detachment; and the next morning he began to put those orders in execution, by sending off the train of artillery, bullocks, and *Lascars*, under the escort of a *Jamedar*, and 19 *Sepoys*, who were to march over land.—On the 4th, he sent to the *Rajah*, requesting him to hasten the boats, and the other things which were necessary for his departure. — On the 7th the troops were embarked; but from their not being provided with a sufficient number of boats, there was a necessity for crowding a large party of *Sepoys* into one, by which the *Chuppar*, or upper slight deck, broke down, killed one man, and wounded 10 more. — That night the detachment arrived at *Futwah*. — On the 8th they left *Futwah*, but the major finding himself greatly indisposed, was obliged to give up the command to Captain *Grant*. — On the 13th they arrived safe at *Muxadabad*, where Mr. *Coote* received orders from Colonel *Clive* to go down to *Chandernagore*, with the king's troop's, a company of *Swiss*, and 200 *Sepoys*; but as he still continued very ill, he was under a necessity of remaining at *Cassimbuzar* for a few days, and Captain *Gaupp* went down with the detachment.

Such was the end of Mr. *Coote's*, then, uncommon expedition; which, though it did not succeed as to its principal object, “the capture of Mr. *Law* and his party,” yet was attended with great advantages to his country in general, and to the *East India* company in particular. For besides his obliging *Ramnarain*, the most powerful *Rajah* of the country, to the very humiliating circumstance of swearing allegiance to *Meer Jaffier*, he likewise laid open the interior state of the northern provinces; and in conjunction with Mr. *Johnstone*, gave the company a considerable insight into the saltpetre business, from which branch of trade such advantages have since accrued to the public. I must take the liberty to add also, that through the whole expedition, it fully appears, he did all the service that was in his power

power to do, and shewed himself in every respect a brave and active officer. In a word, the uncommon spirit, resolution, and perseverance he manifested upon this occasion, may be justly looked upon as some of the first fruits of those military talents, which afterwards shone with such lustre in the defeat of Mr. *Lally* at the battle of *Wandewash*, and in the reduction of *Pondicherry*, by which the *French* power in *India*, was totally annihilated *.

1757.

* The capture of *Monf. Law* was reserved to be accomplished by Major, since Brigadier General, *Carnac*, who, on the same day (15th January 1761) that *Pondicherry* capitulated, obtained a complete and decisive victory over *Shah-zadah*, the present Mogul, or king of *Indostan*. *Monf. Law* and a party of *French*, who had joined the *Royal Standard*, were taken prisoners on the field of battle, and the prince a very few weeks after the action, surrendered himself to the major.

C H A P. XII.

Admiral Watson's sickness and death: His character. — Admiral Pocock succeeds Mr. Watson in the command of the Squadron. — Description of the Argill, — and of the Arica, Chulta, Mango, Tatoon, and Russia trees. — Account of coins at Bengal.

1757.

BENGAL had but just beheld the sunshine of peace and prosperity, when an event took place which overcast the whole province: an event to me, interesting beyond expression, and which was considered by all, as a public calamity. — Mr. *Watson* during the whole time of his stay in *India*, had been more or less subject to overflowings of the bile, which brought on either flight fevers, or griping in the bowels; but both these complaints had been always carried off by sweats or stools. Bleeding was more than once tried as a relief, but by experience we found that his constitution could not well bear it, especially in hot weather; as lowness of spirits and want of strength were always sure to attend the operation.

Friday, the 12th of *August*, Captain *Martin* paid the admiral an occasional visit at his country-house, and found him a little indisposed: upon the captain's coming away, the admiral desired him to tell me, that if I took an airing that evening, he should be glad to see me. I went soon after I received the message, and was concerned to find him much more indisposed than ever before, with lassitude, universal uneasiness, and a strong disposition to vomit; the pulse was low and feeble, his skin hot and dry. I advised him immediately to take an emetic; he did; the medicine operated well, and presently produced a moisture on the skin, which seemed greatly to relieve him. I recommended his drinking plentifully of sherbet, which promoted a fine perspiration all the night, and the next morning we all thought him better; his skin however still continued hot, and his pulse was too quick: He was restless also, and as the heat of the day increased, so did his restlessness. I therefore gave him some saline draughts, and ordered a clyster to be administered. In the evening he became cool and much easier, and was in good spirits. All this night his perspiration continued, and he slept with great composure.

In the morning of the 14th, he was almost free of complaint; his skin was temperate, and his pulse more regular and strong. He desired me to read some letters, which were just then brought to him in a packet from governor *Pigot*. They related chiefly to the conduct of Admiral *Byng*, and the changes which had happened in the ministry: he reflected, and reasoned much on the uncertain basis on which an officer's character stands, and concluded with observing how much more hazardous it was for him to err on the cautious, than the desperate side. He afterwards ordered me to go to the hospital*, and send out Mr. *Bevis* to be with him in my absence. This gentleman had been surgeon of the *Blaze*, but was now one of my assistants, and enjoyed a great share of the admiral's favour.—With the heat of the day Mr. *Watson* grew again very hot, but in the evening I had the pleasure to find him cool and temperate, and much better in every respect. I repeated again the clyster, and observing a great deal of bile to come away in his stools, and that his eyes were a little yellow; to the saline draughts (of which he took one every two hours) I added six grains of rhubarb, with a view of increasing the number of his stools, and by that way carrying off the bile. Acidulated gruels, chicken-water, and whey, were his food.

I visited him early the next morning; Mr. *Bevis* informed me of the admiral's having had a good night; and Mr. *Watson* himself added, that he was almost well. I thought so too, and in great spirits left him to return to the hospital, leaving directions with Mr. *Bevis* to pursue the same course of medicines, not doubting but that a few more evacuations by stool, and the gentle perspiration he was then in, would by the evening quite free him from all complaints. But this was the most sultry day I ever experienced in *India*; not a breath of air was there for many hours; both man and beast, and the very fowls of the air, so sensibly felt it, that some of each species fell down dead.

My dearest friend Admiral *Watson*, I may truly say, lost his life by it. At 11 o'clock he complained much of excessive heat, and the want of cool air; and though every door and window in the house were thrown wide open, he had no relief. His heat now increased, his pulse became feeble, and his head confused. Mr. *Bevis* about noon sent me an account of this alarming change. I hurried away to his house, carrying with me three blisters, one for the back, and two for the arms, which I put on immediately. I repeated the clyster, and with the approbation of Mr. *Thomas*, and one of the most experienced practitioners in the country, I gave him a proper quantity of Dr. *James's* powders. It operated well by gentle vomiting and purging, and brought away a great quantity of bile. His head however still grew worse, and a sleepiness followed; a blister was then applied to the

* In the latter part of *July* and the beginning of *August*, sickness increased so much among us, that upwards of 600 men were sent to the hospital. Their disorders were chiefly putrid fevers, fluxes, &c.

1757. head, and stimulating poultices to the feet. The room was also fumigated with lemons and vinegar, but alas! all was to no purpose, for on *Tuesday* the 16th, between 8 and 9 in the morning, to our unspeakable grief, he died; and a putrefaction came on to such a degree, that in a few hours, the body was in an entire state of corruption.

The next day, his corpse was buried at *Calcutta*, attended to the grave, by Admiral *Pocock*, by all the captains, and by almost every officer and seaman of the squadron. Colonel *Clive* too, and as many gentlemen from the army as could possibly be spared, attended on this melancholy occasion. Many *French* gentlemen also (who through the fortune of war were his prisoners) and several thousands of *Armenians* and *Indians* followed him to his grave; nor was there, I believe, an individual among them all, that did not shed a tear, or give some other mark of unfeigned sorrow. In a word, no man ever lived more esteemed, or died more regretted than Admiral *Watson*. A voluntary universal mourning, displayed in some degree the deep sense which the fleet, army, and settlement, had of his merit.

The ADMIRAL, was the son of Doctor *John Watson*, prebendary of *Westminster* and rector of *Castle-Camps* in the county of *Cambridge*; his mother was half-sister to Sir *Charles Wager*, admiral of the white, and first lord commissioner of the admiralty. Mr. *Watson* was born in the year 1714; and lost his father when he was but nine years old; his uncle Sir *Charles Wager* continued him at the academy where his father had placed him, and anno 1727 he entered him at the age of 15, in the navy. In the year 1734 he was made a lieutenant, and *February* 14, 1737, he became a post captain, being appointed commander of the *Garland* of 20 guns.

In the several line of battle ships he afterwards commanded, Captain *Watson* highly distinguished himself, particularly in the action of the 3d of *May* 1747, when even the *French* admiral made the most honourable mention of his ship (the *Princess Louisa*) and a few others, in the account he sent to his court of that memorable engagement. In the action which followed that same year, when Sir *Edward Hawke* commanded in chief; Captain *Watson* manifested the same gallantry as in the preceding one, and the 12th of *May* 1748, "as a reward for his merit," (to use the very words of Lord *Anson*) he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and sent with some ships to *Cape Breton*.

On the conclusion of the war, he retired into the country, till he was fixed upon as commander of the king's ships at *Phymouth*, where he continued a short time, and was then, as before related, appointed to the command of the squadron destined for the *East Indies*.

The admiral was handsome in his person, and had a manly commanding countenance. His temper, though naturally warm, was exceedingly good,

and his disposition extremely humane. His manners were easy and polite; 1757. he was a lover of temperance and sobriety, though he made no scruple at his own table occasionally to promote a free circulation of the glass; and his sentiments were generous and noble. Few men, who, like Mr. *Watson*, had been taken from school at so early a period of life, excelled him in epistolary writing; he studied men and things more than books, and was confessedly quick and happy in finding out real characters. He liked, and loved the honest man, but detested the hypocrite.—Though firm in his resolutions, he was ever open to conviction, and whenever he thought the public service would be benefited by any advice he had privately received, he would be sure to carry it into execution, and after success had attended it, to declare publicly to whose counsel that success was owing.

He carried about him the surest mark of bravery, as well as delicacy; for notwithstanding he was well known to have frequently distinguished himself in battle, yet these engagements were never the chosen topics of his conversation; and if by others they were at any time introduced, he was sure not to dwell on those circumstances which in the eye of the world reflected honour on himself.—In his public, as well as private character, he ever shewed a proper regard for the religion of his country; was never absent from divine worship on board his own ship, and was remarkable for shewing due respect to the clergy in general, and to the chaplain of his own ship in particular: if at any time indeed their conduct was inconsistent with the duty of their office, he then became cold and indifferent towards them.

In fine; it may be truly said of Admiral *Watson*, that he was a kind and faithful husband, an affectionate father, a sincere friend, and a good citizen. His integrity, humanity, generosity, and *disinterestedness** of heart were such,

* This part of the admiral's character was very apparent even in an early part of his life, and which was made known to the public by a sea-officer in 1744, in a book entitled, "A narrative of the proceedings of his majesty's fleet in the *Mediterranean*;" the following is an extract from it. "The same day the *Dragon*, Captain *Charles Watson*, unexpectedly came to *Hieres*, which ship had been lately employed in several cruizes, between *Toulon* and *Gibraltar*; and in consequence of her orders was to have cruised sometime off *Cadiz*, and then to have proceeded to *Lisbon*, where the captain was sure of the benefit of 800 *Moidores* freight money; but the moment he heard of the preparations of the enemy, and the likelihood of their coming out to sea, he made no hesitation. The alluring advantages of a trip to *Lisbon*, (the darling wishes of the captains in his majesty's fleet) with a prospect of catching an immense fortune, on a station extremely envied and sought after, did not weigh with him, when those pursuits were incompatible with the service of his king and country. But from the most *disinterested* motive, without orders, he, with the utmost expedition joined the fleet at *Hieres*, whereby this gentleman possibly lost that considerable prize which was taken by the *Solebay*, to the value of 300,000*l.*; for at that time he would have been on the very station, and the *Solebay* probably, either at *Gibraltar* bay, or protecting our trade in the *Gut* from the *Spanish* privateers. A demonstration of his choosing personal poverty in preference of riches, when the true interest of his country called upon him. Such an ardent zeal, such just and unbiassed sentiments, so uncommon, nay, without an example in the navy, cannot but raise our admiration to the highest pitch, and inspire us with the most fervent wishes for the happiness of so much real merit, which cannot be rewarded with too much distinction, or public acknowledgment."

1757. as to become almost proverbial among the natives, as well as the *Europeans* residing in the *East Indies*, and for every one of his successful enterprizes, he rendered from the heart praises to him who alone giveth the victory.

The admiral married in 1748, the eldest daughter of *John Francis Buller*, Esq; of *Morval* in the county of *Cornwall*, and left behind him one son, the present *Sir Charles Watson*, and two daughters. On the son, the late king conferred the title of baronet, in honour of his father; and the *East India* company, in gratitude for the great and effectual services the admiral rendered to them, have erected to his memory a monument in *Westminster Abbey*.

Admiral *Pocock* succeeded to the command of the squadron: he, and the brave, honest, deceased admiral, had lived for many years in the most perfect amity; and notwithstanding Mr. *Pocock's* importance in this part of the world was greatly heightened by the death of his friend, yet I am persuaded he was as thoroughly concerned for him, and as much lamented his loss, as any one gentleman in the squadron*.

Soon after the interment of Mr. *Watson*, Admiral *Pocock* assembled all the officers who had been particularly dependant on his predecessor, and assured them, that he was their fellow-sufferer in the death of the admiral, whose memory he must always have in the highest esteem, and that he should think himself peculiarly happy in serving those whom Mr. *Watson* had distinguished by his more immediate patronage. He repeatedly desired us all to rest satisfied with the sincerity of this assurance; and told Mr. *Watson's* lieutenants in particular, that if they chose to continue abroad with him, he would take them all, as vacancies should happen, on board his own ship, and promote each of them in turn, in preference to any other recommendation. Almost all these gentlemen did continue under his command, and were afterwards accordingly raised by the admiral to the rank of post-captains. Mr. *Pocock* had no sooner taken the supreme command of the squadron, than a busy scene opened to his view; it was introduced by the following letter from Commodore *James*.

To *George Pocock*, Esq; &c. &c.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to advise you of my arrival off *Ingelee* at 5 o'clock this evening; having been dispatched to join you with all possible expedition by Captain *Townley* of his majesty's ship *Triton*. We were cruising off *Fort St.*

* In the month of *October* 1757, the service sustained another considerable loss, by the death of Major *Kilpatrick*, who besides being a brave and experienced officer, was a constant mediator whenever differences subsisted in the settlement. Of the 250 soldiers who came with him in *August* 1756 from *Madras*, only 5 survived their commander, and these were now by repeated sickness enervated to the greatest degree.

David, but on the 8th instant were both forced from that station by the sudden and unexpected arrival of a *French* fleet, which by sailing better than either of us, put us in the most imminent danger of being taken. They all anchor'd at *Pondicherry* that day at noon, but as they approached us fast, (and with such an apparent prospect of coming up with us) I imagine they would not have left off chase, but for the apprehension of being carried to leeward of their port. I had an opportunity of making the following remarks upon the fleet.—The commanding ship was the nearest but one, with a *St. George's* flag at the fore-top-mast head; I counted, and with great certainty, fifteen lower deck ports of a side. Seven more of the fleet appeared large, and are at least two-decked ships; the other two were long and low, and appeared to be frigates of thirty-four or thirty-six guns each. The *L'Gloire* a *French* frigate, lay at the same time at *Pondicherry*, so that in all they have now eleven sail. Captain *Townley*, after we separated, stood on to *Madrafs*, from whence he proposed sailing in a few hours to join you. I was but five days to *Ballasore* road, so that I imagine he may be hourly expected.

On the 5th of this month, the *Boscawen*, *Braund*, *Norfolk*, *Bonham*, *Princess Augusta*, *Badeson*, and *Tavistock*, *Jenkins*, bound to *China*, arrived at *Madrafs*; they left *England* in *March* with Admiral *Coats* bound to *Jamaica*, and kept company with Commodore *Stevens* in the *Elizabeth*, with the *Yarmouth*, *Weymouth*, *Colchester* and *Queenborough* men of war and *Warwick* *India* man, all bound to *India*, as far as *Madeira*, where they stopped on the 12th of *April*, while these ships proceeded on by themselves. As we only just spoke with them at sea, I did not learn any extraordinary news, nor shall I take up any more of your time, as I hope for the honour of waiting upon you in person to-morrow.

I am, Sir,

Revenge, at *Ingelee*, 14th
September, 1757.

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. JAMES.

This early intelligence (for the *Revenge* had only 4 days and 18 hours passage from *St. David's* to *Ballasore* road) was of great importance, and indeed of the utmost consequence, as it put *Calcutta* and our Squadron on their guard, for until now we were totally ignorant of any *French* ships of war being in *India*. We had only three line of battle ships left, the *Kent* having been condemned; and the *Cumberland* was a single ship at *Culpee*, thirty miles down the river from *Calcutta*, preparing to heave down, and not expecting an enemy, was in no condition to receive one. The *French* fleet*, which had touched at *Porto-Novo*, a *Dutch* settlement, to the southward of *Pondicherry*, for intelligence, had from thence steered along shore in the

* This was a part of that fleet, of which the *East India* directors had given so early intelligence as *May* 1756. Vide p. 89.

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night; and without making any signal by guns or lights, anchored in *Fort St. David's* road. Our cruisers standing in from the sea, had done the same about 7 o'clock in the evening, and the next morning at the break of day were found to be in a very critical situation: The *French* ships were first discovered, getting under sail, had *English* colours flying, and their number answered to *Commodore Stevens's* Squadron with the expected *India* ships of the season. The *Revenge* being the southermost of our ships, was by the accident of her station in a manner almost surrounded by them, and an officer of less activity and discernment than Mr. *James* might have been fatally deceived; especially as he had received certain advice but two days before, that Mr. *Stevens* might every hour be expected.—By an expert and superior manœuvre our ships were gotten under sail quicker than those of the enemy, and by that means soon increased their distance: the *French* admiral therefore made the general signal to chace, and several other signals, all with *English* colours, by which the governor of *Fort St. David* was so much deceived, that he sent off Mr. *Newton*, a gentleman of the council, to congratulate, as he thought, Mr. *Stevens*, upon his arrival, and to invite him on shore; and sent also four *Mossulas*, or country boats, to accommodate him, and any of the gentlemen of the Squadron, over the surf: Mr. *Newton* was in the first boat, and actually went a-long side of the *French* admiral, before he was convinced of his mistake, and was thus made a prisoner. The other boats took the alarm upon the *French* ships firing at the *Revenge*, and rowed in shore, and Mr. *James* had the presence of mind to throw into them, for the reinforcement of *Fort St. David*, near one hundred recruits, which he took out of the *India* men mentioned in his letter to Admiral *Pocock* on their passage to *Madras*. He left his own boats, an officer, and sixteen *Escaers*, to assist in landing them, and eluded the pursuit of the enemy, with no other loss or inconvenience, than having some of his rigging cut, and his sails fired through.

At this season of the year, the current sets strong to the N. E. which, together with the S. W. monsoon, renders it difficult for ships that fall to leeward of their port to beat up. The *French* admiral therefore, as soon as he got abreast of *Pondicherry*, made the general signal to leave off chace, and stood into that road, when he hastily landed a few men and stores, and the next day precipitately sailed away to *Mauritius*; probably, being convinced, that by the escape of our cruisers, our settlements and ships would be put so much on their guard, as to render any attempt of his abortive.

I once intended to have given a summary account of the farther progress of the *British* arms in *India*, from the death of Admiral *Watson* down to the reduction of *Pondicherry* by Colonel *Coote* in the year 1761; but as such an addition might probably have been censured by some as an anticipation of events, not belonging to the plan of the work, I was easily persuaded to drop it, and refer such as are unacquainted with that glorious æra of *English*

lish history, to the periodical compilations of the times; but rather, to the intended 2d volume of Mr. Orme's incomparable history of the military transactions of the *British* nation in *Indostan*, which will soon make its appearance to the public.

In consequence of the death of my good friend Admiral *Watson*, and of my constitution's being greatly impaired by the unwholesome climate of *Bengal*, I came to a resolution of quitting the service; and having communicated my intentions to my friend Mr. *Doidge* the late admiral's secretary, and to Mr. *Pye* (storekeeper to the Squadron) I was happy to find both these gentlemen in the same way of thinking with myself. We resolved therefore to throw up our several employments, and to return to *England* by the way of *Bassora*, and the great desert of *Arabia*. But before this scheme could possibly be put in execution, it was absolutely necessary for us to get the consent of Rear-Admiral *Pocock*; who, upon our making application to him, politely accepted of our resignation. We had now a little time to look about us, and from political and warlike transactions, turn our thoughts to things, which though not so important and interesting, were pleasing and entertaining.

In the evening excursions which I made with Captain *Martin*, Mr. *Doidge*, Mr. *Thomas*, and other friends near *Calcutta*, we had often observed an extraordinary species of birds, called by the natives *Argill*, or *Hurgill*, a native of *Bengal*. They would majestically stalk along before us, and at first we took them for *Indians*, naked. Upon discovering however that they were birds, we resolved to shoot one, to satisfy our curiosity relative to their exact magnitude and shape. For this, we frequently went out with some of our fusils loaded with ball, others with *Bristol* drop; but, though we had several good marks, our repeated efforts were fruitless. We had always been attended by the *Bearers* of our *Palanquins*, in whose countenances we could not but discern the most evident marks of satisfaction, on our want of success; at length one of them gravely told us, "That if we tried to eternity to kill these birds, we should never succeed, for that the souls of the *Brahmins* possessed them." We at last grew weary of the pursuit, and gave it over. But one evening as I was returning from *Calcutta*, to a house which had been lent me in the neighbourhood, I observed one flying very slowly over my head, and afterwards to perch on a tree by which I was to pass; I took not the least notice to my *Bearers*, until they were within the distance of 30 or 40 yards, when I ordered them to stop, and having in my *Palanquin* a loaded fusil, I discharged it at the *Monster*, and brought him down.

The following are the exact marks and dimensions of this bird:—
The wings extended 14 feet 10 inches. From the tip of the bill to the extremity of the claw, it measured 7 feet 6 inches. The legs were naked,

and:

1757. and so was one-half of the thighs; the naked parts were full 3 feet in length. The feathers of the wings and back were very strong, and of an iron colour. The feathers of the breast were long: Over the belly was a great deal of down, all of a dirty white. The bill was 16 inches round at the base, of different colours, and nearly of a triangular shape. In the *craw* was a *Terapin* or land tortoise 10 inches long; and a large black male cat was found entire in it's stomach.

Having already mentioned the *Beetle-nut* as a favourite with the *Indians*, (and which they chew with *chunam*, or shell lime, and the leaf of an aromatic shrub that grows like a vine, and is supported on sticks as our scarlet beans, called also *Beetle-leaf*) I shall here subjoin a brief description of the *Arica* tree, which produces the nut. It is a fine slender upright tree, not above 6 inches thick at bottom, but grows to upwards of 30 feet high, and is jointed at about 8 or 9 inches distance, perhaps the last year's growth: it contains a large quantity of pith, the woody part being thin, but as tough as whalebone. The leaves grow in the same manner as those of the *Cocoa-nut* tree, very long, and with a strong, large middle rib; the flower comes out between the concave part of the leaves. The nuts are numerous, and out of the husk (which is yellow on the outside, brown and fibrous within) the fruit is about the size of a large walnut, and of the shape and colour of a nutmeg, though some are round. The extract of this nut seems to be the *Terra Japonica*; for after boiling some of those nuts with a little *chunam* in the water, the decoction is the colour of that drug, and tastes like it. This nut, wrapped with *chunam* in the *Beetle-leaf*, is not only chewed all over *India*, by men, women, and children, but is used likewise as an emblem of peace and friendship, being sent by the *Rajahs* and princes to those with whom they intend to live in friendship, and is given to you on all visits you make to the natives.

There is also in *Bengal* an elegant, large, spreading flower tree, called *Chulta*: the leaves are a pale but pleasant green, deeply furrowed above, and highly ridged below; they grow in bunches, in a plume-like form, and round the end of the branches. The flower is at first a hard green ball, on footstalks about 4 inches; this opens, and the calix is composed of 5 round thick succulent leaves; the corolla is also 5 fine beautiful white round petals: the stamina are numerous and lingueform; styles sixteen, and lancelated. They stand in a radiated manner, and after one day the corolla falls off, and the ball closes again, when it is sold in their markets. There is a succession of these for several months, but no other appearance.—The *Mango* tree is plenty in *Bengal*, which grows to a large size, and spreads much; the wood is brown, and used only for indifferent work, the leaves are a fine green, and grow in bunches at the extremity of the branches. The flowers grow on a spike at the end of the branches, and at the extremity of the flower hangs one, two, and sometimes three *Mangos*. The fruit, when ripe, is yellow and reddish, full of a fine agreeable juice: Some *Mangos* are very full of thread,

thread, or hair-like fibres; the juice runs out of these on cutting, or with a little handling; the others which have few or no fibres are much the finest; they cut like an apple, but more juicy, and I have seen some as big as a large man's fist. The form is oval, and they contain a large kernel in a tough husk near half as big as the fruit; this stone is taken out of the green ones which are pickled and carried to *England*. The ripe fruit is very wholesome, and except very fine pine apples, is preferable to any in *India*; the gentlemen eat little else in the hot months, when they are in season, if no wine is drank with them, they are apt to throw out troublesome but healthful boils.

In the walks at *Bengal* they have a tall tree, called the *Tatoon*, and which Captain *Birch* is said to have first brought from *England*. The leaves are of a deep shining green, the lower part rather paler, where it is ribbed, and undulated round the edges. I saw no flowers, but the fruit is of the size, shape and colour of an olive; it hath a moderate thin husk, and contains a kernel, like that of the date: five or six grow on the same pedicle.—Near *Calcutta* is a large spreading tree called the *Russa*, which makes a fine appearance when in full bloom. The natives say that this, and another near the *Dutch* settlement, are the only two in *Bengal*; they pretend likewise that they could never find the seed, which must certainly be a mistake, because there is abundance, and large. That they could not preserve them may be true, because the ants and other vermin are excessively fond of them, so that you can never find a pod untouched either by insects within, or ants; Mr. *Thomas* attended the tree daily for a considerable time to procure a whole pod, but in vain. The bark is brown and rough; the leaves are a deep green, but bright; they are pinnated, 4 pair and an odd one, or 5 pair on every pinna; several of these grow round every branch, which makes the whole bushy. The flower grows out between the lower leaves of the pinnæ, on a short but strong footstalk; this divides and subdivides into a great number, so as to make the whole a hemisphere. On the top of each of these, is a flower of a bright crimson, orange, and different shades down to yellow; they are monopetalous; the cup is about an inch long, divided above in four, ten stamina, and one style: they almost cover the tree, and there is a long succession of them, but little smell. The fruit is a pod of the shape and size of a large garden bean, containing 4 or 5 large fleshy seeds, which easily fall in two when dry; they are brown on the outside, white within, nearly square, but convex on the sides.

The latter end of *October*, the *Indian* inhabitants near *Calcutta*, were ordered by the governor and council to remove from the black town, and to build houses for themselves on another spot, at a greater distance from the fort. This was owing to the governor and council's resolution in consequence of Colonel *Clive's* advice, to enlarge and well secure *Fort William*, which could not be done, whilst the *Indian* town was standing. It must be owned, that the natives received but a short notice to remove themselves and families; but certain intelligence having been received, that the country

1757. *Rajabs* were assembling troops with a view of disputing the late acquired authority of *Meer-Jaffer*, it was therefore thought indispensably necessary that the fortress should with the utmost expedition be put on a much more respectable footing, than what it had ever heretofore been.

Accounts are here kept in imaginary or current *Rupees*, *Annas*, and *Pices*.

The *Rupee* is valued in the company's cash at 2 s. 3 d.

16 *Annas* make a *Rupee*.

12 *Pices* make an *Anna*.

Cowry shells are also current here on account of the cheapness of provisions; these vary as to their value, from 4000 to 4800 to the *Rupee*, as hath already been noticed.

It must also be observed that the *Arcot* and *Pondicherry Rupees* have an advance or *Batta* of 8 per Cent. over the current *Rupees*.

Those of *Bombay* have a *Batta* of 10 per Cent.

New *Siccas* or *Royal Rupees* have a *Batta* of 20 per Cent.

But the latter lose in their value 2 per Cent. every year, until they are re-coined.

C H A P. XIII.

Occurrences on the voyage from Calcutta to Gombroon.—Arrival at Columbo, Anjengo, Cochin, with descriptions of the places.—Account of the Cochin or Elephant-leg.—Arrival at, and a short account of, Tellicherry, Goa, Bombay, and Gombroon.—Observations on the Banian tree.

THE beginning of the month of *November*, was spent in taking leave of our many friends, both of the *squadron*, and of *Calcutta*; and in writing letters to many others on the *Coromandel* coast, expressing our gratitude for the many civilities and acts of friendship they had shewn us, during our residence among them. The polite and friendly treatment, we had all experienced on our arrival; and during our stay in *India*, from the principal families residing in those places, required that this compliment should be paid to them. In truth, the hospitality and generosity shewn to strangers in general in this country, are beyond expression; nor is it possible to point out a part of the world where the spirit of charity is more nobly exerted than in our *East India* company's settlements: numerous instances might be mentioned, where princely subscriptions have in a few hours been raised, and applied to the effectual relief of many unfortunate families.

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On *Saturday* the 19th of *November* we left *Calcutta*, and embarked in a small boat on the *Ganges*, being provided with a letter of recommendation from Mr. *Gee*, a free merchant in *Bengal*, to Baron *Kniphausen*, governor of the island *Karec* in the *Persian* gulph. A young gentleman named *Pigot*, (late surgeon of a *bomb-vessel*) went with us from *Calcutta*, with a view of getting a passage to *England* in an *European* ship from *Bombay*. As so long and dangerous a journey was before us, we thought it necessary, for the good regulation of our little party's affairs, to appoint Mr. *Doidge* to act as our chief, investing him with the supreme direction; and Mr. *Pye* we constituted our secretary. Mr. *Doidge* had in charge some dispatches of importance from Admiral *Pocock* to one of the Secretaries of State, and to the Secretary of the Lords of the Admiralty. He was entrusted also with

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others from the governor and council of *Calcutta* to the directors of the *East India* company.

On *Monday* the 21st, we and our servants repaired on board his majesty's ship the *Cumberland*, which from the time she entered the river, had been stationed at *Culpee* *. On the 25th we embarked in the *Revenge*, an armed *Frigate* belonging to the *East India* company, which had been ordered by the admiral to carry us to *Bombay*, and which at this time was still commanded by *Commodore James*, whom I have had often occasion to mention. On our entering the *Revenge*, the commodore was so complaisant as to honour us with a salute of 11 guns. In the afternoon we anchored at *Ingelee*. An incident happened during our passage from *Calcutta* to *Culpee*, which at the instant diverted our company not a little, and though but of small consequence in itself, yet as it conveys an idea of the *Indian* customs in this particular, the inserting it may not be altogether unacceptable.—One day we received a message from a farmer of that part of the country which belonged to our *India* company, requesting admittance to us on an affair which to him was very interesting. We were told, that he had a petition to offer, and I was appointed to receive the petitioner in form, because I was the most corpulent person of the party; my fellow-travellers having pleasantly observed, that corpulency in this country is always esteemed an infallible mark of heaven's favour, and which it never bestows on any but its peculiar favourites. Upon his being introduced into the cabin of our vessel, he immediately prostrated himself at my feet, kissed my shoe, and laid before me four or five rupees, with a remnant of cotton-cloth. He then was desired to seat himself, and to relate his business: on which, he complained much of the oppressions he had lately suffered from the *Zemindar* of his district, expatiated on the several particulars, and intreated our assistance, by a letter addressed to some gentlemen of consequence at *Calcutta*. It appearing to us that he had really been very ill treated, I stated his case in a letter to *Mr. Becker*, a gentleman of the council, with whom I thought I might take that liberty; and since have had the satisfaction to hear, that *Mr. Becker* in consequence of my application, so kindly exerted himself in our petitioner's behalf, as to procure him effectual redress. We wished very heartily to have returned the farmer his offering, but we had before learned from many similar instances which had occurred during our stay in *India*, that this could not be done without taking from him all hopes of being relieved; for he hereby would have understood, that the letter which we had given to him was written rather to his disadvantage, than his benefit.

Monday the 28th at nine in the morning, we sailed from *Ingelee*, and at the same hour in the evening, our pilot left us, when we had a fine gale from the north-east. *December* the 2d at noon, we were happy to find

* During the time of her lying here, she took a *French* ship, which came into the *Ganges*, richly laden.

ourselves in 13 degrees north, the latitude of *Madrafs*. The quick run we had from *Bengal*, which now took us up only five days; compared with the tedious passage of seven weeks which we had to it from *Madrafs* the last year, served abundantly to convince us of the exceeding great strength and violence of the monsoon, and how difficult and dangerous it will always be to beat up against it.—In the night of the 5th following, a slave black boy, who had been sold by our *Bengal* pilot to one of the lieutenants of the *Revenge*, on account of his having been too familiar with his master's slave wench, suddenly disappeared; having, as we supposed, thrown himself overboard. The boy became sullen from the moment the pilot parted with him, and told the other boys of the ship, that he was much in love with the girl, and that she was then pregnant by him.—We could not but lament the hard fate of these two unhappy, but faithful lovers!

The 8th, by observation at noon, we found ourselves in the latitude of 6° 1' north, and in sight of the island of *Ceylon*, remarkable as hath been already observed for the large quantity of spice it yields to the *Dutch*. Besides spices, it also produces arrack in great plenty. The *Dutch* supply the other parts of *India* with this commodity, as well as send a great quantity to *Europe*. By age it becomes (as I was told) nearly as mild and soft to the taste, as what they make at *Batavia*, though, when newly distilled, it is very fiery and disagreeable.

Wednesday the 14th, in the afternoon, we anchored in *Columbo* road. Mr. *Doidge* and I went on shore to pay a visit to Mr. *Knox*, the supercargo of the *Fatty Salem*, Captain *Woodson*: we found that he had been very ill, and that his illness had been occasioned by a cold he caught at *Galle*, in dancing with some ladies, who were just arrived from *Europe*. By what I could learn from Mr. *Knox*, who had been bred to the practice of physic, and had treated his disorder as a fever of the intermittent kind, he had unfortunately taken too large a quantity of the *Peruvian* bark. At this time he laboured under a very considerable hardness on the left lobe of the liver, with a constipation of the body.—The bolusses of the *Mercurius Alcalizatus*, clysters, and fomentations which I prescribed, gave him a little relief; but the next day his delirium returned, and then at his earnest request, made in lucid intervals, he was carried on board the *Revenge*; where he died the 18th of a mortification of the bowels and stomach, much lamented by all who knew him.

The town of *Columbo*, is the chief settlement of the *Dutch* on this island, and indeed, next to *Batavia* on the isle of *Java*, is the most important of any they possess in the *East Indies*. It is situated on the west side of the island, in the latitude of seven degrees north, on a gently rising ground. The soil is a red sand, mixed with small black shining gravel, which harden to a good pavement in the streets. These are all so judiciously contrived by easy ascents and descents, that no inconvenience can possibly arise, even from the greatest

1757. greatest rains. They are also very wide, and have a beautiful row of trees on each side, between which and the houses, is a very smooth and regular pavement. Between each tree too, there is a very fine and refreshing grass verdure, equal, if not superior to what we see in the best walks of the most noted gardens in *England*. The streets likewise all cross each other at right angles, and upon the whole are so elegantly disposed, and so very unlike any thing of the kind we had before seen in *India*, that we could not help admiring the superior skill and ingenuity of the *Dutch*.

After we had satisfied our curiosity in viewing the beauty and regularity of the buildings, we walked to the extremities of the town, to examine the fortifications, which towards the sea are but indifferent. Indeed there is no necessity for that part being very strong, as no enemy can approach near enough to do them any considerable damage; they have wisely therefore turned their chief strength towards the land, and have so well executed their designs, we may venture to say, that all the *Europeans* in *India*, collected into one army, would be able to make very little, if any impression at all upon the place. The citadel is of an irregular figure, occasioned by the form of the ground on which it stands; the wall seems to be built of very good and large stones; the bastions are very extensive; and round most part of the town there is a double wall. Here is also a wet ditch, full sixty feet wide, and a covered way, and *glacis*, where the ground will admit of it. The *Dutch* at this place, seem to be as capable of defending themselves against an enemy by the good disposition they have likewise made of their water, as by the strength of their fortifications; for they have so contrived it, that a man cannot possibly approach the citadel under any cover, though at a little distance a stranger would be apt to imagine, that the whole town was built in a wood. There is always a garrison here of thirteen hundred *Europeans*, all fine looking, healthy young men; for in our whole day's walk we did not see three soldiers who appeared to be forty years of age. Among other military and naval stores, we could not help taking notice of a great number of fine masts, some of which appeared as large as the middle piece of a seventy gun ship's main-mast.

We were introduced to the governor of *Columbo*, (who from his lofty deportment towards us, and the great authority he possesses in this part of the world, may be justly stiled *High and Mighty*) by *Mynbeer Planchard*, his master of ceremonies; but our reception was so cool, that we entertained a very mean opinion of the governor's civility to strangers. As to *Planchard*, his open countenance bespoke a mind quite happy and at ease, and he very sociably drank his bottle of wine with us at the public house the first night after our arrival; but never took the least notice of us afterwards. This change in his behaviour, was in all probability owing to the influence of *Mynbeer Shrewder* the governor; between whom and Commodore *James* no kind of civilities had past, as the manner of saluting, and returning the salute, could not be adjusted between them. We observed nothing worthy

of remark in the inhabitants of this place, except that the breasts of the men, who were natives of *Ceylon*, appeared to us of an uncommon size. While we lay here, three deserters from the *Dutch* came on board of us; two were hollanders, and the third *Alexander McIntosh*, a *Scotchman*. The last I engaged as my servant, and he was added to our party. 1757.

Saturday the 17th of *December* we set sail from *Columbo*, in company with an *English* merchant-ship from *Bengal*. On the 19th we were off *Anjengo*, on the *Malabar* coast, and then buried Mr. *Knox*, the *Revenge* firing half-minute guns. *Anjengo* lies in the latitude of $8^{\circ} 35''$ north, and is the southernmost of our settlements.

Mr. *Moor* came on board with Mr. *Spencer* the *Chief's* compliments to *Commodore James* and his passengers, desiring the pleasure of their company at his house. Here we were genteely and hospitably entertained, till the 23d. Our mornings we spent in reading, or rather feasting on the many news-papers, magazines, and political pamphlets, lately brought from *Europe*. The evenings we past on the river in the *Chief's* barge, with our muskets, in pursuit of alligators. The groves on each side the river, are chiefly planted with cocoa-nut trees, and are inhabited by men and women in almost a pure state of nature, for they go with their breasts and bellies entirely naked: this custom prevails universally throughout every *Cast*, from the poorest planter of rice, to the daughter or consort of the king upon the throne.

Here, for the first time, I saw pepper grow: the plant is a creeper that runs up and around trees; and I found the tree which gives the *Congery*, or *Tellicherry** bark, to be the most common supporter of it. This grows to the size of our common cherry tree; the pepper, like the ivy, entwines itself about the tree, and sends off clusters, resembling the first shootings of a bunch of grapes. A great variety of doves are found here; one sort is green, and larger than the common pidgeon. Here are also snipes, a few woodcocks, hares, and wild hogs, but no partridges. The sea abounds with *Sardinias*, Mullet, Horse-mackrel, Rock-fish, Eels, young Sharks, Nayer-fish, &c.

Anjengo fort is small, but neat and strong; it is a square with four bastions, having eight guns mounted on each, carrying a ball of eighteen pounds. Two of these bastions face the sea, the other two the country.

* This bark was many years ago recommended to me by Mr. *Swan*, late surgeon of his majesty's dock-yard at *Portsmouth*, under the name of the *Cort de Pala*, as an excellent succedaneum to the *Peruvian* or *Jesuit's* bark; and when I got to *India* I frequently used it with success. It is no where to be met with but on the *Malabar* coast; and should a large quantity be wanted, it cannot be purchased at *Bombay* on a sudden, but timely notice must be given for it's being procured from *Tellicherry*.

1757.

Besides these, there is a line of eighteen or twenty guns pointing towards the sea, of eighteen and twenty-four pounders. About a pistol shot from the back of the fort, runs a river, which, besides its being a security to the factory, adds much to the agreeable situation of the place. This river has its source in some distant mountains, and descending in a course from the north and east, it afterwards turns in several pleasing meanders so far to the west, as to wash the bottom of our factory's garden, and at last winding to the south, it empties itself into the sea. Several beautiful small islands too, which are washed by its current, diversify the scenery, and greatly heighten the beauty of the prospect.

The first evening we spent in the barge, we were accompanied by a *Marchan*, or *Moorman*, governor of 12 *Carricars*, or officers of districts, all under the king of *Travencore*. This *Moor* drank beer and wine, with as much satisfaction as any of us. He had no covering for his back, and the evening being somewhat sharp, one of our company expressed his fear that the air would be too cold for him; to which he chearfully replied, "The weather, while I am in the company of *English* gentlemen, is never too cold, or any way disagreeable." About seven miles up the river, at a place called *Attinga*, and at the distance of half a mile from the water, is a *Pagoda* or temple of the *Gentoas*, in which the queen of *Attinga* resides. Till of late, the town and country of *Attinga* were quite independent of the king of *Travencore*, but now they are tributary to him. The eldest son of the queen of *Attinga* is always heir apparent to the crown of *Travencore*. We remarked at this place, a singular maxim of state policy, adopted by the kingdoms on the *Malabar* coast. To ascertain to themselves a succession of princes, descending from the pure and royal blood of their antient monarchs, the right of succession to the throne is determined to belong to the eldest son of the female line: hence, a king's son in this country is precisely on the same footing with a daughter of the *French* king, only with this difference (or rather degradation) that the young *Malabar* prince, being ranged (like all others of the *Nayer* or royal *Cast*) among the second *Cast* or class of the nation, gives place in rank to the *Brahmins* *.

This settlement supplies our *East India* company with pepper; and its situation is also very convenient for giving proper intelligence to our ships touching here from *Europe*, or from any part of *India*. The present chief, Mr. *Spencer*, is a man of an excellent character both for probity and sagacity;

* The following passage in *Gulbrie's* history of the world, proves however that this maxim of the eldest son of the female line succeeding to the throne, is not entirely confined to the *Malabar* coast.

"According to the established order of succession among some of the *Æthiopic* nations, upon the death of the king, his sister's son mounted the throne: and in case the female branches of the royal family failed of issue, they chose the most beautiful and valiant person among them for their king." Vol. 5. page 252.

the greatest harmony and satisfaction subsist among the inhabitants in his government *. 1757.

December the 25th at noon we anchored in *Cochin* road, a settlement belonging to the *Dutch*, in the latitude of $9^{\circ} 50'$ north. We dined with the chief, *De Young*, by them called commandant; he was a very obliging little man. After dinner we drank success to the king of *England*, the states of *Holland*, &c.; and when our wine was finished, we took a short ride to the company's country house, in single-horse chaises, accompanied by the commandant and the late chief of *Quilon*. The town of *Cochin* is not unpleasant, but in point of grandeur, regularity, and indeed in every other respect, it falls greatly short of *Columbo*. We found the *Dutch* in this settlement involved in disputes with the country powers, whose head is stiled *Samoreen*, a title equal to king. This prince had lately taken a fort or two from the *Dutch*, at about ten leagues distance from *Cochin*, they were then assembling forces to oppose him, and for that purpose had already landed three or four hundred soldiers from *Batavia*. From this place, the *Dutch* are chiefly supplied with pepper. The fortification is irregular, but strong enough to resist any country power, and has forty or fifty guns facing the sea. Many families of *Jews* are established here; their ancestors were found on this spot by the *Portuguese* at their first settling in the country; and the general opinion is, that they are descendants of some *Jews* who travelled hither soon after the final destruction of the temple. One *Ezekiel* a *Rabbi* is now living at *Cochin*, a man of consequence, and his word is held in high estimation; he is a lover of science, and understands astronomy.

We could not but take notice at this place, of a great number of the *Cochin* or *Elephant* legs. This is a disorder peculiar to the inhabitants of the *Malabar* coast, and especially to those of *Cochin*. It seems to be merely an oedematous swelling, arising from an impoverished state of the blood; and in many persons the leg is of so enormous a size, as to occasion it's being called the *Elephant-leg*, having greatly the appearance both in shape and bigness of the *Elephant's*. I could not learn that any remedy for this disorder had been discovered by the natives, and as they seldom or never apply to *Europeans* for assistance, I believe they are seldom if ever cured: but were they to do so, probably it would but little avail, since an alteration from the poorest to the most cordial and nutritious diet would certainly be recommended to them, and we well know, that every *Cast* of *Indians* are so much wedded to their own particular customs, they would sooner choose to die, than materially to alter their usual course of living, even if their circumstances permitted it †. The generality of those who labour under this

* This gentleman is since dead.

† Of this, we had several instances in our long passage to *Bengal*, among the *Sepoys* under the command of Colonel *Clive*, who perished because they would not partake of the ship's provisions after their own had been expended.

1757.

disorder, seldom are able indeed to call in any assistance, being composed of the very poorest of the people, who feed chiefly on *Sardinias*, and cannot purchase even the smallest quantity of rice to boil with the fish for their daily subsistence. I was informed, that these poor wretches are supported for whole weeks together, perhaps months, with no other aliment than what this species of fish affords; and their drink is water only, unless by way of regale they now and then procure a draught of the simple unfermented juice of the cocoa-nut-tree, called *Toddy*.

1758.

The 28th we sailed from *Cochin*, and on the 31st anchored at *Tellicherry*. The next day (*January 1st 1758*) we dined with our company's chief, Mr. *Hodges*, who was so polite as to introduce us to every gentleman and lady of the settlement. After dinner, many loyal healths went round, with firing of cannon at each interesting toast. *Tellicherry* is a settlement independant of *Anjengo*, but both are subordinate to *Bombay*. Besides it's own garrison, there are several other forts in the neighbourhood; one to the southward, at about a mile distance, and therefore called *Mile-end*, and eight or nine to the northward, all under the government of the chief here. These forts are of no other use but to secure the pepper-trade, by preventing the natives from clandestinely bringing it to the water's side, to the prejudice of our commerce.

Tellicherry fort is situated on a rising ground, but there is another hill within cannon shot yet higher, on which stands a little inconsiderable fort. Was this last in possession of an enemy, it would entirely command that of *Tellicherry*. About two miles to the southward, on a very fine eminence, is the *French* settlement of *Mabie*, the only one of consequence that nation has on the *Malabar* coast. Just before our arrival at *Tellicherry*, our factory having unfortunately lost their surgeon, a *French* gentleman of that profession at *Mabie*, notwithstanding the war between the two nations, occasionally visited our sick, and Mrs. *Hodges* had been some time under his care*. Our garrison for the defence of *Tellicherry*, and it's neighbouring forts, consists of about four hundred *European* troops, and as many *Topasses*. Almost the whole time we continued here, the *Bristol Frigate* (formerly an *English* privateer, but which had been taken by the *French*) lay at anchor off *Mabie*. This ship, after having landed forty or fifty soldiers, took in some pepper, and sailed (as we then imagined) for *Mauritius*.—About four miles from *Tellicherry*, there is a small island, belonging to the *English*, called *Damapatan*, on which Mr. *Doidge* discovered a spring of excellent water, before unknown to our people.

* After the reduction of *Pondicherry* in the year 1761, an armament was equipped against this *French* settlement of *Mabie*, under the command of Major *Hector Monro*, who in concert with Mr. *Hodges*, took the place, though defended by above 200 pieces of cannon.

We sailed from *Tellicherry*, the 3d of *January*, and on the 8th anchored in the road of *Goa*. The same afternoon, we passed pleasantly up the river in a boat belonging to a *Portuguese* nobleman, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. *Howel* of *Bombay*, who embarked on board our frigate at *Anjengo*. *Goa* is the principal, and almost the only settlement which remains to the *Portuguese*, of all the large possessions they once had in the *East Indies*. It hath been generally governed by a vice-roy sent from *Europe*, but was now under the administration of the archbishop, and two of the principal people, who acted as regents. The late vice-roy was killed in a battle with the *Maharattas*, (in the year 1756,) who inhabit the country at the back of *Goa*, and with whom the *Portuguese* have for several years carried on a troublesome war. 1758.

Goa is an island; there is properly no town, but many pleasant villas belonging to the merchants are scattered up and down; some are most agreeably situated on the sides of hills, but the greater part on the banks of the river, for the convenience of landing goods. There are also several houses built on the opposite continent, from which *Goa* is not separated above three miles at the broadest part. Upon an hill on the left side of the entrance of the harbour, they have a line of about fifty guns, which is called the *Alguardo*; and as you go farther in, they have a fort on the top of another hill, which entirely commands the harbour. There are many churches and monasteries here, some of which were once superb; the decay of these, and most of the other public buildings, too plainly shews the present ruinous state of the *Portuguese* power and trade in this part of the world. However, the infamously cruel *Court of Inquisition* reigns here in all it's fury, and primitive diabolical glory.

We left *Goa* the 11th, and on *Monday* the 24th of *January*, anchored in *Bombay* harbour. We found a considerable addition had been made the last year to the strength of the fortifications towards the sea, under the direction of Captain *Defunk*, engineer; a *Swede* by birth, and esteemed a man of ability in his profession. Just before our arrival at *Bombay*, it unfortunately happened, that Major *Mace* (late of the king's artillery) touch'd there from *Europe*, with a commission from the *East India* company, appointing him engineer general of all their garrisons. Captain *Defunk* looked upon this commission of the major's, as a dishonour done to himself, and accordingly in great disgust quitted the company's service. Many imagined, that the resignation of this gentleman would be attended with circumstances very disadvantageous to the company; as by his absence Major *Mace* would necessarily be detained in *Bombay* at a time when his best abilities and speediest services were required at *Calcutta*, in order to put its fortifications in a proper state of defence. It was known indeed, that Captain *Browyer* (an engineer in the company's service) had not yet left *Calcutta*, but then it was said, that his ill health would oblige him to do it in *March* next, to avoid the killing heats and rains of the summer. We expected to have found the dock at

1758. *Bombay* capable of receiving a ship of seventy guns, agreeable to the repeated assurances given to Mr. *Watson*; but we were disappointed in this particular, the hands to carry it on being very scarce: however, Mr. *Hough*, superintendant of the company's marine here, was indefatigable in his endeavours to finish this work of immense labour, and the dock is now completed. Commodore (afterwards admiral) *Stevens* was here obliged to heave down the *Elizabeth*, one of the ships of his Squadron, to stop a considerable leak, but in the first attempt, she had the misfortune to spring her main-mast, by which accident he was detained a longer time than he wished. We learned that he left *Bombay* to join Admiral *Pocock*, a few days before we arrived, with the crews in health, and his ships in good condition.

As soon as we went ashore, we all waited upon governor *Bourchier*, who received us very politely, and told us that the *Swallow*, a ship belonging to the company, commanded by Captain *Price*, was then taking in goods for *Gombroon* in *Persia*, and if it was agreeable to us, we were welcome to take a passage in her. — We very gladly accepted the offer. We continued at *Bombay* waiting for the ship to be ready, till the 8th of *February*, when we embarked, having taken into our party my worthy old friend Mr. *Alms* formerly mentioned, a lieutenant in the navy, but late commander of the *Hardwick*, a large ship trading in these seas: And Mr. *Pigot*, who came with us from *Calcutta*, with a design of getting a passage from *Bombay* in one of the company's ships to *England*, now gladly accepted of the invitation we gave him, and resolved to accompany us in our journey by land. Mr. *Hough** (to whom and to whose family we were greatly indebted for their polite and friendly behaviour during our residence at *Bombay*) gave us letters of credit on *Gombroon* and *Bassora*; and Sir *James Foulis* was so obliging as to furnish us with bills for cash on Mr. *Drummond*, our *Turkey* company's consul at *Aleppo*.

February 14, passed by *Surat*, which was heretofore a very populous and rich city, about three miles in circumference, walled round, with some antique forts to defend it, but which are of no consequence. It is situated in the kingdom of *Guzarat*, and subject to the Great *Mogul*: The *English* have a factory there; † and also the *Dutch*, *French*, *Portuguese* and *Armenians*; these last trade very largely, and are very rich. *Surat* is about 160 miles distance from *Bombay*, latitude $21^{\circ} 30'$ north.—*Saturday* the 25th at noon, by observation we found ourselves in the latitude of $23^{\circ} 10'$ north, and at sun set saw the coast of *Arabia Felix*, which lies in about thirteen degrees west longitude from *Bombay*. The 1st of *March* at sun rise we discovered the *Persian* shore. By noon we were in the latitude of 25 degrees north; and then we cast off a boat called a large *Seebar*, bound to

* This gentleman returned to *England*, but in a year or two after died in *London*.

† Since the year 1759, the *English* have been considered as principals at *Surat*.

*Muscat**, which we had in tow all the way from *Bombay*, and which had hindered our progress very much. *Wednesday* the 8th, at noon, we got round *Cape Jasques*, which on the *Persian* side forms the entrance into the *Gulph*. At night we had a very hard gale of wind, which we rode out with two anchors, between the islands *Ormuz*† and *Larac*. The next day, at 11 in the morning, we anchored in *Gombroon* road, where we found the *Success*, a vessel of war belonging to the *East India* company, one of whose officers came on board and told us the disagreeable news, that the *Bristol*, a *French* man of war of 30 guns, had arrived at *Bassora* the 8th of last month, to take under her convoy a merchant ship which had lain there for some time. This frigate we knew to be the same ship that lay at anchor off *Mahie*, during our stay at *Tellicherry*, and which we then supposed had sailed to *Mauritius*.

Captain *Price* went on shore the same day we arrived at *Gombroon*, and my fellow travellers followed him the next morning; but finding myself a good deal out of order‡, and not knowing how we might fare in lodgings, I did not leave the ship till two days afterwards. *Alexander Douglas Esq*; of the council at *Bombay*, was chief or agent here. Mr. *Mostyn*, son to a captain of foot in the company's service, was next to him, a very obliging, sensible young man. Mr. *Nash* and Mr. *Holmes*, two writers, and Mr. *Parker* the surgeon, with Mr. *Wait*, book-keeper to Mr. *Douglas*, made up the company.

* A port town in *Arabia Felix*, from whence there is a large trade with *Bombay*, which hath civilized the natives much, and greatly prejudiced them in favour of the *English*, more than any other *European* nation.

† *Ormuz* was at this time covered over with salt, which grows two inches thick on the surface in a solid crust, and appears at a distance, on the hills, like driven snow. No fresh water is to be found on the island; nevertheless, the *Portuguese* at their first discovering it in the fifteenth century, from its advantageous situation for trade, built here an elegant city, and strongly fortified it. About 120 years ago, the *Persians* with the assistance of the *English* expelled the *Portuguese*, and the *Shah Abbas* caused the fortifications to be demolished, and removed the trade to *Gombroon* on the opposite shore, allowing the *English* great privileges in commerce.

‡ During our stay at *Bombay* I had been seized with a bilious-inflammatory fever, which in all probability would have been very violent, and attended with the most imminent danger, had I not on the first attack happily given directions, that the febrifuge powder of Dr. *James* should be administered to me every hour during the space of a whole day, which operated so powerfully on the stomach, intestines, kidneys, and pores of the skin, that in six hours after I had taken the first dose, all the alarming and most distressful symptoms went off. The quantity of bile discharged from my stomach exceeded all belief. Indeed I have in the course of my practice for some past years, experienced so much benefit from this noble medicine, that I have often lamented it's superior efficacy was not sooner known to me. I am now verily persuaded that it is as truly a specific in ardent fevers, as the *Peruvian* bark is in those that are intermitting, or as mercury in venereal complaints. However, there is great danger attending the common and indiscriminate administration of it; since it is as certainly true that this powder will destroy in a putrid, as that it will cure in an inflammatory disorder.

1758.

Gombroon is situated at the foot of a very high mountain, which by intercepting the passage of the land-wind, makes it intolerably hot. At present, it is a place of no kind of consequence, except what it receives from the *English* and *Dutch* factories, besides whom, no other *European* nation has any settlement here. The two factory houses are the only buildings remaining of any importance; the whole city besides, is almost one entire scene of ruins, which served indeed to convince us of its once flourishing state; but the constant wars carried on in this country, and their attendants, confusion and anarchy, have deprived the *English* of almost all their commercial advantages, and the place of almost all its inhabitants; the few that remain, are only such as have a dependance on the two factories, and a very small number of *Banian*, *Gentoo* and *Persian* merchants who reside there. So different an appearance hath this city now, from what it had when Sir *John Chardin* visited it! The air is still as unhealthy, as it was in the time of that writer; the *Persians* themselves fly from it in the bad season, and few of our factory escape putrid, intermitting fevers (which principally rage in the months of *May* and *September*); and though they sometimes recover, yet it generally happens that their constitutions are much impair'd; they lose the *European* complexion, become pale, and enervated, and their diseases terminate in obstructions of the liver, and adhesions of it to the peritonæum.

Besides the many conjectures mentioned by *Chardin* and others, on the causes of the unwholesomeness of the *Gombroon* air in the summer months; *Dr. Boerhaave* accounts for it, from the nature of the soil, which as it abounds with salt, renders it the hottest part upon the globe in his estimation, though its latitude doth not exceed $27^{\circ} 30'$. The white crust which the salt forms all over the earth, first attracts, and then reflects the intense heat of the sun to the neighbouring bodies, &c. Our countrymen residing there, judged also, that the very great quantity of blubber-fish, left by the sea on the shore, which at that season of the year quickly become putrid, and emit most offensive and noxious effluvia, contributed much to render the place unhealthy.

Mr. Douglas's garden, adjoining to his house, produces however beans, coleworts, spinage, lettuce, onions, and cucumbers; and so do the company's public gardens at *Affein*, distant from hence about 12 miles. These gardens also furnish *Citrons*, *Oranges*, *Limes*, *Pomegranates*, and *Bedams*. The fig too, and some other trees, are to be found here; the most common ones are the *Date* and *Gum Arabic*. The gentlemen of our factory seemed quite unacquainted with the latter. The jessamin, and damask rose, grow at *Narban*, in the neighbourhood of *Gombroon*; the latter we saw in bloom when we were there. We were told of apples, grapes, peaches, apricots, plumbs and walnuts, being to be had in plenty in their proper seasons; the two last we eat of, but they were dry, and of the last year. Butchers meat, poultry, oysters, (the best I met with in *Asia*) prawns, and many other

other sorts of fish, are to be had in great abundance. *Persian* wine is furnished at the company's expence to all their servants, and is the best wine I ever tasted, except claret; it costs about twenty-pence the bottle. The company allow also their servants *Madeira* wine, and several other articles necessary for their table. Hither the company send fine woollen cloth, and some lead, and carry away *Carminian* wool and copper. 1758.

Persia produces also many other articles of trade, but our *East India* company do not concern themselves about them, leaving the profits arising from thence to private adventurers. Those products are *Assa-fetida*; *Hing*, or *Hingra* (which is a finer sort of *Assa-fetida*) *Dragon's blood*, *Opopanax*, *Sagopenum*, *Ruinus* (which has the appearance of sprigs of trees, and is used in dying red) *Cummin-seeds*, *Almonds*, *Kismas* (a small sort of raisins without stones) black raisins of the sun, *Pistachia-nuts*, *Prunes*, *Mangos*, and *Dates*, which last come not to so great perfection in any other part of the world, as in those places which border on the *Persian* gulph.

About twenty-four miles from *Gombroon*, at a place called *Genow*, a hot spring or bath has been discovered: hither the people of the country resort for the cure of all their diseases. Mr. *Parker* told me, that it had been found useful in most cutaneous disorders; he had the curiosity to bring some bottles of the water from thence, evaporated it by the fire, and found the *Residuum* to be chiefly sulphur. He gave it to some of his patients, and it acted as a gentle purge. At the distance of half a mile from the factory at *Gombroon*, still remains the so much celebrated *Baniantree*: it did not appear to me to expand itself equal to that in *Trevandeparum*, four miles distant from *Fort St. David*, under whose shade and branches, Mr. *Doidge* computed that ten thousand men might stand without incommoding themselves, allowing six men to a yard square; and several people have built houses under the arches which have been formed by the limbs dropping down fibres, which take root and become another tree, united to the first. The arches which these different stocks make, are *Gothic*, and somewhat like the arches in *Westminster-hall*. The leaves of this tree are a bright shining green, fleshy, and oval, about six inches long: the fruit is a fig, but the birds eat them as soon as they appear.

There is another tree of this sort in the *Cocoa-nut* grove at *Bombay*, on the road to the harbour near *Malabar* hill, which is the third largest and most shady of any I have ever seen; but this last differs from the other two in this remarkable circumstance, that none of its branches have descended into the earth, and formed (as the two others have done) new trunks or trees*. It appears indeed to have made some efforts towards it, but the rooty shoots have not yet

* Although this has the same leaf as the other two, and goes by the same name, yet probably it is of a different species.

1758. struck the ground. The single body however, or trunk of the tree at *Bombay*, is of much larger dimensions than any one of the many bodies or trunks belonging to those near *Fort St. David* and *Gombroon*. Under that on the *Coromandel* coast, are the ruins of some houses; and it is commonly related (in order to make the tree appear the more marvellous) that this one tree once shaded a whole town. At a small distance from this tree near *Gombroon*, there is a *Pagoda* or temple, in a very ruinous condition, except a small part, which is kept in good repair, and much frequented by the *Gentoos* in their devotions. The *Gentoos* likewise worship under the shade of those trees which grow near *Fort St. David* and *Bombay*, but with this material difference, that at the two last places they have no † *Pagodas* built with mens hands, any more than the *Druids* of old had, who under their consecrated oak worshipped one supreme God, immense and infinite, and could not think of confining their adoration to the narrow limits of a temple, which they deemed would be quite inconsistent with those attributes. In like manner, the *Banian* tree is held sacred by the *Gentoos*, who are almost as sensibly hurt by your cutting or lopping off one of its superfluous branches, as if you were to mutilate or destroy a cow, between whose sacred horns they often place their hand, when they make their most solemn oaths, and appeals to the Deity.

Our countryman Mr. *Tickel* has taken notice of this tree in the following lines.

“ Like the fam’d *Banian* tree, whose pliant shoot
 “ To earthward bending, of itself takes root,
 “ Till like their mother plant, ten thousand stand
 “ In verdant arches on the fertile land;
 “ Beneath her shade the tawny *Indians* rove,
 “ Or hunt at large through the wide echoing grove.”

We here found the ass a very useful creature; I rode twice on one to *Narban*, and my brother travellers made use of the same conveyance in a jaunt to *Assien*. The road to this last place is over a chain of barren, inhospitable mountains, where are not only many dreadful precipices, which you must necessarily pass over, but also large pieces of cragged rocks, which hang over your head, and seem to threaten you with immediate destruction.

† *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Persians* erected neither statues, temples, nor altars to their gods; but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or high places. Book I. chap. 131.

Cicero supposes it to have been through the advice and instigation of the *Magi*, that *Xerxes*, the *Persian* king, burnt all the *Grecian* temples, esteeming it injurious to the majesty of god to shut up him within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world should be reckoned as an house or a temple. His words are these: “ *Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammasse templa Græciæ dicitur, quod parietibus includerunt deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset & domus.* *Cic. l. 2. de Legibus.*

From

From a mile without *Gombroon*, all the way to *Assien*, there is not the least herbage or pasture to be seen. Round the company's house indeed, there is a tolerable good garden, and what makes it of more value, there are in it some wells of excellent water, which is carried every day to *Gombroon* upon camels for the use of the factory. At the back of the factory house, there are ten or twelve large guns towards the land; and at the entrance of the gate towards the sea, there are a few others, but of so small a bore that unless a ship anchors very near the shore, and the wind blows at the same time off the land, their report cannot be heard; which was exactly our case, when they returned the salute which we gave them from the *Swallow*. 1758.

The kingdom of *Persia* had for several years been torn to pieces by civil wars. At this time, there were four competitors for the empire; and till lately there was a fifth named *Azet Khan*, but his forces were entirely defeated, himself forced to fly to *Baghdad* for protection, and his power ruined, by an unsuccessful battle he fought against *Hamet Schah*, his rival in the *Affghan* or *Pytan* country. *Nauzir Khan*, one of the four, resided at *Laar*, not far distant from *Gombroon*; and this is he who by the *European* gentlemen there is called *Our Khan*, as living in their neighbourhood, and to whose power the governors or *Sheicks* thereabouts are obliged to submit. I was told that this *Khan*, or general (as is the meaning of the word *Kan*, *Khan*, or *Cawn* in the *Persian* language) had not above five thousand troops in his pay, but that he possessed many strong-holds and garrisons among mountains almost inaccessible; and that he had lately forced *Kerim Khan*, another of the competitors, who with a great army had besieged him in the city of *Laar*, to retire without success.

A skirmish happened a few days before our arrival, near *Assien*, which was occasioned by the ill behaviour of a certain *Sheick*, who being in possession of a fort with a garrison of three or four hundred men, frequently interrupted the wool trade from *Carminia* going to the *English* and *Dutch* factories at *Gombroon*. Complaint having been made of this to *Nauzir Khan*, he immediately marched with a body of troops, attacked the fort, and took it; but unfortunately the *Sheick* made his escape, with some of his people, to another petty *Sheick* in the neighbourhood, who joined the fugitives, and together made up a body of some hundred men. *Nauzir Khan* marching against them in person, detached an officer before with a small body of troops, who soon got up with the enemy, gave them battle, killed about seventy of them, took prisoners as many more, and dispersed the rest. Elated with this success, the victors lay, as they imagined, in perfect security, and so suffered part of their troops to straggle and plunder; one of these moroding parties was surprized by their lately defeated enemy, the chief officer of the *Khan* was killed upon the spot, with four or five others of inferior rank, and the surgeon of the *English* factory at *Gombroon* was called on to assist those who were wounded.

1758.

Muley Aly, the *Persian* governor of *Gombroon* is an *Arab*. The islands of *Ormus* and *Larac* are subject to him. He has three ships of war lying at the former, but they are in no condition to put to sea. The forts under his command are also out of repair. His usual place of residence is *Ormus*, or he is sure to fly thither upon every alarm of the *Khan's* approach; and as he has been very backward in paying those duties which are required from him, he is under continual apprehensions of a visit from that *General*. Beside the islands of *Ormus* and *Larac*, *Kismé* another island inhabited by *Persians*, but of no great note, is at present under *Muley Aly's* government, though till very lately quite independant of him. The late governor of this island for many years bravely resisted all the attempts of *Muley Aly*; lived to the age of fourscore, and died at last in his bed, at the very time that *Muley Aly* was besieging his principal fortress, which we observed; as sailing by it, to be advantageously seated on a hill. It was generally imagined, that this last expedition of *Muley Aly's* would not have been attended with greater success than his former, had not the death of the governor given an unlucky turn to the affairs of the siege. For soon after that event, the garrison found themselves under a necessity of surrendering; and *Muley Aly*, to give (as he thought) the greater *eclat* to his successes, caused the head of the brave, deceased governor, to be cut off, and returned in triumph with it to *Banderabassi*, and *Ormus*.

This military robber * has a bad character among our people; he has been often threatened by *Nauzir Khan*, and probably would long since have been made a public example of, were it not for his connection with a powerful *Skeick* on the *Arabian* shore, whose daughter he married, and who is always ready to assist him with vessels to transport him to the isles, and with troops to defend himself there in case he should be attacked.

I cannot conclude this account of the situation of affairs at *Gombroon*, without paying a just compliment to the great prudence and sagacity of the *English* and *Dutch* factories established there, who amidst all the shocks and convulsions of a civil war among the *Persians*, have met with little or no interruption in their trade from any of the contending parties; it being a maxim with them, to side openly with none of the competitors, and yet at the same time to keep well with all: for this end, civil letters, and sometimes presents, have been thought indispensably necessary.

As the *Bristol*, the *French Frigate*, was in *Bassora* river, Mr. *Douglas* was hereby prevented from dispatching the *Success*. *Grab* with us to *Bassora*, as he had been directed by the governor and council of *Bombay*; he not thinking it prudent, under the present circumstances, to trust the company's bales, which were her intended loading, in a vessel of such little force.

* It is believed, that he secretly assisted the *French Count de Estaing* in his attack and conquest of our factory house at *Gombroon*, in the year 1759.

This

This delay was the more disagreeable to us, being quite unexpected, as no *French* ship of war had made its appearance in those seas, since the commencement of the dispute between the two nations. We flattered ourselves at the time we left *Calcutta*, of having a quick passage to *Bassora*, and of being able to join the *Caravan* which goes from thence to *Aleppo*, early in the spring; but unfortunately for us, our views of that kind were now entirely disconcerted! But the interruption we met with from the *French* ship, was not the first difficulty we had experienced in our tedious voyage: a thousand besides had intervened to prolong our passage, which cost us many serious reflections, especially on account of the public dispatches we were entrusted with, the speedy delivery of which we had reason to believe would be of the utmost consequence to the nation; and therefore we thought it our duty to run all risks in getting to *England* as fast as possible. Accordingly we resolved to hire one of the common, but uncomfortable vessels of the *Gulph*, called a *Trankey*, and to proceed in her to *Bassora*, disguised like *Arabs*. Upon our making application to Mr. *Douglas* for this purpose, he was so obliging as to send a boat to *Kisme* to procure us one; but no answer arriving from thence for several days, we grew quite impatient, and resolved to address Mr. *Douglas* by letter to favour us with some vessel to carry us up the *Gulph* as far as *Karec*, an island belonging to the *Dutch*; to the governor of which, *Baron Kniphausen*, we had a letter of recommendation. Mr. *Douglas*, after mature consideration, consented to this request, and accordingly ordered the *Success Grab*, Captain *Lindesey*, to put us ashore on that island.

C H A P. XIV.

The run from Gombroon up the Persian Gulph.—Arrival at the island of Karec.—Our generous reception by Baron Kniphausen the governor.—Account of that gentleman's dispute with the Turkish government at Bassora, and his establishment at Karec.—State of that island at the time of our arrival.—The pearl-fishery; natural curiosities.—The manners and customs of the Arabs, and Persians.—Anecdotes of the famous Thamas Kuli Khan, with an account of the present competitors for the crown of Persia.—Anecdotes of a late governor of Batavia.—Forty thousand Chinese massacred there in one night.—Negotiation with the Sheick of Grane for conducting us over the Desert.—Description of the several smoking tubes made use of in India.—The author and his brother-travellers arrive at Bassora.

1758. **I**N the evening of the 17th of March we took our leave of Gombroon; and on the 19th passed by Congo-Bender, formerly a town of elegance and considerable trade belonging to the Portuguese, but now in a most ruinous condition. The same day we came to an anchor at Ling, a small village, about a league from Congo, and there took in another pilot to carry us up to Karec. At eight o'clock we got under sail again with a fine easterly wind. Friday the 24th we passed by the isles of Kisme, Polloar, Kyes, Inderabie, Shittewar, and Busheel. Some of these were quite barren; on others we observed a few trees or bushes, and little fishing towns, with two or three Trankeys lying on shore. The Date trees were thinly scattered among the hills, and though a small portion of green might here and there be discovered, yet such was the barrenness of these islands in general, that it was for some time a matter of surprize to us, how sheep and goats could possibly subsist there: But upon a closer examination, when ashore, we found that the ground produced a small-leaved juicy mallows, which seems to be the principal food of these animals. The Persian coast afforded a most romantic prospect. It appeared to us at first to be one continued rock, rent and torn asunder by earthquakes; but we afterwards discovered, that some part of it was only sand, hardened by the rains and sun.

On the 25th we had the wind from the north-west, which obliged us to drop anchor, to prevent the ship being driven back by the ebb tide.

We

We caught this day several sorts of fish; such as the *Bonetta*, plaice, bream, conger-eel, &c. &c. At nine o'clock a breeze springing up from the southward, we again made sail, and passed by a little fishing town on the *Persian* shore, called *Shewee*, where there appeared to be a small square fort, which by our pilot's account, has a few guns, and is kept in some sort of repair. *English* ships trading in this gulph from *Bombay*, frequently take in rock-salt for ballast, and sell it on the *Malabar* coast for about thirty *Rupees* the ton, which is almost all clear gain. Captain *Lindsey* presented me with two pieces of metal-ore, and one of rock-salt, which he got from the island of *Ormus*, where both are found in great plenty. 1758.

In our run thus far from *Gombroon*, two presents came off to us from as many *Persian* *Sheicks*: One was of a goat, and some eggs; the other of eggs only. Our captain sent them some rice in return. We found the weather hitherto very cool and pleasant. The evenings were made damp by dews, and we had no cause to complain of heat in the night, although six of us slept in one cabin.

Sunday the 26th we found ourselves abreast of *Narban* point: It terminates in a long and low piece of land, which runs off into the gulph, from the foot of the *Persian* hills. Mr. *Parker*, an officer on board the *Success*, informed us, that about two years before, he was between this point and the main land, where he discovered a channel, in which a ship of 900 tons might ride: he farther acquainted us, that the *Portuguese* had once a settlement here, (and indeed, upon the main land, the ruins of their factory-house are still to be seen) where they also sunk some wells, the remains of which may easily be traced. Mr. *Parker* added, that at this place a large river empties itself into the sea, and that the adjacent country is in subjection to two *Arab* chiefs. One resides up the country about three miles from *Narban* point, and is tributary to the other, who lives on the opposite side of the river. Here providence seems to have allotted a spot of ground, amidst inhospitable rocks and deserts, capable of affording the kind production of vegetables for the benefit of man and beast.

On the 27th at nine in the morning we were abreast of *Cape Verdistan*, distant from *Cape Narban* twelve leagues. Hitherto in our passage up the gulph, we kept as near to the *Persian* shore as possible, for the advantage of anchoring when the tide ebbed, or the wind was contrary; and also for avoiding the *French* frigate, which we were apprehensive we should fall in with, if we approached too near the *Arabian* shore.

Arabia Felix was at this time governed by two sovereigns; one of whom resided at *Muscat*. This city, is a place of trade, as before observed, and stands at the entrance of that part of the gulph which is called *Ormus*, and is the capital of his dominions, whence the chief is stiled King of *Muscat*. The other has the title of King of *Moscha*, whose chief residence is on the borders

1758. borders of the gulph of that name, otherwise called the *Red Sea*. These two princes are no way tributary to the *Grand Seignior*; but are both independant in their respective dominions, and govern the whole country of *Arabia Felix*, from the southern extremities of the two gulphs, even as far almost as *Mecca*. The province of *Mecca* is governed by a *Beglerbeg*, who resides at *Judda*, and is in a manner an independant sovereign: He styles himself *Monarch*, and accumulates great wealth by the rich presents which are yearly made to him by the devout *Turks*, *Arabians*, and *Persians*, in their pilgrimages to *Medina* and *Mecca*, the birth and burial places of their prophet *Mahomet* *.

In the morning of the 28th we plainly discovered the *Salt mountains*, (which running out into the sea, form *Cape Verdistan*) and opened the high land to the northward of it. We were now in expectation of seeing the island of *Karec* in a day or two, being only thirty-six leagues distant. This day, a large locust, and a beautiful sea-snake, about four feet long, and ten inches round, floated near the vessel. We had little or no wind all this night; but at 7 the next morning, a light, fair breeze sprang up, and continued till ten, when we discovered the land called *Halala* on our star-board bow, about seven leagues off. On the 30th we came in sight of the long wished-for island; at 8 at night we came to an anchor off *Karec*, in 20 fathom water, having had gentle breezes all the day. It lies in 29° 1' north latitude. Early the next morning we made sail again, and soon ran within two leagues of a fort, which stands on the north side of the island, at the end of a low point, that stretches towards another flat sandy island, called *Cargo*.

At half past eight, a *Dutch* boat came off, with two letters of Mr. *Shaw's*, our company's resident at *Bassora*. One was written in *French*, addressed to the *Dutch* master attendant at *Karec*, desiring him to send the other (*English*) letter to all ships of our nation, which might come to an anchor off *Karec*, or be seen in the offing. This letter was dated the 9th of *March*, and informed us of the *Bristol's* being in *Bassora* river; that she carried 30 guns, had 85 *Europeans* on board, and that the rest of her complement was made up of *Indians* and *Lascars*, in the whole, about 140 men. Mr. *Shaw* added, "that she would probably take in a loading of corn, and convey another *French* ship, which had lain in the river ever since the commencement of the war: that this last was of about 300, or 350 tons burthen, and carried 20 guns three pounders; that the enemy gave out, they were to stay in the river some months longer, and should they wait to take in fresh corn, this might probably be the case; that they had their

* A good *Turk*, *Arab*, and *Moor* never fails once in his life to make this pilgrimage in person, but a *Persian* generally does it by proxy. In *Mecca* they pretend to shew the house of *Abraham* or *Ibrahim*, and at a little distance from it the mount on which he was to have offered up his son *Isaac*.

top-masts an end, but had discharged their pilots." Upon the whole, he gave it as his opinion, that the two *French* vessels could not be going yet, but advised all masters, in proceeding up the gulph, to call at every port, where he would not fail to lodge intelligence. He concluded with saying, "that should any *English* ships get into *Bassora* river, they would then be safe, as he was persuaded, the country power would interpose to prevent hostilities." 1758.

We came to an anchor in the road about one o'clock in the afternoon, saluted the fort with eleven guns, and received the same number in return. Captain *Lindesey*, Messieurs *Doidge* and *Pye* went on shore after dinner. The *Grab* saluted them on their putting off with nine guns, and at their landing they were received by the second in council, and the military officer, who introduced them to *Baron Kniphausen*, to whom they delivered Mr. *Gee's* letter of recommendation. The same evening Captain *Lindesey* came on board, and gave us an account, that the *Baron* (who had given them the most genteel and friendly reception) had in his opinion suggested an excellent plan for our future proceedings, having recommended it to Mr. *Doidge*, that we should land at *Grane* on the *Arabian* shore, and set out from thence over the *Great Desert* for *Aleppo*. That the *Baron* knew it to be a road frequented by people of trade; that an *European*, attended only by a single servant, had safely travelled over it, and that the journey would not take up more than 25 days. Captain *Lindesey* farther added, that should we approve of the scheme, the *Baron* would immediately send a *Felucca* with a messenger to *Grane*, who should bring the *Sheick* of that place (a man greatly obliged to him, and in some measure under his influence) to *Karee*; with him he did not doubt, but he should be able to concert a plan for conveying us safe to *Aleppo*.

The next morning, Lieutenant *James Alms*, Captain *Lindesey*, Mr. *Pigot*, and myself, went on shore, and were very genteely received by the *Baron*. We were met by Messieurs *Doidge* and *Pye*, *Mynbeer Bosman* the second; Mr. *Robinson*, an ensign in the *Dutch* artillery, but of *English* extraction, and who spoke our language tolerably well; *Mynbeer Nicoli* the company's accomptant; *Mynbeer Tikick* the surgeon; and *Mynbeer Binkey*, the master attendant. The *Baron* presently opened to us his plan for our future journey, and it appearing to be a route as little hazardous, as any we had yet thought of, and more expeditious (though less commodious) than that by *Baghdad*, we unanimously agreed to put ourselves entirely under the *Baron's* direction; who gave immediate orders for the *Felucca's* going to *Grane* to bring the *Sheick* of that place to *Karee*.

In the evening we took a walk to the south end of the island, accompanied by Mr. *Robinson*; and passed through some agreeable fields of corn, a few ears of which were then ripe, and some gardens, where we saw cole-worts, beans, and pease in perfection. We could not but take notice

1758. also of a large handsome building which we met with in the way, supposed by the common people to be the tomb of *Meer Mahomet* the son of *Aly*, a man much renowned for his piety, and who is said to have performed miracles among them. The *Baron* however assured us, that this notion of theirs is merely imaginary, for that *Meer Mahomet*, was so far from being buried under this tomb, that he never was once in the island, either living or dead. His opinion, and which was confirmed by the most sensible of the *Arabs* and *Persians*, is, that this monument was only erected in remembrance and honour of that sage, and that neither his, nor the bones of any other person were deposited under it. He observed, it was possible this tomb might once have been a *Portuguese* chapel; and that after those people had deserted the island, the *Persians* had changed it's form into that it now bears. This opinion is probably well founded, for from the appearance of the stone-masonry, and the painted tiles above the door, it was very evident that some parts at least of this building were of modern construction. Just before we reached this tomb, we entered, and surveyed with great attention, a long subterraneous passage, made for the conveyance of water from the opposite side of an hill; which (according to the *Persian* custom) has at proper distances, holes cut through the surface of it, for the admission of light and air. We observed also at this south end (which is the highest part of the island) some caverns hewn out of the solid rock, which seem to have been the dwelling-places of the first inhabitants. There were also two or three structures here, which appeared to have been once appropriated to religious uses, perhaps they were *Portuguese* churches; and what serves to confirm this opinion, is, that a crucifix had been discovered cut on one of the walls.

The next day we began pitching the four tents which we had furnished ourselves with at *Calcutta*; but before we had finished with the largest, our dining-tent, the *Baron* paid us a visit, and put an entire stop to our proceedings, assuring us, that those high and spacious tents, were by no means calculated for our purpose, since they would certainly discover us a great way off, and give even those *Arabs* that were about us, too high an opinion of our consequence; they were also, he observed, too heavy and unwieldy, and promised to provide us with proper ones in their stead. He had with him several *Arabian* merchants, who all joined in what the *Baron* had said. After he had thus passed his judgment on our tents, he went on examining the other part of our baggage, and could not help smiling at a two-wheel chaise we had brought with us, in hopes of it's being useful in our journey over the *Desert*. We knew indeed that no such thing was used in common either in *Turkey* or *Persia*, yet as we imagined we might be able to get horses either at *Bassora* or *Baghdad*, we had pleased ourselves with the thoughts of being sometimes relieved from the *Camel's* untoward motion by this means; and in such roads as should turn out rugged or sandy, we had formed a scheme of taking the chaise to pieces, and

and throwing it on a camel's back *. We were not quite clear as to the practicability of this scheme, but concluded, that at the worst, we could make a present of it to Mr. *Shaw* at *Bassora*, to whom we flattered ourselves it might be acceptable, having heard that Mr. *Dorrel*, his predecessor, had made use of a two-wheel chaise at that place. The *Arabs* seemed greatly surprized at the construction of this vehicle, and many of them with much pleasantry, placed themselves in the seat of it. We hoped that the *Baron* himself might be prevailed upon to accept of the chaise, though from the rugged appearance of the whole island, there was but little reason to expect it †.

1758.

From the chaise, the *Baron* cast an eye on some other things we had brought, and talked of making a still greater alteration, but said, he would let that alone till after the arrival of the *Sheick* from *Grane*. He approved much of our fusils, bayonets, and pistols, as well as of the canvas and leather-portmanteaus, which we had procured to be made on board the *Grab*, in lieu of common wooden trunks. He advised us to take no finery with us, especially no gold or silver lace, but to appear as plain as possible; to make our journey in the habit of *Turkish* janizaries, for as the *Arabs* well knew those gentlemen not to be rich, we might probably go on in this disguise with little interruption. Our camp-tables and stools, according to the *Baron's* plan, were to go no farther, and our clasp-cots were to be sent back also to *Bombay*, as being of no kind of use in our future journey, since we must sleep on the ground. Had we been so fortunate as to have met with so able a counsellor either at *Calcutta* or *Bombay*, it would have saved us at least two hundred and fifty pounds sterling: but what was past could not be recalled, and I have now only to wish, that our mistakes in this respect may be of advantage to future travellers.

Baron Kniphausen is a *Prussian* by birth, brother to the late *Embassador* of that name at *London*, of a middle age, and was formerly in his *Prussian* majesty's service, but from some disgust left it, and served as a lieutenant in a regiment of *French* dragoons. He afterwards went to the *East Indies*, and was appointed resident to the *Dutch* company at *Bassora*, where he unluckily fell into a dispute with the *Turkish* government, the particulars of which are as follow.—The *Baron* one morning received a message, that the governor desired to speak with him: he hastened to the palace, and according to custom sat in the outer room, among some of the *Agas* of the court. A servant having been sent in to acquaint the governor that the *Baron* was waiting in obedience to his commands, brought for answer,

* We afterwards sorely repented that we had not taken the chaise with us.

† Non est aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis
Porrectus spatii, neque multæ prodigus herbæ.

HOR. Epist. Lib. 1.

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1758. that his master was not ready to receive him. Not long after, another servant came out, and desired him to walk into an inner apartment; which he had no sooner done, but an officer there in waiting abruptly told him, that he was his prisoner. The *Baron* was exceedingly surprized, and enquiring into the reason of his being treated in such a manner, was answered, that "it was for being criminal with *Turkish* women, and defrauding the *Government* of it's customs." He insisted on the proofs being produced; but was only told in general that both the charges were well supported, and that from henceforward he was to look upon himself as in prison. He then demanded a fair trial, but that favour was refused him. He remained confined for several days, and during the whole time, persons were employed to persuade him to accommodate matters with a sum of money. This, he for a while absolutely refused to do, demanding the proofs, and complaining loudly of his ill treatment. Some days had now passed away, and the *Baron* having made no overture of a pecuniary compromise, the * *Mufti* (who in this country is both priest and judge) was sent for, and desired to declare what punishment the law denounced against an *Infidel* who should presume to lie with a *Mahometan* woman? He replied, "*Death*."—He was then told, that there was a certain person now in prison, who was undoubtedly guilty of this crime, and that he (the *Mufti*) had been sent for to pass sentence upon him in form, in writing, and under his own signature. He honestly replied, that he could not possibly do it, 'till he had seen the prisoner, heard what the witnesses had to say, and was fully satisfied in his own mind of the truth of the charge laid against him. These formalities, he was told, ought to be dispensed with on the present occasion, for it was as clear, as the light at noon-day, that the prisoner was guilty. It was intimated also to him, that the governor had not the least intention to take away the *Baron's* life, but his sole design in confining him, was to frighten him, and if possible amend him by making him to pay down a large sum for his pardon. The venerable and upright *Mufti* begged to be excused from having any hand in such a business, declaring it to be his duty to sit as a just and uncorrupt judge, and that as the law gave the prisoner a right to a fair and impartial trial, he certainly should have it at all events.

The affair stood thus in suspense for a little time, when the *Baron* was informed of some underhand dealings of *Mynbeer* ***** his second, which made him resolve immediately to compromise matters with the *Turkish* government. He sent therefore for the proper officer, and desired to know what was the sum required for his release? and whether he would favour

* What the *Muftis* are in *Turky*, the *Sheicks-Salem* are in *Persia*, and the *Imaums* in *Arabia*. There is a great difference between a *Sheick-Salem* and a common *Sheick*. The former is both priest and judge, whereas the latter means no more than the father of the family, or people, about him.

him with his good offices for an accommodation? The *Turk* readily promised his best assistance, but said, he feared it would not be less than one hundred thousand rupees. The *Baron* demurred, and complained heavily of the enormous sum that was fixed, but all his complaints were to no manner of purpose. At last, he told the *Turk*, he would that evening pay down his all, amounting to fifty thousand rupees, stay in *Bassora* only the next day, and depart in a *Dutch* ship the day following; but as by this step, his second would be sure to succeed to the residency, the governor might, if he pleased, demand a complimentary loan from him of thirty thousand rupees, and make up the remaining twenty out of the private fortune of the *Banian*, who was employed in doing the business of the *Dutch* factory here, and with whose conduct in the present dispute, the *Baron* had great reason to be displeased. The hint was relished and accepted; the *Baron* was immediately ushered into one of the best rooms of the *Seraglio*, where the governor and his *Agas* were sitting, the money was sent for, and paid down, and the prisoner set at liberty. The *Dutch* second, and other *European* gentlemen were in company together, when they first heard of the *Baron's* enlargement. The second immediately waited upon him, and was very inquisitive to know the terms of his deliverance, but received no satisfactory answer; the *Baron* only coldly telling him, that he should the next day embark for *Batavia*, where he would account for the whole of his conduct, and there only.

Mynbeer ***** was now looked upon as chief or resident, and received the usual compliments on the occasion. He was sent for to court, and besides being congratulated by the governor and all his *Agas* on his new promotion, he was honoured with a rich *Pelise*, or silk vest lined with ermine. He went home in the highest spirits, and without doubt hugged himself in the success of the day. But how soon did the scene change! that very afternoon, a messenger was dispatched to him from the governor, with a demand of thirty thousand rupees. He was astonished at the unlooked for tidings; he raved, cursed and swore; refused to pay the money, and insisted upon being told why it was required of him. The messenger dryly told him, that it was but a necessary compliment to the governor, from a man who had so lately received such honours, and who had so fortunately gotten into possession of a post of such consequence. Upon this, he flew to the *Baron*, who referred him to others for better advice than he could give him. He afterwards repaired to the *Seraglio*, to complain of his ill usage, but here too he met with no redress: the thirty thousand rupees were paid down, and so were the twenty thousand by the *Banian*.

The day following, the *Baron* embarked; but he was no sooner on board, than he received a message from the governor, inviting him to come back again, with assurances of his protection, and readiness to receive from him any complaint he had to make against any other *European* gentlemen.

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The *Baron* considering that the money was gone, and that he should afterwards be as liable to insult and imposition as he had been already, declined the invitation, and immediately sailed for the little isle of *Karec*, where he safely landed: having attentively surveyed the spot, he at that time laid the plan (in conjunction with the *Sheick* of *Bundarick*) of what he afterwards executed with so much success. He carried a letter from the *Sheick*, addressed to the general and council at *Batavia*, in which he offered to put the *Dutch* in possession of the island, and to surrender up to them his right of sovereignty. However, before the *Baron* left *Karec*, he took care to dispatch a messenger across the *Desert* to the *Dutch* ambassador at *Constantinople*, complaining of the violation of treaties, and of the affront which had been offered to all *European* powers, by his late unjust imprisonment. He moreover desired the ambassador to apply to the *Grand Vizier*, that the *Dutch* might have liberty to resent the governor of *Bassora*'s behaviour, and that they might also have leave to settle upon the island. Both these requests were complied with, and the messenger made his way back again to *Karec*, before the *Baron* returned from *Batavia*.

When the government of *Bassora* found, that the *Baron* could not be prevailed on to come back to that place, they presently drew up a letter of complaint against him to the general and council at *Batavia* in the most exaggerating terms, but at the same time took care not to mention a syllable of the 100,000 rupees. The governor, and all the principal people of his court, signed the letter, the honest *Musti* excepted. It was immediately sent away to Mr. *Douglas* at *Gombroon*, who was to deliver it to the *Dutch* agent there, and this last gentleman was requested to use his utmost diligence in forwarding it to *Batavia*. The *Baron*, who fortunately knew of this step, went himself to *Gombroon*, and embarked on board the very ship in which the letter was sent; consequently he got to *Batavia* in proper time to reply to every article of complaint that was exhibited against him. This he did to the entire satisfaction of the general and council; to whom he now proposed his scheme of making a settlement at *Karec*, and thereby putting their company's affairs in the *Persian* gulph on a more advantageous footing than ever. This being approved of by them, he sailed from *Batavia* with two ships and fifty men, and took possession of *Karec*, the whole of whose inhabitants at that time consisted only of about one hundred poor fishermen.

As he had brought but few materials with him, and as the government at *Batavia* was very slow in sending him the succours they had promised, he was at first driven to great straits in endeavouring to establish his new colony. At last, he hit upon the expedient of sending for workmen from *Persia* and *Arabia*, and with their assistance built a little compact fort, sufficiently strong against any of the country powers, and capable of defending itself against any ships in *India*, except those belonging to our *East India* company. The want of materials indeed, and of a sufficient number of work-

workmen, was not the only difficulty the *Baron* had at first to struggle with; for at his coming on the coast, he had the mortification to hear that his old friend the *Sheick* of *Bunderick* had been murdered by his second son, and that this unnatural villain having usurped the sovereignty, threatened destruction to him and his intended enterprize. No way intimidated however with these threats, he made good his landing, and began and perfected his work. 1758.

This establishment at *Karec*, was only a part of the *Baron's* scheme. There was something besides, which from the beginning he had never once lost sight of, the reimbursing himself, at the expence of the *Turkish* government, the 50,000 *rupees* which had been so unjustly taken from him at *Bassora*. For this purpose, he kept his ships in constant readiness to put to sea, and in the months of *April* and *May*, when he knew the rich *Turkish* vessels would be coming from the gulph, he ordered two of his ships (for he had by this time fitted up a third) to cruize at the entrance of *Bassora* river, and not to suffer any vessels to pass without examination. These orders the captains of his two cruizers most punctually fulfilled, and moreover frequently landed in their boats, and took away oxen, sheep, goats, and all other sorts of provision, from the shore. While the *Baron's* two ships were thus commencing hostilities in the mouth of *Bassora* river, two *Turkish* vessels, very richly laden, touched at *Karec* for pilots, and to enquire into the cause of the *Dutch* commanders conduct, as reported to them in their passage up the gulph. The *Baron* entertained the *Turkish* captains in the most polite manner, and took care to furnish them with every thing that could contribute either to the refreshment of their ships crews, or their own amusement. He pretended also to find great fault with the hostilities committed by his two cruizers, and was politic enough to persuade the *Turkish* commanders not to depart from *Karec*, until the return of his own captains, when, said he, you yourselves shall be witnesses of their being brought to a proper account for their past behaviour. He was all this while however very uneasy at his own untoward situation; being doubtful whether, in spite of all his art, these two ships might not by some accident or other be alarmed, and make their way back again out of the gulph. He could not but reflect too, that he had no force with him at present capable of preventing it, there being but one ship left at *Karec*, poorly manned, and still worse commanded; and the two *Turkish* vessels carried at least two hundred and forty men, with guns in proportion. Add to this, that he was in daily, almost in momentary expectation of his enemy, the *Sheick* of *Bundarick*, sending over his *Trankeys*, filled with soldiers, to the assistance of the *Turks*. In this dilemma, he wished only for an opportunity of calling in his cruizers, but at the same time despaired of finding any. Luckily for him, at this very critical conjuncture, the master of a *Trankey*, bound to *Bassora*, applied to him for a pass; the *Turkish* captains seconded the request, the pass was granted, and an order was sent with it to the commanding officer for the immediate

1758. return of the cruizers. In two or three days they appeared, to the no small joy of the *Baron*. And now, the *Turks*, who before were prevented from sailing by what they thought prudential reasons, were to their inexpressible surprize, compelled to stay by force. The hostilities committed by the two cruizers at the mouth of the river, had given the government at *Bassora* the most sensible alarm; but how greatly was it increased, when the news arrived of the *Baron's* having detained the two rich ships, which they had been anxiously expecting from *Surat*! They immediately wrote to him, offering to pay back the 100,000 rupees, and in all other respects to come to an amicable accommodation. The terms were readily accepted of, the money was paid, and the government of *Bassora*, and the *Baron* (who generously reimbursed *Mynbeer* ***** and the *Banian* their share), have continued on a friendly footing ever since.

Having circumstantially given the particulars of the *Baron's* history relative to his first settling at *Karec*, I shall subjoin a description of the state of that little island, at the time of our arrival. The fort is a square, built of stone, with four bastions, each of which hath eight guns mounted upon it; six of these were in the two faces, and the others were so contrived as to flank the two curtains. Before the gate, facing the sea, was a battery or ravelin, with twelve guns mounted, from six to eighteen pounders. There were also thirty or forty more of various sizes lying upon the ground, for want of carriages. This irregularity in the weight of cannon, was owing to the *Baron's* being obliged to get them as he could from different ships, and at several times. An esplanade also extended itself about 200 yards, beyond which, they had just finished some houses for *Europeans* to dwell in, and a wall, which joined to those houses. This wall, it was designed, should hereafter be continued from sea to sea, as a security to the fort and the inhabitants within. It ran nearly north-west and south-east.—The fort was garrisoned with an hundred *European* soldiers. There was also a triangular bastion at the north-west end of the island, mounted with six guns; two of these pointed towards the sea, two to the shore, and the other two were to flank the intended curtain-wall of the town. About mid-way between this north west point and the fort, there was a small pier-head of stonework, designed to protect a little haven, whither all the *Trankeys*, *Gallivats*, and *Feluccas* run, when the south wind blows hard, and where they lay in perfect security. In this haven we saw two or three armed *Gallivats*, with six or eight carriage guns, which is superior to any force the *Turks* or their neighbours have in these seas. Upon the whole, the *Baron* had made a surprizing progress for the little time he had been upon the island, and it plainly appeared to us, that he intended to make it a very strong and wealthy place.

In the middle of this island, are very high hills, which abound with a variety of shells. Some fragments torn from their sides, gave us an opportunity of discovering several yards under the surface, an astonishing quantity

quantity of oyster, scallop, cockle, lamprey, barnicle, and other shells. The common tree here, is the *Banian*; but none of the limbs yield those luxuriant shoots which go downwards, and fix themselves in the ground, as at *Gombroon*, and *Fort St. David*.—The lavender-cotton shrub is found here in great plenty. Here are also partridges, wild pigeons, wood-peckers, many kinds of small birds, besides gulls, &c. near the sea.

Pearl oysters have been found near this island, but as they lie in considerable depths, not less than 13 or 14 fathom water, the divers (who were not very expert at the business) had not met with much success, at the time we were there. Some pearls of considerable value however had been found, particularly one, very handsome and large, which the *Baron* was so polite as to present to Mr. *Doidge*. It had a *Lusus Naturæ* upon it, strongly resembling the face of a human foetus in the early months of pregnancy.

The *Baron* was very inquisitive about the diving-bell, and some other late discoveries made in *England*, for enabling men to keep a long while under water; and desired Mr. *Doidge* to think of him on this article. He gave me also a commission to buy, and send him out from *England* the following books and instruments, viz.

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|---|---------------------|
| Dictionnaire de Bayle | } Derniere edition. |
| ———— Moreri | |
| ———— Oeconomique | |
| Cours de la science Militaire par Bardette de Villeneuve. | |
| Oeuvres de Voltaire | } Toutes. |
| ———— Boileau | |
| ———— Regnard | |
| ———— Requier | |
| ———— Vertot | |
| L'Histoire d'Angleterre par Rapin. | |
| L'Histoire de France qu'on Jugera la meilleure. | |
| Lettres de Guy Patin. | |
| Oeuvres de Cyrano de Bergerac. | |
| Toutes sortes de Voyages particuliers, entre autres d'Ethiopie, d'Abyssinie, & Nubie. | |
| Memoires et Voyages du Chevalier d'Erveux. | |
| Toutes sortes de Memoires instructives, ou amusantes. | |
| Toutes les Oeuvres du Marquis d'Argens. | |
| Histoire Generale des Voyages in 4to les 12 tomes, & ceux qui suivent. | |
| La Mothe le Vayer. | |
| Anecdotes de la Cour de Philippe Auguste; & autres de cette sorte. | |
| Lettres edifiantes & curieuses. | |
| Description de l'Amerique par le Pere Labat. | |
| Description d'Afrique. | |

Toutes

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Toutes sortes de Romans bien ecrits, soit François, soit Anglois traduits en François.

Don Quichotte, et toutes les Oeuvres de Cervantes.

Dictionnaire François et Anglois; et Anglois et François; avec une bonne Grammaire.

Quelques bons et nouveaux Livres sur l'Artillerie, la Fortification, et Attaques des Places; de meme sur la Marine, et la Construction des Vaisseaux.

Ditto, Sur l'Architecture, et les Mechaniques, et Physique experimentale; enfin, tous les Livres que vous jugerez m'être utiles.

The above catalogue is exactly copied from the *Baron's* original commission, and inserted as a specimen of that gentleman's ingenuity and turn of mind. He was pleased afterwards to add to the catalogue several mechanical instruments; as Captain *Tovey's* new instrument for levelling cannon, &c. and any other invention for the bomb. Any new-invented optical instruments, being improvements on the telescope, microscope, or common eye-glass. And such other instruments as tended to illustrate any art or science, or could be of service to him in his new settlement.

These several articles were to be sent to him by one of our *India* ships, or by some vessel bound to *Scanderoon*; and from thence to be sent to *Aleppo*, consigned to the care of the *English* or *Dutch* consul at that place. On my arrival in *London*, this commission of the worthy *Baron*, was punctually executed, and discharged out of a sum of money, which he had advanced to Mr. *Doidge*.

Not far from *Grane* is an island called *Bareen* or *Babaren*, where at certain known depths, divers go down to the bottom of the sea, and come up again with their vessels filled with fresh water. The fact is indisputable: I had it from the *Baron*, and several *Arabian* merchants who lived near the island confirmed the truth of it. The fresh water is found in holes or little natural wells, some fathoms below the surface of the sea. The *Arabs* have certain marks on the island, to teach them where to dive for the fresh water holes. One of the merchants assured us, that he himself discovered a spring upon the shore, serving one of these wells; that he put a bit of a heavy stick into it, and in two or three days afterwards, a diver brought it to him from the bottom of one of the holes. It is worthy of remark also, that through all the *Persian* gulph, the spring water of the islands is much better than that which is found upon the continent; and the water nearest the sea in the islands, has greatly the advantage over that which is found in the middle parts. This observation of the inferiority of the water upon the continent, holds good however, only respecting that part of it which is near the sea; for about 12 miles up the country, both on the *Persian* and *Arabian* side of the gulph, the water is very good.

In the district of *Dedesht* near *Bebaim*, in the province of *Pegsoai* (or *Cokelaun*) in *Persia*, is a black *Bitumen*, extracted from a rock, which is looked upon as a specific in reuniting fractured bones. The *Baron* gave me two little canisters of it; and the directions I received for using it, were, "Take half a drachm of the *Bitumen*, and melt it over the fire, mixed with an ounce of oil: when these are well incorporated, rub the broken part with them quite warm, and in all other respects treat the fracture according to the common rules of surgery. The patient is also to take a pill of it inwardly three or four times a day." Mr. *Alves*, an *English* surgeon, had made use of it in a case where both thighs were fractured, and assured the *Baron* that no fever came on during the whole time of the cure. Another person assured the *Baron*, that having once applied it to the broken leg of a fowl, it was able to walk in twenty-four hours. The rock yielding this *Bitumen* had formerly a guard placed over it, and a very considerable profit arose therefrom to the governor of the province; but since the kingdom of *Persia* has been rent in pieces by civil wars, it is supposed that this guard has been withdrawn, for several poor *Persians*, who fled for protection to *Karec*, brought a little of this pitch along with them, and offered it in sale to the *Baron*. That which he gave me, was a present to him from the governor of the province *.

We were greatly disappointed at the long absence of the *Felucca*, which the *Baron* had sent to *Grane*, to bring the *Sheick* who was to conduct us over the great *Desert* to *Aleppo*; however, on the whole our time passed away not unpleasantly. The mornings were generally spent in making little excursions to different parts of the island, and our evenings in supping with the *Baron* at the fort. Here we met with a very agreeable and sensible gentleman, who amidst a variety of other topics, gave us the following account of the *Arabs* and *Persians*.

"The *Arabs* still continue divided into *Tribes*; and out of as many of these as possible, it will be advisable for you to select the men who are to escort you over the *Desert*; for should you happen to fall in with a body of any of those particular tribes, to which the *Arabs* who accompany you belong, you may depend upon passing unhurt and unmolested; or if you meet with any of their scouting parties, and can prevail only on one of them to enter your tents, drink of your coffee, eat rice, or any thing besides, you will then be safe from any insult either by them or their brethren; it being an invariable maxim with them, "*never to molest those strangers they have once eaten and drank with*," looking upon it then as a breach of hospitality, and consequently as a most enormous crime. Should any of their out-lying detachments accidentally fall in with you, and instead of

* Sir *John Chardin* in the second volume of his travels has given an exact and ample account of this medicine.

1758. entering your tents, and partaking of your entertainment, hurry back to their main body to communicate the pleasing intelligence; even in this case, if one of your party can make greater haste than they, and join the *Arab*-body first, throw himself at the *Sheick's* feet, and demand protection, you may rest assured of your lives and property: for another stable maxim with them is, that "*whosoever shall fly to the powerful, and humbly implore assistance, has a right to receive it.*" This point they carry so far, that were the murderer of the *Sheick's* father, son, or brother, to be the person so petitioning, he would not be refused. And what is still more extraordinary, this act of mercy is sure to take place, although the supplicant may not be able to get quite up to the person of the *Sheick*. If he is only so near him, as to be capable of throwing a stick to, or beyond the spot of ground where he happens to be, this circumstance secures him from all danger.

But though the *Arabs* are thus scrupulous in regard to the rights of hospitality, yet in other instances they will be found to equivocate as well as their neighbours. The most effectual way to bind them is by a particular oath of theirs, called the *Tallauck*; the penalty of a non-performance of which is, that the perjured person shall part with all his wives, and never cohabit with them again, until they have been prostituted to other men. The infamy and inconvenience arising from hence, is esteemed so very great, that you seldom, if ever, hear of this sacred obligation being broken. The wife, that has the greatest power in a family, is she, who by the consent of the parents of both parties, was first married to the young man; she is early taught the art of cookery, and takes the lead of all the other wives in that respect; she has also the chief management of his domestic affairs; nor can he ever part with her, but with the utmost difficulty and inconvenience."

The money used by the *Arabs*, are the *Persian* and *Indian Rupees*. In one town in *Arabia Felix*, the government coins a piece of silver somewhat of the shape of an horseshoe; fifteen of these amount to a *Rupee*. The *Indian Rupee* is worth forty-six *Marmoodas*, the *Persian* is valued only at forty-five.

The character which this gentleman gave us of the *Persians* also was by no means likely to prejudice us in their favour. He represented them as "a deceitful, treacherous people; faithless in their dealings, and so addicted to all the little arts of guile and falsehood, that a man must be credulous to a great degree, to believe them even upon their oaths. Should one of that nation swear (according to the *Persian* mode) that he will perform a certain act, on the penalty, we will suppose, of his son *Hossein* being dishonoured by his wife; upon being detected of failing in his engagement, and reproached with the dishonour which is done to his family by his perjury, he

he will only laugh and say, that he took that oath at the expence of another *Hossein*, not of his son, nor of any one of that name, for whom he had the least affection. A *Persian* is not limited in the number of his wives: he may marry them for a certain time, and at the expiration of that period put them away if he pleases, taking care however to perform his marriage contract, which always secures to the woman a return of whatever money or goods she brought with her, in case of a divorce."

In *Gombroon* if a woman shall be discovered to have committed adultery, the husband of that woman is obliged to pay a fine to the governor, if able; if not, the wife is taken from him by the officers of justice, and sent to a common stew, there to remain, 'till she has by a repetition of the same crime, earned as much money, as will discharge the fine: after this she is returned to her husband again, who may keep her or not, as he thinks proper. If he chuses to part with her, he must exactly fulfil the marriage contract by returning the fortune he received with her.

In a visit we made to another gentleman of this island, who had the best opportunities of getting at the true character of the late famous *Thomas Kuli Khan*, he assured us, "that all the histories yet written of him, were very erroneous. He was not naturally cruel; his ambition indeed led him to empire, but he would have been glad to have governed mildly. That though the two last years of his life were attended with continual revolts among his subjects, at the head of whom were his own children, yet he seldom put any of them to death; the punishment he generally inflicted was that of putting out their eyes. *Kuly Khan* being once asked, why he chose this method of treating his rebellious subjects, rather than taking away their lives, replied, *Because I would have them live on, eyeless, as lasting monuments of their own villainy, and of my justice.*

This gentleman also assured us, that *Kuli Khan* had once flattered himself with a vast increase of empire by a marriage with the *Czarina* of *Muscovy*, and that he actually sent an *Embassador* to *Petersburgh* for that purpose: though the *Czarina* secretly despised the offer he made to her, looking back with scorn on his mean original, yet she took care to demean herself with much seeming respect upon the occasion, and expressed herself highly honoured with the *Shah's* proposal, but at the same time advanced many reasons why she could not possibly comply with it. Among others, she did not forget to mention the difference of their religion. Soon after the return of his ambassador, the *Persian* monarch conversed often with the fathers of the three convents at *Isfahan*; seemed very desirous of being instructed in the fundamentals of their religion, listened to them with great attention, and threw out hints of his becoming a *Christian*. He ordered also these fathers to set about a translation of the New Testament into the *Persian* language for his own immediate use, which they had very near finished, when his life

1758. was put an end to by four of his own generals, who have been fighting for the crown or throne of *Persia* ever since.

The first competitor, *Nauzir Khan*, hath already been noticed as residing near to *Gombroon*.—The second, *Kerim Khan*, is in possession of *Ispahan*, and has an army of thirty thousand men under his command.—The third is *Hassein Khan*, who possesses the northern parts of the kingdom, and at the time we were at *Gombroon*, was said to be marching from the provinces near the *Caspian* sea with a great body of forces towards *Ispahan*; and that he carried with him a prince of the female line of the great *Shah Abbas*, in whose name he founded his pretensions.—The fourth is *Achmet* or *Hamet Shah*, governor of the *Afghan* or *Pytan* country; his views were said to be confined to the keeping possession of that province only, which borders on the territories of the *Great Mogul*. During our stay at *Karec*, we received advice, that *Hassein Khan* had obtained a superiority over all his rivals; that his troops were more numerous, and better disciplined than theirs; and that his carrying with him a prince of the royal blood had considerably increased the number of his partisans, and given him at least a shew of better pretensions to the crown.

Hamet Khan or *Shah*, the chief of the *Afghans*, according to these advices, had just before gained a considerable, tho' not a decisive victory over *Kerim Khan*. We were now also given to understand, that *Nauzir Khan*, in the neighbourhood of *Gombroon* was become of so little consequence, as not to be thought worthy of being ranked among the competitors for the crown of *Persia*. So that at this time the four claimants were reduced to three.

To the same gentleman who furnished us with the account of the nations bordering on the *Persian* gulph, we were also obliged for the following anecdotes relative to a late massacre in *Batavia*, the chief actors of which surpassed either *Arabs* or *Persians*, in dissimulation and cruelty.

As all kinds of grain were scarce at *Ceylon*, and as all the settlements in *India* were chiefly supplied with wheat and rice from *Bengal* and the *Malabar* coast, it was proposed in the *Dutch* council at *Batavia*; that a considerable number of *Chinese* should be forcibly taken from the island of *Java*, and transported to *Ceylon*, in order to cultivate the lands, which thereby would be sure to produce great quantities of grain. This motion met with violent opposition, and was almost unanimously rejected; several alledging that it was the height of cruelty and injustice to force the *Chinese*, who were a free people, into slavery; and some threw out hints that there ought to be methods taken to make their affairs better rather than worse. Elated with what passed in the council, the *Chinese* took great liberties, spake freely of their real

or

or pretended hardships, and at last went so far as to insult, and commit several robberies. A council was presently summoned to remedy these evils; when, after much debate, it was at last resolved, that all the vagrant *Chinese* should be seized and sent to *Ceylon*; but the officer, who put this order in execution, made a fatal mistake, for instead of confining himself to vagrants, he imprisoned several of the principal planters and merchants. During their confinement, many of their servants committed great thefts, and did them considerable damage in plundering their estates. No sooner however were they set at liberty, but the servants, apprehensive of their masters displeasure, ran into the mountains, where they committed great disorders among the native islanders, who came to a pitched battle with them, and beat them back to the *Dutch* territories. Upon their return, the ring-leaders were punished, and affairs were once more put upon a tolerable good footing. The *Dutch* council then thought it necessary to make a new law, by which all the *Chinese* were forbidden to have a light in their houses after eight o'clock in the evening. This was a most sensible mortification to people, who had ever been accustomed to spend their evenings in the greatest festivity; and in spite of this restraint, they came to a resolution of continuing their meetings, and of increasing their mutual intercourse with one another. For this purpose, they broke down their partition-walls, threw several houses into one, and kept up their spirits as well as men could do who were without light. 1758.

The *Dutch* were greatly alarmed at this behaviour of the *Chinese*; they assembled in council, and orders were presently issued for all the seamen belonging to the ships in the port, to come ashore, to be stationed in the marine yard, where they were locked up every evening, in order to keep the *Chinese* in awe, and to act as occasion might require. One night, either through carelessness or design, the gate of the marine yard was left open; the sailors soon discovered it, and, enraged with being kept so long confined, they broke loose like so many wild beasts, and roamed all over the city, massacring every man, woman, and child, they met with, to the number of forty thousand.

The news of this dreadful scene was soon brought to the general; but alas! no remedy was to be found! Presently after, an officer was dispatched to him in all haste from the prison (in which were kept fifteen hundred *Chinese*, designed to be transported to *Ceylon*), acquainting him, that the prisoners were in an uproar, that without immediate assistance he should not be able to keep them under, but they would break out and put to death all that came in their way, and that little or no resistance could be made to so large a body of men, considering how the *Dutch* seamen and soldiers were dispersed through the several quarters of the town. In answer to this, the general is said to have replied, "If that be really the case, the prisoners

1758. *prisoners ought to be cut off.*" This was a sufficient hint to the officer, who took care to see the bloody act perpetrated without delay. Nothing more than giving the above answer, could ever be proved against the general, though he afterwards was accused of being the principal actor in this horrid butchery, and was accordingly removed from his government, and imprisoned, till death set him free.

On Friday the 14th of April, to our great satisfaction, the *Felucca* returned from *Grane*, and brought the long-expected *Arab*. He behaved very complaisantly, assuring us of his best assistance, and how ready he was to accompany us to *Aleppo*. He thought it his duty however, he said, to acquaint us, that if we undertook our journey at this time, we should run great risk of being insulted by the tribe of a powerful neighbouring *Sheick**, who having a quarrel among themselves, were under no sort of regulation: that two persons had been lately attacked by them, one of whom, well known by the *Baron*, was mortally wounded. He added, that this day was the seventh of the *Moon*, and by letters received from different places it appeared, that the great *Caravan* for *Aleppo* would be near *Grane* on the twentieth, when the camels from this last place were to join it; that if we chose to travel in company with them, we might do it with much more safety and convenience, than in a smaller party; that the *Caravan* would be only thirty days in going from *Grane* to *Aleppo*, and would consist of five thousand camels and a thousand men. The whole of this intelligence was of too pleasing a nature to admit of our continuing long in suspense; we unanimously agreed to join the *Caravan*. The *Sheick* seemed delighted with our determination, and advised us to leave *Karec* on the fifteenth, that we might get to *Grane* in proper time; assuring us, that he himself would return back to *Grane* in a day or two, to get the camels, &c. ready for our use.

The *Baron*, after consulting with the *Arab*, determined that our baggage should consist of the following articles. One *Bengal* tent, two *Arabian* tents, 18 *Arabian* baskets, which, one with another, holds about 24 quart bottles. They were to contain 72 bottles of *Madeira* wine, 58 of claret, 54 of *Mango* shrub, 15 of *Arrack*, 15 of cyder, 240 pounds of biscuit or rusk, 6 hams, 30 neats tongues, 27 pieces of ship beef, 1 cheshire cheese, 32 pounds of butter, 2 small jars of pickled *Sardinias*, 3 quart bottles of oil, 5 of vinegar, 2 bottles of mustard, 2 bottles of powdered pepper, 20 pounds of powdered sugar, 8 pounds of powdered sugar-candy, 12 quart bottles of common syrup clarified with whites of eggs, 28 pounds of onions,

* The *Sheick* alluded to lives near *Grane*, and is the most powerful of all that live in the *Desert*, having thirty thousand men under his command; he receives fifty thousand crowns out of the one hundred thousand, which are yearly sent to the *Arabs* from the *Grand Seignior*, for permitting the *Pilgrim-Caravans* to pass unmolested.

12 pounds of ginger-bread nuts, 30 pounds of *Gombroon* dried prunes, two *Cattees* of tea, two of powdered coffee, one canvas portmanteau, to hold our linnen and clothes, and a larger one for our bedding. As our whole party consisted of eight persons, it was agreed that each of us (servants excepted) should take with him 30 suits of linnen, one *European* suit of clothes, four or five pair of thin shoes, a plain hat, an *Arabian Camaline*, trousers, *Turban* and slippers, and a *Turkish Janizary's* dress. The above inventory of our baggage being fixed, and the Baron having acquainted the *Arab*, that he intended to accommodate us with two of his own horses in our journey; the latter declared, that 30 camels would still be wanting to carry us, our servants, and baggage. The Baron insisted, that a less number would be sufficient, and brought him down to twenty. It was then agreed between them, it would be necessary for us to take from *Grane* an *Arab* of credit, whose business would be to settle all points with the commander of the *Caravan*, to prevent insults, thefts, &c. &c.

The Baron took me aside, and told me, by what he could learn, the price of a camel at and about *Grane*, was about thirty-five *Piafres*, but he feared that we as travellers would be obliged to pay for the service only, more than the camel's original cost; but by a calculation he had made, he thought he should be able to agree with the *Sheick*, to provide us with camels, and all other necessaries, for about a thousand or eleven hundred *Piafres* *. I took upon me to answer for my brother travellers, that we should not have the least objection to this sum, and desired the Baron to settle matters with the *Arab* upon this footing.

The affair, agreeable to the *Arabian* custom, was negotiated between them by the mediation of a third person; the Baron and the *Sheick* having no immediate intercourse with each other. A great deal of pompous solemnity sat on the face of the *Arab*, who treated this business as a matter of the utmost consequence, and by signs upon his fingers, made a demand of two thousand *Piafres*. The Baron in return offered one thousand, and the affair was thus debated by signs from the parties, and serious whisperings from the mediator, for full half an hour; when they parted rather abruptly, the Baron being greatly displeased with the intended imposition of the *Arab*. He told us in the evening, that this exorbitant demand must proceed from a report that we were exceedingly rich; that he was sure the crafty *Arab* had cast a wishful eye upon our purses, and that nothing but this, and the hopes he still entertained of our being obliged to close with him, prevented his acceptance of the offer, for the whole money would be clear gain to him; as we were immediately to deposit the cash, and the camels which he was to buy with it, would sell at *Aleppo* for more than their prime cost. The *Sheick*,

* Eight hundred *piastres* make one thousand *rupees*, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling.

1758. after the negotiation was broken off, waited upon the *Baron*, and remonstrated after this manner. “*You use me very unkindly, Sir. Pray what are these travellers to you? I and my tribe have been in friendship with you for a long time, and I could not have expected that you would thus have given the preference to strangers.*” The *Baron* was so much out of temper with him, that he returned him very little answer, but ordered a *Felucca* to be immediately got ready for us, that the *Arab* might think we were determined to go to *Bassora* by water in order to join the *Caravan* there, where we were assured it would arrive in two days, after its leaving *Grane*. Our servants also were made to believe that we should certainly proceed by water, that the *Arab*, who probably would be inquisitive with them, might be deprived of all hope of our ever coming up to his demand. The *Baron* closed this night’s conversation, with the following sensible observation. “*In Europe perhaps it may sometimes be a proper maxim for people to desire to be thought rich; but in this part of the world, all should endeavour to be esteemed poor, for the supposed rich man will ever be imposed upon, and it is out of his power to prevent it. Gentlemen’s servants have also a peculiar vanity in exaggerating the wealth of their masters, and thereby often put them to an extraordinary expence.*”

While things remained in suspense, as to the *Arab*, we took frequent opportunities of visiting our several friends upon the island, particularly Mr. and Mrs. *Bosman*, in whose gardens we passed some hours very agreeably, and smoked the *Calloon* and *Kerim Can**, pipes which are used by the gentlemen here, in the same manner as the *Hooka* is in *Bengal*. The common people on *Karec*, like those in *India*, smoke the *Hubble-Bubble*, which is made of a *Cocoa-nut* shell, and a *Bamboo* joint. In all these pipes the smoke passes through water before it enters the mouth, and is thereby very cool. The tobacco of *Persia* too is of a mild kind, which being conveyed in great quantities to *India*, is there made into a paste with sugar, scented ingredients, and rose-water, and thus smoking is made agreeable to persons, who otherwise would dislike it. The *Hooka* (the form of which is not inelegantly shewn in the annexed plate) is constructed upon the same principles as the *Calloon*, *Kerim-Can*, and *Hubble-Bubble*. It is indeed of a different shape from the three last, but will serve to give a competent idea of all the pipes that are used throughout *Asia*.

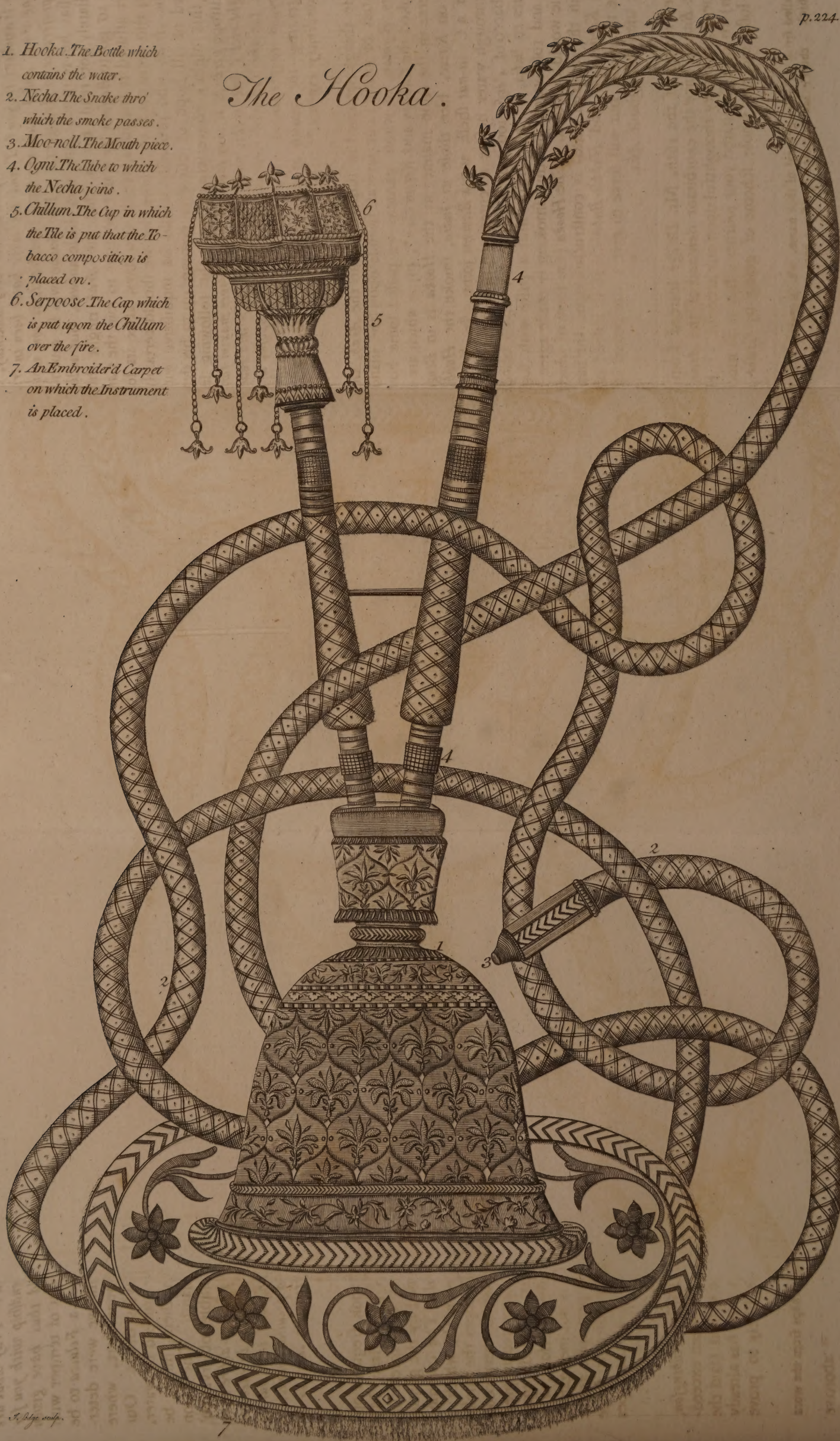
In the evening of the 16th, Mr. *Doidge* learned from Ensign *Robingsen*, that the *Baron*, since the exorbitant demand of the *Arab*, had been exceedingly uneasy, and very thoughtful upon our account. “He wished (said the ensign) to have facilitated your journey; but as so much time has already been lost, and the whole scheme of going by *Grane* is likely to prove

* So called from a *Persian* general of that name, who invented it, or perhaps from the word *Kerim*, which in the *Persian* language signifies a horn or tube.

“ abortive

The Hooka.

1. *Hooka.* The Bottle which contains the water.
2. *Necha.* The Snake thro' which the smoke passes.
3. *Moo-noll.* The Mouth piece.
4. *Ogni.* The Tube to which the Necha joins.
5. *Chillum.* The Cup in which the Tile is put that the Tobacco composition is placed on.
6. *Serpoose.* The Cap which is put upon the Chillum over the fire.
7. *An Embroider'd Carpet* on which the Instrument is placed.



“ abortive, I am very sure he would be greatly pleased if you spared 1758.
 “ his delicacy so far as to make the proposal yourselves of going by some
 “ other route.” Mr. *Robingsen* ingenuously added, “ that every other gentleman upon the island was clearly of opinion, that we ought to go by water to *Bassora*, and he had reason to think the *Baron* was not to be excepted out of this number, however scrupulous he might be of delivering his sentiments.” He desired however that the hints which he had given might be kept a secret from the *Baron*. Immediately, a short consultation was held between us on our present situation; and the same evening, with the general consent of the whole party, I opened to the *Baron*, that “ as so exorbitant a sum had been demanded by the *Arab*, as the time of our continuance at *Grane*, before the arrival of the *Caravan*, would also be very uncertain, as well as disagreeable, and as from what had passed, it was very probable we might still be subjected to farther imposition; I therefore submitted to him, whether he did not think our sailing to *Bassora*, the most eligible route.” The *Baron* seemed greatly pleased with the proposal, and adopted it without any hesitation. He was so obliging as still to insist on our acceptance of the two horses, he had intended for our use, and proposed sending them with our baggage, and one of our servants, in a *Trankey* to *Bassora*; we were to follow in one of his armed *Gallivats*. This night’s conversation ended, in our making him most hearty acknowledgments for the whole of his friendly and polite behaviour towards us; and in his giving the strongest assurances of the earnest desire he had of contributing to our ease and satisfaction.

The next morning a boat arrived from *Bassora*, with a letter from Mr. *Shaw*, addressed to Mr. *Doidge*: the following is an extract.—“ I flattered myself that I should have had the satisfaction of your company, for a few days at least at *Bassora*; but from the doubtful manner in which you wrote last, I know not whether I may now expect that pleasure. I presume your intentions may be to proceed over the *Desert* by the way of *Grane*; which doubtless will be more expeditious, though in my humble opinion not so secure, as by the way of *Baghdad*. Besides, a *Caravan* is to set out from this last place in thirty-five or forty days, directly over the *Desert* for *Aleppo*. It is certain also, that the *Desert* is not safe at present without a *Caravan* or some proper escort, for yesterday I had advices from *Baghdad*, that an *English* gentleman, one *Barton*, coming post from *Aleppo* to this place with a few camels, was plundered some days ago by the roving *Arabs*, who have of late in particular, greatly infested the *Desert*; and you must have heard at *Bombay*, that one Captain *Ivers*, going hence to *Aleppo*, in *September* last, was in like manner plundered.”

The tenor of this letter confirmed us still more in the resolution we had taken of proceeding by the way of *Bassora*. So that on *Wednesday* the 19th, we embarked our baggage, and the two horses the *Baron* had given

1758. us, and sent with them in the *Trankey*, *Benjamin Jenkins*, who also carried an answer from his master to Mr. *Shaw's* letter.

The next day about three in the afternoon, we all went on board the *Gallivat*, commanded by *Mynbeer Binkey*, bound to *Bassora*. We were accompanied down to the water side by the * *Baron* himself, *Mynbeers Bosman*, *Robingsen*, *Tillie*, and *Nicholi*, who did not quit the shore, till our vessel was at a considerable distance from the island. The wind was nearly north-west when we first put to sea, but in the evening it came to the southward, and carried us along very pleasantly at the rate of about five or six miles an hour: But in the morning of the 21st it began to blow hard, and in the evening the gale increased so much, that we were forced out of the proper channel for *Bassora* river. This obliged us to come to an anchor; we dropt two from the bow, yet the vessel drove; we then let go a third from the starboard quarter, which brought her up, and we rode safely till the next morning, when, to our great satisfaction, the wind abated, the *Gallivat* having frequently in the night struck the ground. About six we weighed our anchors, and with a gale still from the south, stood into the mid-channel of the river, having on our left, the island, on which are the ruins of old *Bassora*. These ruins extend eight or ten miles. An almost innumerable quantity of black, withered stumps of date trees, still remain, and reach for some miles to the southward and northward of the ruined city. We passed this day very agreeably; for on both sides of the river quite up to *Bassora*, are date and apricot trees, regularly planted, and the soil yields one continued verdure, a sight as uncommon in this part of the world, as it is beautiful. From the shrouds of our little vessel however, at a few miles distance beyond this delightful scene, we could plainly discover a specimen of what we were to expect in our journey, over the dreary *Desert of Arabia*.

In our passage up the river, we saw several people crossing it in basket-boats; others on large bladders or skins filled with air. The basket-boats are of a circular form, generally from eight to sixteen feet in diameter. Their depth is about three feet, the bottoms flat, which, as well as their outsides, are covered with a kind of pitch. They are very convenient, will carry a great number of passengers, and are as easily pushed through the mud when there is no depth of water, as over it when there is. The

* *Baron Kniphausen*, since our leaving *Karee*, has quitted the *Dutch* service, and I am told that the *Sheick* of *Bundarick* is again in possession of the island. Our settlement at *Gombroon* was taken from us by the *French* in the year 1759, and our affairs have not been prosperous since that event, if at all reinstated in that part of the world. Is not then the isle of *Karee*, as well upon the account of it's situation for trade, as for it's pearl-fishery, an object worthy of our *East India* company's consideration? It is about five miles in length, and two in breadth, lies nearly in mid-channel between the *Persian* and *Arabian* shores, about seven leagues from each, and about 30 leagues from the mouth of *Bassora* river, where all ships bound to that place must call for pilots.

largest require only two men to manage them; the other fort but one. 1758.
The river in some places is a mile over; in others much less. From its mouth quite up to *Bassora*, is about a hundred *English* miles.

A little before we reached the city, we passed on our left, the *French* merchant ship, mentioned in Mr. *Shaw's* first letter; and abreast of the town, lay the *Bristol Frigate*, with her jack, ensign, and pendant. At a little distance from her, we had the pleasure to discover our *Trankey*, in which were the horses and baggage, she had gotten up about an hour before us; and at four o'clock in the afternoon, we happily came to an anchor off the city of *Bassora*, and saluted the Captain *Pasha* with eleven guns.

In our passage up the river, we saw several people crossing in baskets; others on large bladders or skins tied with arms. The baskets are of a circular form, generally from eight to sixteen feet in diameter. Their depth is about three feet, the bottom flat, which, as well as their outside, are covered with a kind of pitch. They are very convenient, will carry a great number of passengers, and are easily pulled through the mud when there is no depth of water; at present when there is.

* Baron Kämpfer, before our leaving Basra, has written the history of the city, and I am told that the district of Basra was again in possession of the Persians. The settlement at Basra was taken from us by the Persians in the year 1763, and our affairs have not been prosperous since that event. It is well known that the Persians, as well as the Arabs, are obliged to pay a tribute to the British, and that the British, in return, are obliged to pay a tribute to the Persians. It is a most curious circumstance, that the British, in return for the tribute they pay to the Persians, are obliged to pay a tribute to the British. This is a most curious circumstance, and one which is not to be explained.

highest reaches only two men to manage, (but) the water for the one
The river is some places is a mile over; in others much less. From its
mouth quite up to below, is about a hundred English miles.

A little below we reached the city, we passed on one side the river
anchorage ship, mentioned in Mr. Shaw's first letter, and a part of the
river, between the river, with her sick, cargo, and passengers. At a
certain distance from her, we had the pleasure to discover the Turkish
in which we had landed before, she had gone up a good way, and
before us, and at noon, in the afternoon, we passed her to an
anchorage off the city, and joined the Captain's ship with eleven

P. R. O. M.

PERSIA TO ENGLAND,

In 1758 and 1759.

By the way of Persia, BAHAR, MOSUL, DIAR
BERRI, BAGDAD, ALER, LARNA, BEHMAN
FLORENCE, VENICE, INSRUCK, COLOGNE, N
MAGNUS, &c.

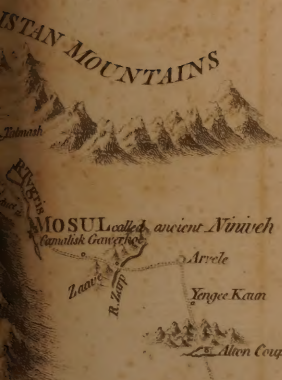
CONTAINING

An Account of those Cities, and of the Manners, Customs,
Religion, Policy, &c. of the Inhabitants of Asiatic Turkey,
and of the River, as far as the Author passed.

A FOUR

Gr.





MR IVE'S ROUTE from
BASSORA to LATICHEA.



A
J O U R N E Y
F R O M
PERSIA TO ENGLAND,
In 1758 and 1759,

By the way of BASSORA, BAGHDAD, MOSUL, DIAR-
BEKIR, BIR, ALEPPO, LATICHEA, LEGHORN,
FLORENCE, VENICE, INSPRUCK, COLOGNE, NI-
MEGUEN, &c.

C O N T A I N I N G

An Account of those Cities, and of the Manners, Customs,
Religion, Polity, &c. of the Inhabitants of ASIATIC TURKY,
and of the other Countries through which the Author passed.

*Vadimus in campos steriles, exustaue mundi,
Quâ nimius Titan, & raræ in fontibus undæ,
Siccaque letiferis squalent serpentibus arva,
Durum iter!*——

LUCAN, Lib. ix.

A

J O U R N E Y

FROM

PERSIA TO ENGLAND.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

Description of Bassora and the country adjacent.—Account of Mr. Barton's being first plundered, and afterwards humanely treated by the Arabs.—Monsieur Perdria, the French resident, and the officers of the Bristol Frigate, pay the author and his companions a visit.—More occurrences at Bassora.—We embark on board a yacht lent us by Mr. Shaw.—Passage up the Euphrates to Corna, Cota, and Semava.—Insolent behaviour of the Chocarda.

THE city of Bassora, where we arrived on the 22d of April, lies in the latitude of $30^{\circ} 3'$ north, and is situated three miles on the west side of the Euphrates, in Asiatic Turkey: it is large, and populous, about 12 miles in circumference, and contains between sixty and seventy thousand inhabitants. The houses are all built of mud, and bricks dried in the sun, as is the wall of the city, which is defended by turrets at proper distances from each other. It was besieged by *Thamas Kuli Khan*, but without success. The streets in general are very narrow, and stink abominably, owing to their taking no care to carry off the dirt and filth, tho' a creek very convenient for that purpose runs by the side of the city. Much trade is carried on here, through a navigable canal which is cut into the river; there is a daily intercourse with *Baghdad* by water, on the two great rivers, Euphrates

1758.
BASSORA.
Saturday,
April 22.

1758. and *Tygris*. The most sightly edifice here, is the *Caravanferah*; which is large, covered in at the top, full of shops with different kinds of merchandise, and at one of the ends is a good market, well furnished with all sorts of meat, except pork; the mutton you buy here is excellent. Nothing can be imagined pleasanter than the face of the country just round the city: large vineyards interspersed with rose-trees, fields of corn scattered up and down, and a view of the river at the same time, form a picturesque and delightful landscape.

In about two hours after our arrival, we waited upon Mr. *Shaw*, the *East India* company's resident, who received us with the greatest politeness and hospitality, and provided lodgings for us under his own roof. We passed the evening in company with Mr. *Purnel*, and three or four *Italian* merchants. The best method of travelling to *Aleppo*, was the principal subject of our conversation; they were unanimous in advising us to continue our journey by water to *Baghdad*, and then join the *Caravan*, which was to set off from that place. We accordingly adopted this scheme, as being less hazardous and fatiguing than the route we had before proposed. Mr. *Barton* also (the *English* gentleman mentioned in Mr. *Shaw*'s letter to have been plundered by the *Arabs*) joined the company, and gave us a very full and pleasing account of public affairs in *Europe*.

This gentleman (Mr. *Barton*) had it seems a few years before, acquired a handsome fortune in the *East Indies*, with which he returned to *England*, settled at some distance from *London* in the character of a country gentleman, and served the office of high-sheriff for the county in which he lived. Being necessitated however to return to *India* to settle some affairs, he had the courage to fit out a small *Folkstone* cutter, in which he actually set sail from *England* for the *East Indies*; but before he had been many days at sea, she was (luckily perhaps for himself and his little crew) taken by a *French* privateer, and carried into *Vigo*. From hence he got a passage to *Leghorn*, taking his son with him, who had also embarked in the same dangerous enterprize for the *East Indies*. At *Leghorn* they took ship again, and got safe to *Scanderoon*. Here, he was so impatient to get forward on his journey, that he would not wait for the *Caravan*, but set out for *Aleppo*, attended only by his son, a country-servant, and a few camels. His spirit was too active to endure the slow march of these animals; he therefore frequently made excursions on the road before them, but one day while walking on foot and alone, he was attacked by a few *Arabs*, who robbed him of every thing he had about him. This obliged him to wait for the coming up of his little company, and with them he travelled on without any other accident to *Aleppo*. Here, he was in the same hurry for proceeding on his journey, nor could the whole factory prevail upon him to wait only a fortnight or three weeks for the setting out of a large *Caravan* for *Baghdad* and *Bassora*.

He accordingly began this second hazardous expedition with only two or three camels, and the same country-servant, leaving his son behind at *Aleppo*, with orders to follow him, by the first convenient opportunity. For a few days, he and his man went on uninterrupted over the *Desert*. At length five or six hundred *Arabs* discovered them; but upon their coming nigh, Mr. *Barton* drew out a brace of pistols which he carried in his belt, and presented them at the *Arabs*: astonished at his rashness, they made a stand, but at the same time ordered him to throw down his arms. His servant also persuaded him to comply, but all in vain; he still held his cocked pistols towards the *Arabs*, and with a determined look, and high-toned voice, declared he would kill some of them, if they dared to approach any nearer. By degrees they surrounded him, and with a blow on the head he was brought to the ground, and his pistols taken from him: the *Arabs* now in their turn presented these weapons to his breast, and told him that he deserved to be put to death; but they satisfied themselves with stripping him quite naked, and leaving the servant a jacket and breeches, but not a drop of water, or morsel of provision for either.

Mr. *Barton*, after the enemy rode off, accepted the breeches which his servant offered to him, and they both set out bare-footed (their camels also having been taken from them) in the track for *Baghdad*. After having passed two days and nights without meeting with any other support than the *Truffles* of the *Desert*, that happened then to be in season, and which they found in great plenty, they fortunately fell in with another tribe of *Arabs*, to whose *Sheick* they told their melancholy tale, and implored his assistance. The *Sheick* was touched with the relation of their distress, and afforded them every help in his power; his own wives ministered unto them, anointed their feet, brought them milk, and every other necessary. As soon as they were sufficiently recovered to set forward, the son of the *Sheick* escorted them so far, as to put them under the protection of another *Sheick*, by whom they were entertained in the like hospitable manner, and dismissed with other guards and passports; nor did they want friends as long as their journey lasted, each tribe seeing them safely lodged with it's next neighbour, until they had delivered them into the hands of our countrymen at *Baghdad*.

From that city, Mr. *Barton* was carried in the *Pasha's* galley down the *Tygris* to *Corna*, and from thence to *Bassora*, where we met with him. He was at that time clothed like a poor *Turk*, without shirt or stockings; his beard was grown to an uncommon length; and he declared that he would indulge himself in few of the comforts, much less in the elegancies of life, till he arrived safely at *Calcutta*, the place of his destination.

This morning we were complimented with a visit from Monsieur *Perdria* the *French* resident, Monsieur *Rivage* the captain of the *Bristol Frigate*, and two of his officers. Mr. *Shaw* invited them to dine with us, and in the

H h

evening

April 23.

1758.

evening we returned the compliment, and supped with them at the country-house of *Monf. Perdria*, where we were politely and elegantly entertained. *Monf. Rivage* and his officers were present, so that we made up 26 in all, the greatest number of *European* gentlemen that were known to have been in *Bassora* at one time.

Monday,
April 24.

This was *Mr. Shaw's* levee day; his room was full of *Turkish, Arabian, and Armenian* merchants. Most of them were large-sized men, fine eyed, well proportioned, and of good complexions. Their principal design in coming at this time, was to pay their compliments to us. Here also we had an opportunity of conversing with several *Padrees* or missionaries, who are settled in a convent at *Bassora*, with a view to propagate the *Christian* faith. A very odd scheme! since they dare not attempt the conversion even of a single *Mussulman*. These good men paid us several visits afterwards, gave us many benedictions, and a letter of recommendation to the *Roman* nominal *Bishop* of *Babylon*.

After dinner *Mr. Shaw* carried us to see a long-boat of his, which he had fitted up as a little yacht, and was so obliging as to offer us the use of it to carry us as far as *Hilla*, in our way to *Baghdad*. We gladly accepted it, as being much more commodious than any of the country boats; and *Mr. Alms* undertook to fit her for the voyage. We likewise hired a *Sandal* or boat for carrying our baggage and the two horses we brought with us from *Karec*, to which *Mr. Shaw* now added a third, as a present to *Mr. Doidge*. *Mr. Shaw* also laid in a very large stock of fresh provisions for our passage up the river, and was so generous as to insist, it should not be carried to account.

To the same gentleman we were also obliged for the following directions, which we thought proper to make minutes of, as necessary for our future conduct.—1st. If, when we arrive at *Aleppo*, we shall want more money than we have credit for from *India*, *Mr. Shaw* gives us a letter of credit on his correspondent at that place: If we shall have occasion for less than two hundred pounds, then our bills are to be drawn in favour of *Laurence Sullivan Esq;* in *England*; but if more than that sum, then on *Samuel Hough Esq;* at *Bombay*, in favour of *Mr. Shaw* or order.—2d. To take with us an inferior *Turkish* officer, called a *Chocarda*, who is to protect us from all insult, and to carry with him orders to the several governors of those places we touch at, to supply us with a sufficient number of men to *track*, or draw up our vessels against the stream, when the wind and current shall be unfavourable for sailing. We are only to hire six men at *Bassora* to *track* us up as far as *Corna*; there we are to engage twelve, and so on, till we arrive at *Hilla*. Every time we change our men, we are to give them from six to eight *Abassees*, according to their behaviour. To the *Chocarda*, at the end of our passage, and journey, we are to give seventy *Cruse* and a coat.—3d. To carry with us two letters; one addressed to *Aly Aga*, governor of

Hasca,

Hafsa, whom we are to salute with an even number of guns, the more the better, and then send the *Chocardas*, with our linguist and one of our own servants to him, with our compliments and the letter, desiring to be honoured with his commands for *Baghdad*. This will probably induce him to send us an invitation to come ashore, which we are by no means to refuse, but to wait upon him either at dinner or supper, as he shall appoint. We must particularly remember to go in slippers, and be very careful not to thrust our legs and feet out, but contrive (after the *Turkish* manner) to fit with them across. Should he present any one of us with a vest, we are then to give the servant who shall put it on, sixty *Cruse*, making at the same time a proper apology for his trouble, but to take care not to give the money till the moment of our departure. If no vest be presented, then we are to distribute ten or twelve *Cruse* among the governor's servants. The other letter must be addressed to *Choudar Aga*, governor of *Hilla*, whom we are to salute with three guns, and then send the letter by our *Chocardas* and linguist with our compliments, as before to *Aly Aga*. Here we are to be furnished with horses, camels, mules, and asses to carry us and our baggage to *Baghdad*, paying for each horse ten *Cruse*, for each camel five, and for each mule or ass two and an half. Should the governor make us a compliment of paying for these animals himself, we are then to make a present of half, or something more than half of their value, to his servant. —4th. We are also to carry a letter addressed to Mr. Garden at *Baghdad*, which we are to dispatch to that gentleman from *Hilla*; taking care that our stay at this last place be as short as possible, lest the shew of our baggage might tempt the *Arabs* to endeavour to intercept us. —5th. Should we be so unfortunate as not to meet with Mr. Garden at *Baghdad*, we are then to apply to *Cojee Raphael*, an *Armenian*, who does Mr. Shaw's business there, and he will take care to provide us with camels, &c. and will bargain for their hire to *Aleppo*; which usually is from fifteen to twenty *Piastres Rume* of eight, five *Marmoodas Baghdad* currency; or $\frac{5}{8}$ of a loaded camel. The hire of a camel to ride on, is little more than half the price of a loaded one. our servants have a customary right to mount the camels which carry provisions, without our paying any thing extra upon that account. —6th. If we meet with Mr. Garden at *Baghdad*, he is best able to inform us of the price of a hired horse to ride on to *Aleppo*. —7th. To remember to purchase at *Baghdad*, two *Cradles* * for a camel, which will be very useful, should any of us be sick. —8th. Mr. Shaw will give us a letter of credit on Mr. Garden or *Cojee Raphael* (as Mr. Hough of *Bombay* did before on Mr. Shaw) for what monies we shall want. If we should not have occasion for the whole of what we leave with Mr. Shaw, or rather, for what we have given our draughts on Mr. Hough; in that case, he provides us with credit upon *Miner-Rigo*, by means of Mr. Drummond at *Aleppo*. —9th. We are now and then to entertain with coffee the man who provides us with camels, and the

* These are not much unlike our common cradles for children; a pair of them are hung on a camel's back in the same manner as panniers on horses in *England*.

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principal conductor of the *Caravan*.—10th. The most likely places for our baggage to be examined by the officers of the *Turkish* customs, are *Hilla* and *Baghdad*.—11th. In case the *Caravan* should unluckily be set out before we arrive at *Baghdad*, Mr. *Shaw* furnishes us with a letter to *Cojee Raphael* to desire him to apply to the *Pasba* for an escort; and lest that should fail, we are also promised a letter from the governor of *Bassora* to the *Pasba* on the same subject.—12th. When we shall arrive within two days journey of *Aleppo*, we are to send a letter to Mr. *Drummond* the *British* consul there, and acquaint him with the number of our party. This is customary, as he generally makes a point to meet his countrymen at some little distance from the city.—13th. *Francisco*, a servant hired at *Bassora*, and who speaks *French*, is to have fifty *Piasires* at *Aleppo*, and a suit of clothes, if he behaves well.—14th. *Vertan*, our second servant, is to have fifty *Piasires* at *Baghdad*, and a suit of clothes at *Aleppo*, provided he shall have deserved it: he is to have a camel's hire for his expences in returning to *Bassora*, but if Mr. *Barton's* son shall engage him, then the camel hire is not to be paid.

ACCOUNT of COINS.

	Marmoodas.	Fluce.
One Toman is	100	0
A <i>Persian</i> Rupee is	5	50
A <i>Venetian</i> Sequin is	28	0
A <i>Bombay</i> Rupee is	5	60
One Marmooda is	0	100
One Denim is	0	10
One Cruse <i>Bassora</i> is	4	50
One Cruse Rume is, of <i>Bassora</i> currency,	7	10
One <i>Piastre</i> is, — { of <i>Baghdad</i> ditto,	8	50
— { of <i>Aleppo</i> ditto,	6	0
One <i>Abassee</i> is	2	20
One <i>Nadercee</i> is	3	30
One <i>Fenduke</i> is, of <i>Bassora</i> currency,	27	0
One ditto is, of <i>Aleppo</i> currency,	22	50
One <i>Zirmaboob</i> is, of <i>Bassora</i> currency,	19	75
One ditto is, of <i>Baghdad</i> currency,	24	0

April 25. To-day we were chiefly employed in sending our baggage &c. on board, and in taking leave of the reverend missionaries, and several *European* merchants.

April 26. This afternoon, the *French* resident *Monf. Perdrin*, accompanied with the officers of the *Frigate*, came to take their leave of us, which obliged us to make them another visit, and with much difficulty we got ourselves excused from supping with them.

After

After breakfasting with the *French* resident at his country house, and taking leave of the *French* gentlemen, who were so complaisant as to attend us down to the water's edge, we went on board the yacht. About 8 o'clock, we began to track up the *Euphrates*, accompanied by Messrs. *Shaw* and *Purnel*, who were so polite as to insist on going a few miles with us. They left us about noon, after our exchanging mutual good wishes and compliments. *Monsi. Hemet* of *French* extraction, but for many years employed as interpreter to the *English* factory at *Ispahan*, and now ruined in his circumstances by the civil wars carried on in *Persia*, joined us at *Bassora*, on his way to *Baghdad*, where his family resided; and he proposed carrying them from thence to *Venice*, his wife's native place.

1758.

April 27.

We found it extremely pleasant on the river, and were so lucky as to have a brisk southerly wind. At six in the morning, we passed by the ruins of an old village; and a little afterwards saw a tomb on the *Arabian* shore. At seven, we were obliged to anchor, in order to wait for the coming up of our luggage-boat. At half past seven weighed again, and discovered a small *Arab* camp, in which were many sheep. The desert came up close to the river on the left-hand side. About ten, we passed by the tomb of *Meti Sabab Zemaun*, who we were told was the son of *Mahomet*. He had been dead 1170 years, and according to the tradition of the country, was to appear again in a very short time, when he would mount on the back of an untamed mule in the forest, ride over the face of the whole earth, and be its sovereign: the tomb stands on the *Arabian* shore. At twelve, we passed by another tomb on the same side, raised to the memory of *Aly Eben Hassein*, a nephew of *Aly* the renowned.

April 28.

Between five and six in the afternoon, we reached the village of *Corna* or *Quorne*; near which place resides the chief of the *Janizaries* of this province. *Corna* lies betwixt the two rivers *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. By the desire of our *Chocarda*, we saluted the *Sheick* of the place; three guns only were intended, but our *Lascar* gunner, willing to give more, primed the fourth, and fired it. At eight in the evening we left *Corna*. Had cloudy weather with lightning to the southward. At half past twelve at night, we were obliged to come to an anchor: the weather squally, the wind S. S. W. and a strong tide setting to the N. E. We sailed these last 24 hours, about 75 miles.

CORN A.

At two o'clock in the morning we made sail again, the weather becoming fair: at five handed the sails, and sent the *Trackers* on shore. The river is here about five hundred yards broad. Both shores are very pleasant, particularly that on our left, where is a great deal of ripe corn, which the people are now gathering in: on the other side large numbers of cattle are grazing. Geographers conjecture the country around here to have been the seat of the garden of *Eden*; for no other reason probably but because it is pleasant, and lies between the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. We observed a company of above 60

April 29.

Pelicans,

1758.

Pelicans, swimming majestically along the river; Mr. *Alms* fired a ball among them, of which they took but little notice: we were then going to discharge one of the small cannon loaded with flugs, but our *Chocarda* telling us it would be a sin, we desisted. At eight o'clock we passed by two *Arab* villages, and soon afterwards a large camp of *Arabs*. At twelve at noon, the latitude by observation was $31^{\circ} 00'$ north. At three we came to an anchor abreast of *Monfuret*, an *Arab* village, in order to change our *Trackers*.

Our *Chocarda* and we have not well agreed to day. We suspect that he intends to impose on us, starting difficulties only to make a merit of getting us out of them again. He wanted us to salute the *Sheick* of this village, which we would not comply with; this offended him, and he talks of taking himself on board the luggage-boat. We appear indifferent about it, as we know he will never leave the good wines and other liquors which he finds with us, and which he seems so much to like, merely for indulging a petulant humour. At six o'clock, finding our *Chocarda* had not succeeded in getting a new set of *Trackers*, we weighed and stood over to the village, where we found him in high dispute. The chief of the hamlet happening to be absent, an old man who called himself *Sheick* for the time present, offered to supply our officer with men, but insisted on being paid for them before-hand; on this head, the dispute arose. We thought it best to accommodate matters, by ordering the payment of the money, and eight *Marmoodas* were accordingly deposited: no sooner however was the money paid, than new difficulties arose from another, a younger person, who insisted that he was the chief, and not the man who had received the *Marmoodas*; and while our *Chocarda* was contesting it with this new pretender, the first endeavoured to make his escape. Our officer twice took hold of him, and at length, by violence forced him on board the yacht: on this, the young fellows of the village screamed out *Allah*, and multitudes ran towards the vessel, demanding the prisoner, who after some altercation was delivered up to them. In about three quarters of an hour after his enlargement, they brought down twelve *Trackers*, who seemed to come on board with great reluctance. Their chief, upon delivering them, had a bottle of spirits and one *Piastre* given him as a present, and he was to recover the *Marmoodas* from the other person in the best manner he could.

From this instance it plainly appears, what little regard is paid to the *Turks*, by these wild, unruly *Arabs*; for notwithstanding we had obtained an order from the governor of *Bassora* to the chiefs of the villages to supply us with twelve men from stage to stage, they trifled with us here for above two hours, and it was by mere dint of bribing that a fresh set of men could be had. I cannot but observe too upon this occasion, that no kind of payment ought to have been demanded from us; for as these *Trackers* have a certain sum allowed them from the *Turkish* government, whatever we paid them besides, was a mere imposition.

At eight in the evening we crossed the river with our new *Trackers*, having first filled their bellies with mutton and rice, in hopes of getting them into good humour. We sent six ashore first, agreeable to custom; they tracked about three quarters of an hour, when our luggage boat coming near with the *Chocardas*, the others that remained on board told us, that six would not be sufficient to draw the vessel at night, as the wind then blew fresh, and offered to go ashore and assist their companions. When they found that we would not consent to this proposal, they took an opportunity of jumping into the *Sandal*, and from her to the shore, and there joined their comrades: they all directly ran off, leaving us to take care of ourselves. On this we hauled into the middle of the stream, and anchored, got our guns loaded with grape-shot, and our small arms ready, to prevent being surprized by the *Arabs*, for from their late extraordinary behaviour we knew not what to think. At ten we called to Mr. *Hemet*, who with the *Chocardas*, slept in the luggage-boat; we proposed to him, as the wind was foul, to bear back again for *Corna*, and there take in men for the next stage. He seemed to think that it would be losing both time and way, and gave as his opinion that it would be more eligible to continue where we were, be upon our guard, and wait for a fair wind to carry us to the next town; adding, that the *Chocardas* was of opinion the men would return again in the morning. We asked whether he approved of our firing a musket over any boat that might approach us in the night? The *Chocardas* answered, "Yes, if you fire into the boat and kill any of them, I will be answerable for the consequences." We resolved however not to proceed to such extremities, unless we apprehended our lives to be in danger. No disturbance whatever happened during the remainder of the night. Sailed this day 34 miles.

About five this morning, our *Trackers* returned to us. They assured us, and April 30. we had reason to believe them, that they ran away by the sole direction of our *Chocardas*, but cannot get at the whole truth of the affair. We got under way immediately, as did our luggage-boat: we still see great numbers of cattle grazing on each side of the river, and also observed a boy crossing it on the backs of *Buffaloes*. He shifted himself from the back of one of these beasts, to another, with great dexterity, as often as he found it necessary for the order and better conducting of his herd. This extraordinary feat of activity, put me in mind of that passage in the fifteenth book of *Homer's Iliad*, where a man is represented as managing four horses at once, and leaping from the back of one to another at full speed*.

- * So when a horseman from the watry mead
(Skill'd in the manage of the bounding steed)
Drives four fair couriers, practis'd to obey,
To some great city thro' the public way;
Safe in his art, as side by side they run,
He shifts his seat, and vaults from one to one;
And now to this, and now to that he flies;
Admiring numbers follow with their eyes.

POPE.

Yesterday,

1758.

MOOCHAL-
BAN.

Yesterday, as well as to-day, we passed by several *Arab* towns, and some large tombs. We see from time to time ducks and paddy-birds: every morning the lark sings most delightfully. At noon our latitude by observation was $30^{\circ} 58'$ north. We have now no longer any tide of flood to help us, but a constant stream running down. At half after two in the afternoon, we passed by a *Turkish* galley, in which was the brother of *Aly Agá*, governor of *Hafsa*; this gentleman saluted us with one gun, which we returned under jack, ensign, and pendant: he seemed to have a large train of attendants with him. At three we came abreast of a village on the left-hand shore, called *Moochalban*; and soon afterwards saw ten or twelve wild hogs at a little distance from the river. Messieurs *Doidge* and *Pigot* went ashore in hopes of killing one, but they were disappointed by the hogs running into the rushes. On the right-hand side we saw also eight or ten turtle, which would not suffer us to come near them, but slipped away into the water. After eight o'clock this morning, no corn was to be seen on the right-hand side of the river; and since twelve, none on the left: the whole is pasture land. The oxen and buffaloes here are large, and all the sheep have broad flat tails, with spiral endings.

The *Trackers* of the yacht have worked briskly to-day, we encouraged them by good feeding; they had rice and *Gee* in the morning, and the remnants of our meat at dinner, which they greedily devoured, first tearing it in pieces like so many Jackalls. We pleased them much by telling them, that we would give them good pay, and pay them ourselves, and not leave the *Chocardas* to do it for us. At half past five this afternoon we made our little yacht fast to the bank, and waited for the *Sandal*, which was far astern. We then took a walk on the left-hand shore, and found the banks of the river very pleasant: that part of the land over which the water had lately flowed, is hoary, and incrustured with salt-petre. The *Arabs* cut sluices, and occasionally let in the water of the river; and to this is owing the verdure which extends for about a mile from its banks, and which terminates in the *Desert* *. We still saw cattle in great numbers. Mr. *Alms* shot a crow, whose body was all white, the feathers of the thighs, black and white, the greatest part of the wings black: these birds are said to live 300 years. Several *Pelicans* unconcernedly swam by us with the stream, and unmolested on our parts, for we begin to think it a pity to kill so fine, so unsuspicious, and stately a bird.

- While we lay here, a small dispute arose among our *Arabs*. A *Chocardas*, passing by in a small boat from *Baghdad* to *Bassora*, took upon him to exchange four of his *Trackers* for four of ours; the reason he assigned for it was, because by this means both sets would be at their homes the sooner,

* This practice of letting in the water of the river *Euphrates* to cultivate and enrich the adjacent country, is very ancient, being taken notice of by *Lucan* in the third book of his *Pharsalia*.

— Sed sparsus in agros
Fertilis Euphrates Phariæ vice fungitur undæ.

and

and he engaged that each should have the same pay as the other. This excuse however did not satisfy the remaining *Arabs*, who rose tumultuously, and insisted on our rescuing their companions. We were obliged therefore with arms to pursue the *Chocard's* boat; who immediately on discovering that we were *Frangees*, or *Franks*, that is *Europeans*, dismissed our people, took his own again, and proceeded on very quietly.

We took the opportunity of waiting for the coming up of the *Sandal*, to present our *Trackers* with two or three stinking *Sable-fish*. They instantly made a fire, and broiled them upon the coals: as soon as this was done, they separated themselves, and divided the fish into two distinct lots; each party appointed a director, and he, after having made the several portions as equal as possible, ordered every man to take his share. When they had eaten as much as they could, and drank plentifully of the water of the *Euphrates*, they all seated themselves on the ground in a circle, and joyously began to clap their hands and sing. Presently, one of them got up and danced for awhile, then desired the favour of us to lend him a drawn sword, and having obtained one, he danced again, and dextrously flourished it, whilst the others clapped and sung. A second now joined him, with another sword, and both together displayed their activity and address. The entertainment at length ended with a dance of six, which was not much unlike our *English* *hayes*. We appeared, as we really were, pleased with their mirth. When all was over, they drew nigh to us, kissed our sleeves, and asked for a *Buxie*, or present: we tendered them a dram, which they rejected with visible contempt; we then gave a *Rupée* among them, with which they were much pleased, and very thankful. We took this opportunity to hint to them, that as we were such good masters, and had given them so much victuals and money too, we expected that they would work well, and deserve our future favour, which they promised very readily.

A little before eight this evening, the luggage-boat joined us, and our *Chocard* and Mr. *Hemet* desired us, that for the next two or three days, we would keep nearer to them, because they looked upon this as the most dangerous part of the whole country; adding, that an hour or two before, they had been visited by about twenty armed *Arabs*, who tho' they made no hostile attempt, yet had a very suspicious appearance. On this intelligence we resolved that the luggage-boat should keep a head, and that we would follow her closely, keeping always a strict guard, with our swivel guns loaded, matches lighted, small arms at hand, and in order; a regular third watch was ordered also to be kept. Messieurs *Alms*, *Doidge*, and *Pye* were appointed commanding officers: Mr. *Pigot*, *Jenkins*, *M'Intosh*, and other servants, to watch; I am excused on account of my being indisposed. We understood from Mr. *Hemet*, who spake with the *Chocard* before-mentioned, passing from *Baghdad* to *Bassora*, that the *Caravan* would not set out from the first of these places for *Aleppo* 'till the tenth day of the *Ra-*

1758.

Monday,
May 1.
NAWASHEE.

mazan (with us the twentieth of *May*) so that we flatter ourselves we shall arrive at *Baghdad* in good time. We advanced about thirty five miles to-day. About 11 at night we passed by two rivers on the right.

At one this morning we got to a town on the left shore, called *Nawashee*. The officer of the watch hailed the *Sandal*, intending to desire the *Chocardu* to go ashore; but was answered, that he was asleep, and would not be disturbed till the morning: we had reason to think he was drunk. A little before four we sent our people on shore to track. We wanted two of the twelve men belonging to the yacht to go and assist in tracking the luggage-boat, whose slow motion greatly retarded our progress; but they would not comply, saying they were hired for our vessel only. About eight we came abreast of another large town on the left hand (its real name I have forgotten). Here so great a number of men and boys, and even women, were collected to look at us, that they became quite troublesome. Among them, we observed some of the men armed with swords; and as the wind and stream were both against us, and consequently could pass but slowly by, we thought it necessary to make as great a shew as possible of our arms, to prevent any insult; however, none was offered to us; on the contrary, some of the chief of the *Arab* inhabitants of the place, thinking we might be offended at such a concourse of people, who could easily have jumped into the vessel, took upon them to disperse the multitude. What seemed chiefly to attract the eyes of the *Arabs*, and surprize them most, was the form of the yacht, the manner of rigging her, and above all, the carved work of a horse's head on the stem, and the representation of human figures on the stern*.

The country hitherto has been so level; that our officers have not wanted an horizon, for their observations at noon with *Hadley's* quadrant. Corn fields are now not so frequently met with as formerly. The corn in general was ripe and much of it gathered in, but there was still some on the ground, green and young in the ear. We passed many villages on each side of the river, but the greatest number are on the left. All the houses are built of reeds, and covered with mats, and most of them are in the form of tilted waggons. The complexion of the *Arabs* in general is pale; children and such as do not work in the sun, are remarkably so, but the *Trackers* are of a deep copper colour, approaching nearly to black.

We had a farther trial of our patience this morning, having been greatly perplexed with additional demands from the *Trackers*, concerning provisions; they insisting that we should stop and buy some cakes, which they expect to be supplied with at least twice a day, besides their usual allowance of rice.

* These were extraordinary sights, as all such images are forbidden by the *Turks*, lest idolatry should sprout from them.

and

and *Ghee*. We had reason to suspect our drunken *Chocard* at the bottom of this disturbance, for notwithstanding his solemn looks and high sounding voice, and all that pompous grimace under the *Chocard* cap (which is at least a foot and an half in height) I observed him in the morning very familiar with our *Trackers*. While we were vexing ourselves at the unnecessary delay which this new demand of cakes had occasioned, he lay basking in the sun, upon the shore, and had many fellows about him, who *champooed*, or stretched his joints, picked from his head and the collar of the coat his vermin, and at the same time entertained him with one of their chorus songs. The fellow appeared much delighted, and in a very particular manner expressed his thanks, by putting his arm round the necks of the youngest, and kissing them: this mark of his gratitude however was rejected by some of the *Arabs*, who flung themselves from him, with a look of ineffable contempt. There was but little difference here, in the dress of the women and men, except that the first had no *Turbans*, but a sort of handkerchief, or veil, over their heads and faces. They had also rings in their ears and noses, and bracelets on their wrists; but their outer garment is like the men's, a *Camaline* of black and white, like those we ourselves now wear, and which we provided ourselves with at *Gombroon*, when we intended to go to *Bassora* in a *Trankey*, disguised as *Arabs*.

We passed several very stately tombs; but saw no other birds to-day but gulls. Now and then we observed a few date trees, but they have been rare since we got into the *Euphrates*.

We now begin to think that our *Chocard* is in reality, rather a hindrance than of use to us, and almost wish we had come without him, and resolve to treat him more cavalierly than heretofore, and not so implicitly to yield to his commands. The night before last we put on board the *Sandal*, a bottle of claret, and another of shrub for the use of Mr. *Hemet*, lest we should be separated from him again, as we were yesterday at dinner time. We are now told, that the *Turk*, though he had before taken a chearful glass with us, the very same evening drank a pint of the claret off at a draught, and finished the bottle the next morning. He makes it a rule to call for punch every quarter of an hour, besides drams at intervals. Coffee (the *Turks* common regale) he often refuses, and has forbidden its being gotten for him; he says, that he likes punch better, but prefers claret (of ten shillings a bottle) above all other liquors. We shall however mortify him in this particular, and for the future drink no wine at dinner, when he happens to be with us.

At four this afternoon, we passed a small river on the left-hand shore; as we had before several on the right; this we can trace with the eye above a mile into the *Desert*. Between seven and eight, we got to *Cota*, a village on the left side of the river, a few houses of which are built with stone,

1758.

which we did not observe before in any other village situated on the bank of this river; a mud-wall surrounds it. We saluted the chief with one gun.

At half past ten, we changed our *Trackers*. Those we now discharged, entertained us with a song at parting, and gave an excellent character of us to their successors; they went so far as to tell us, that should we not be able to get new men here, they would track us up to *Hilla*. We performed our promise to them, as to paying them their wages ourselves, and behaved very coldly to our *Chocardas*. On this account Mr. Hemet visited us, and earnestly recommended, that we should not carry matters to extremities with this man, expressing his fear that if we did, his villainy might prompt him to carry on intrigues with the *Arabs* to our prejudice; he proposed that, on the contrary, we should put twenty rupees into his hands, and desire that with them he would procure provisions for himself and servant, and purchase of the villagers what might be wanting for the *Trackers*: he was persuaded that the *Chocardas* would cheat us of our money, but that he looked on as the least of the evils we had to apprehend; but observed, if at our arrival at *Hafsa*, we should still have reason to be displeased, there would be the fittest place to dismiss and disgrace him, acquainting the governor *Aly Aga* of his behaviour. Sorely against our will, we acquiesced in the proposal, and at his request delivered into his hands for the *Chocardas*'s use a bottle of strong liquor, with which he got drunk before eleven o'clock the same night.—Advanced the last twenty-four hours, about thirty-two miles. Course was chiefly north-west.

May 2.

Yesterday we were greatly perplexed with flies, but now with *Muschetos*; the air during the night, was rather cold. At three this morning we passed a large lake on the left, and at four, another, with great difficulty to our *Trackers*; spoke then with a boat from *Baghdad*, *Hojashee* master, who told us he was dispatched by Mr. Garden with letters for Mr. Shaw at *Bassora*, and that we should be early enough for the *Caravan*. At six we anchored abreast of the village *Arsjia*; we saluted the *Sheick* with one gun, discharged our *Trackers* and got others.—At nine we weighed, and began to track again. Mr. Pye and myself, while we were off *Arsjia*, took a little walk on shore; that place, like almost all the other *Arab* villages we had yet seen, is chiefly composed of very pitiful reed and mat-houses, encompassed with a mud-wall and battlements, with a view to its being defended with lances, and matchlock musketry (the principal arms of the *Arabs*) against their rebel countrymen in the *Desert*, who are commonly called the wild *Arabs*. Almost all the *Arabs* who have not swords, carry in their hands a hooked stick about two feet long. They here wear their beards to a full length, trimming them to a point below the chin: the young people have their hair long on the forehead, but behind they are commonly shaved.

ARSJIA.

In our walk we saw six or eight loaded camels going into *Arjia*. We now lost sight of corn fields; the banks and country near the river, being covered with a strong scented thorny shrub, having a serrated leaf, smaller, but in make like that of the *Gum-Arabic*. Two or three pelicans went down the river, and about three in the afternoon, many partridges sprung from out of the shrubs. We were presented by a poor *Arab* with a mullet, weighing two pounds, which he struck with his spear; and last night we had some cucumbers and milk given to us; we returned thanks for each, in a *two-dish marmooda* piece.

We killed this afternoon, what we were told, was a venomous water-snake, two feet and a half in length, that had gotten up the vessel's rudder, and was making its way into the cabin. At five Messrs. *Alms* and *Pigot* went on shore with their fusils, in hopes of shooting partridges, which are here in great plenty; they saw many, but had no success, and returned with only three doves.

Most of the road to-day has been very difficult for our *Trackers*. Wind, current, and rippling waves against us. A boat passed us this afternoon, three days from *Hilla*, loaded with provisions. We now hear every night a hideous howling of *Jackalls*, and our *Trackers* are very fearful of meeting with lyons. At noon our latitude by observation was $31^{\circ} 4'$ north, which being but six miles more than we made on *Sunday* last, shews that our course has been chiefly west. Got this day thirty-four miles.

We passed this last night very disagreeably. Our rascal of a *Chocard* was the occasion; without assigning the least reason for it, he about eight in the evening, put the luggage-boat on shore, and insisted that we should do the same with the yacht; but his words had no influence on us; on the contrary we got at a proper distance into the stream, where we could both see, and oppose an enemy. This fellow, who was either much frightened himself, or willing to frighten us, expatiated largely on the danger we were now in from the wild *Arabs*, and urged the necessity of our keeping close to him: the very reasons he assigned for our doing it, induced us to get farther from the shore, whose bank in this place, was much higher than our vessel, and almost hung over our heads. We learned afterwards from Mr. *Hemet* (who was so unhappy as to be with him all night) that upon our getting into the stream, he grew enraged, whispered the *Trackers*, and gave them their cue to alarm us: they hailed us from the shore, and told us, if we did not immediately draw nigh to them, they would run away. We made no reply, nor any change in our conduct. Soon after, they set up a hideous noise, sometimes in the howl of the *Jackall*, sometimes like a dog, and every now and then called to us in a threatening manner. Our *Chocard* finding that all his schemes had no manner of effect upon us, ordered his *Arabs* to dance and sing around their fire; and for the whole of their obedient behaviour,

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he distributed among them two *Abassees*, telling them they were good boys, and that he expected the same submission to his future commands, as they had shewn that evening. He dropt also some threatening expressions to Mr. *Hemet*, as "*that having refused to obey his directions, we should perish.*" He loaded his musket and pistol, and at half past eight, fired the first, and at ten the last, both with ball, pointed towards us, but not so directly, as if designed to hit us. Mr. *Hemet* observed, that soon after he whispered again to the *Arabs*, when seven or eight of them left the vessel and got ashore; presently they returned on board in a disorderly haste, and so disfigured, as greatly to alarm him: the villains view, no doubt, was so far to intimidate Mr. *Hemet*, that we through him might be prevailed upon to submit ourselves implicitly to his orders. The good old man indeed did hail us several times, and told us, the scoundrel's conduct was such, that he really was in fear of his life, and that he could not help suspecting, he was meditating some mischievous design against us. About a quarter after ten he once more got under sail, passed to the other side of the river and began to track: we did the same. At one in the morning, he laid the luggage-boat ashore again, for no reason that we could think of, unless to give us a fresh proof of his insolence and endeavour for the mastery. We determined with one consent to pursue our plan, and by no means to submit ourselves to his folly and obstinacy. We formed among ourselves various schemes for punishing him for his insolence; but on this head came to no final determination, having heard too much of the revengeful ways of these people, to resolve precipitately. However, as we carry a letter of recommendation from Mr. *Shaw* to *Aly Aga*, governor of *Hafsa*; we shall talk to him, on the *Chocardas*'s behaviour, and probably prevail on him to hinder his going any farther with us.

GRAYHIM.

At nine this morning we passed by a large river on the right hand; which communicates with the *Tygris*, and has a large place standing near it called *Grayhim*. The weather cloudy; wind N. N. E. and blew fresh, so that our *Trackers* had very hard work. At three in the afternoon, the *Sandal* stopped, and the *Chocardas*'s *Arabs* were very active in securing our vessel to a stake, near his. We called out in a peremptory tone to cast off our rope immediately; they obeyed us, and we anchored off in the stream, so as to command either shore. We had presently an alarm from the *Chocardas*, of *Arabs* being near us; but not discovering any from our poop, or mast-head, we were very tranquil. In the space of half an hour, the luggage-boat tracked again; we did the same, and soon joined her; then our *Chocardas* hailed us in a more complaisant manner than of late, and told us to be under no alarm, that nothing should hurt us; we gave him for answer, that we were perfectly easy in respect to all the world, but himself; that we were prepared to resist a thousand *Arabs* or more; but that our peace had been somewhat disturbed by his irregular conduct: we assured him that we would be our own masters, and, if we thought fit to go ahead, to be astern, near the shore, or in the middle of the stream, we should guide ourselves in conformity to our

own opinion, whether it should please or displease him; that therefore, if he chose to be on good terms with us, it was necessary he should reconcile himself to our resolution. He made a civil reply, and came into our yacht. We recapitulated the particulars of his ill behaviour, and plainly told him, that a continuance of it, could not end to his advantage, either in respect to his master at *Bassora*, the *Basha* of *Baghdad* or ourselves. He now laid aside his haughtiness, and said, he was sorry for what had passed, and promised a better look-out for the future. We finished our lecture by advising him to drink coffee and water *only*; gave him a dish of the first, and resolved he should have from us nothing else.

No villages, corn fields or pasture land; nothing but wild shrubs on the banks of the river, and the *Desert* is at a quarter of a mile distance. Numbers of partridges and pigeons still. We this day were very busy in making bounces to give a grand salute to *Aly Aga*; and, as they may be useful to us against an enemy in the room of hand-grenades, we proposed to prepare a number of them, loaded with slugs of lead and iron.

At eight at night we anchored; at eleven weighed; at a quarter past eleven dropped anchor again, the *Chocarda* calling to us, that our men were run away, which was both false and improbable, being so far from their home, and having had no wages; they had laid themselves down on the shore, being weary and in want of rest, after wading through much deep water. The weather from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, was too warm to be pleasant, yet not so hot as to give *East Indians* great reason to complain. Twelve at night, wind N. W. by N. and cold. Messrs. *Doidge* and *Alms*, who slept on the poop during the first watch, were glad to get into the cabin in the middle and morning watches, on account of the cold; the sharpness of the night air made me cough terribly, but this night being tolerably well, I began to watch. The *Pelicans*, which on rising from the water make a great noise with flapping of their wings, before we were accustomed to them, gave our watchmen some little alarm.

We got about twenty miles to-day. There was no horizon for an observation at noon.—The boats which the *Arabs* use hereabouts differ from those I described at *Bassora* only in the shape; they are made like our *London* wherries, and are paddled on by two men, but if large, by four.

At five in the morning our *Trackers* arose from their sleep, and began to track. Wind W. N. W. The river very crooked. At two in the afternoon, we had passed by several small islands. At three we made our vessels fast to the shore, the *Sandal* being behind; at a quarter past four we began to track again.

Last night our *Chocarda* supped with us, and thereby deprived us, for awhile, of our bottle of claret. To-day he dined with us, and made us undergo

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undergo the same self-denial. He courted us very much, but we gave him to understand, that works and not words display the man: this observation silenced him, and we have no more repetitions of his being our devoted servant. We desired Mr. *Hemet* (whom we had now taken on board the yacht) to beg the *Chocardia* to hasten on board the *Sandal*; and to tell him also, that as we had lost so much time in the night, we ought not to lose any in the day. He was not well pleased, and told Mr. *Hemet* in a vulgar phrase of the *Turks* "That he (*Hemet*) had eaten T—d, and to him, all the disturbances and misunderstandings, had been owing."

The road for our *Trackers*, is here in general very bad; they are obliged to work much in the water. The country about us, such as we passed yesterday. Great quantity of partridges and doves, are yet to be seen. The edges of the river abound in sedge, the cypress-tree, a dry plant full of a thorny seed-vessel, and the caper shrub. The *Muschetos* are innumerable; their strings and hummings are intolerable to us in the night, while the flies are extremely troublesome in the day.

At six this evening, we passed by an island; and at eight we anchored in the stream: the *Sandal* was made fast to the shore. We gained but twenty-two miles to-day. No horizon for observation.

May 5.

At five in the morning weighed, and began to track. At nine passed two small boats, one going down the river, the other up; this last had five men with three matchlocks; they looked suspicious, and our *Chocardia* assured us they were rogues; but our *Knockaty* or pilot, told us he knew them, and that the chief of the boat lived in the next village; that he had come thus far as an escort to the other boat, and now offered his service to us. We thought this the most probable story of the two, yet kept a good lookout all the following night. At ten we anchored, our *Trackers* having left the rope; at eleven, weighed and tracked again: some rain fell, but in no great quantity; it thundered and lightened, as it did yesterday.—At half past two, took the *Trackers* on board, and made sail with a fine and fair breeze. By four we passed by an old ruined fort, and three rivers on the right, one of which we were told was a branch of the *Tygris*. At half past five, sent ashore the *Trackers*. At half past ten we anchored to wait for the *Sandal*.

Had it not been for the vexation, proceeding from the *Muschetos*, this evening had passed very pleasantly. On both sides of the river are the willow, and poplar trees; a number of birds roost in them, which we disturbed in our passage; the pidgeon, turtle, and variety of singing birds are here in great abundance. During the whole night one of the songsters chaunts the notes of the thrush and nightingale. Large flocks of *Pelicans*, many ducks, partridges, king's-fishers and swallows, are around us.

I observed

I observed the river this evening, to be full of fish; many of them jumped out of the water, and were two feet long. We made thirty-nine miles to-day. No observation.

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At four this morning weighed, and tacked. At five, fair weather and a pleasant breeze. Some date-trees appear and a little corn. Passed an old fort on the left, and at half past eight we anchored abreast of *Semava*.

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C H A P. II.

Occurrences on the river Euphrates from Semava to Lembloon, and Dewana or Hafca; genteel reception from the Governor there. — Passage to Hilla; polite behaviour of the Governor of Hilla. — Account of the Gereed, a war-like Turkish exercise. — Arrival at Baghdad.

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SEMAVA.

SEMAVA is a walled town, but the houses are all built of mud. The place is governed by a *Sheick*, called *Ismael*, (subordinate to *Aly Aga*) a very artful, complaisant old gentleman. He came on board of us in a small boat a little before we reached the town, and told us, that "having had advice of our coming by a boat which passed us yesterday, he had gotten all things in readiness for our reception, as twenty *Trackers*, and provisions for them in plenty; and that he came in person to assure us, he was wholly devoted to our service." He apologized much for his *Dishabille*, and neglect in shaving his head and trimming his beard, which he said was owing to his being in mourning for two near relations. He had a great facility of speech, and his compliments were truly hyperbolical. He repeated often "how much he was our servant. Sick and weak as he found himself, yet he was ready to take his heart from his breast to do us good: his arms, his eyes, his head, the whole which he possessed, were all at our command." He soon added with a melancholy sigh, that "he had for some time past been indisposed, much owing to worldly difficulties; and at present was called on by the government for *thirty* purses of money; but that he could, as yet, raise only five;" and not long after, we were given to understand, that whatever present we were willing to make him, he was ready to accept with thankfulness.

Flower, rice, and *Ghee* were brought on board for our new *Trackers*; cucumbers, milk, and two lambs for ourselves. We saluted the *Sheick* with one gun, entertained him, his secretary, and a little slave boy who stood by him, first with coffee and then with sugar by way of sweet-meat; but left it to Mr. *Hemet* and the *Chocardas*, to recompense him for his presents and trouble. They gave him twenty-five *Abassees*; and the old gentleman appearing not satisfied,

satisfied, the *Chocardā*, passionately, offered his hand to receive the money back, and the *Sheick* as hastily returned it: thus things stood for a little time; at length the old fox took back the money, and delivered it to his secretary; his little slave kissed our hand, and the master recommending him to our favour, we presented him with an *Abassee*. At half past eleven, the *Sheick* left us, *sanseceremonie*, by which we concluded that he made less of us than he expected.

We bought here one frail or basket of *Dates* as an addition to the *Trackers* food, and a few leeks, being all the provisions we could purchase in the market.

At two in the afternoon, we passed a river going from the N. E.; at half past three, got into a perfect level, which made all the country around appear like one watered marsh. This overflowing of the river we were told is not common so soon in the year*. We concluded there must have been great rains, or extraordinary meltings of snow on the mountains; and we please ourselves with the hopes that the wells of water in the *Desert*, will likewise be plentifully supplied. At a quarter after six, we stopped for the other boat, and were then abreast of two large *Arab* camps, in the wildest and most dreary country I ever beheld. Most of us took a short walk on shore; but not beyond the protection of our little frigate. At seven we tracked again, and at eight were obliged to come to an anchor, it being very dark, and the proper channel difficult to find, by reason of the river overflowing its banks for a long way into the *Desert*. We continued to keep a good look-out, both night and day; and like watchful centinels called to each other, "*All is well.*"

Our *Chocardā* now altered his conduct much for the better, often telling us, "he is our servant, and our's only, and that he likes us so well, he shall be ready to accompany us to *Aleppo*;" we have not returned the compliment, but continue to treat him though civilly, yet at some distance. Our present *Arab Trackers*, like all their brethren of our acquaintance, already begin to grumble, notwithstanding they have had an addition to their common food by our giving them the preserved *Date* fruit, which these people are at all times very fond of, but more so now, as there is, and has been for some time past, a very great demand for *Dates* from *Baghdad*, *Mosul*, and *Diarbekir*, a dreadful famine having raged in the two last cities. *Baghdad* itself was alarmed, and twelve thousand *Persians* now residing there, received orders to quit the place, before the scarcity should actually reach it. This order however was not carried into

*In the beginning of the summer, on the sun's melting the snow upon the mountains of *Armenia*, there is a vast increase of waters, which running into the *Euphrates* in the months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, makes it overflow its banks, and occasions such another inundation as the *Nile* does in *Egypt*. Rollin's *Ancient History*, vol. 2d.

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execution, and it is generally believed never will; owing as much to a proper application of some purses given to the *Basba* and his ministers, as to the present appearance of a plentiful crop of grain. A present of buffalo steakes were sent to us to-day, which we had for dinner, and relished them very well; and in the evening we had a present of milk, for which we always pay dear by a pecuniary return.

It being *Saturday* night, according to our old sea custom, we allowed ourselves an extraordinary bottle, devoting it to the remembrance of our wives, sweethearts, parents, families and friends. The *Muschetos* are less troublesome than of late, owing to our having no bushes about us. We advanced this day twenty-three miles. Had no observation.

May 7.

This is the first day of the new moon, and the beginning of the great fast, *Ramazan*. It continues till the sixth of *June*. This fast begins every year ten days sooner than in the former year. At three quarters after four this morning, we began to track, wind at S. E.; and we soon got into a very delightful meadow country, pretty well inhabited by *Arabs*, and their herds, and watered plentifully by the river: this green and watery prospect extends as far as the eye can reach. On our right, the rising ground is cultivated in some spots, producing radishes, &c. Here are the white and brown *Paddy* birds, so common in the *East Indies*, called by that name, because they chiefly feed in the *Paddy* or rice fields. We saw also the painted diver, and black and white crow.

In the middle and morning watches the air was somewhat cold; the atmosphere continued perfectly dry till last night, when we felt it damp. This morning at five o'clock, we saw our *Chocard* leave the *Sandal*, and go down the river in a little boat we hired at *Semava*; a message soon after came from him, that four of the *Trackers* had deserted, and he was gone back to *Semava* after them, but desiring us to go on, and he would follow. We saw a galley astern coming up the river. At seven, we passed a boat five days from *Hilla*; we understood from her people, that the *Caravan* set out from *Baghdad* five days before we sailed from *Bassora*; we are unwilling to believe such bad news. About ten we passed another boat carrying a *Janizary* down the river, who gave us intelligence of one *Coffee-Simon*, an *Armenian* merchant, having been robbed and wounded in the river about three weeks ago; that he was still with *Aly Aga*, but the governor had not been able, as yet, to recover a box of pearls valued at twenty thousand rupees, which had been taken from him.

Aly Aga commands all the country between *Hilla* and the district of *Bassora*. The head of the *Sheicks*, under his command, has been ordered to make a particular enquiry and search for the *Armenian's* effects. This *Sheick*, whose name is *Mahomed el Haamet*, and whose tents we passed last night, we were told, pays annually to the government of *Baghdad*, for the rents of
this

this country, five hundred purses of silver, each purse containing five hundred rupees, or twenty-five toman; and he is in a great measure, accountable for the conduct of his *Tribes*. The *Armenian* was passing up the river in a defenceless condition, at the time he was robbed, and it is said, his extraordinary care of his box, occasioned its being discovered; and that his wounds were owing to the resistance he made in parting with such valuable effects. We passed to-day four or five *Arabs* with lances; these we apprehend are some of the *Banditti* who infest the banks of this great river, and strike so much dread into the minds of travellers. A single person, or a company of travellers unarmed, might (and I believe would) be in great danger from them; but we have nothing to apprehend, provided we keep a good look-out.

Our *Trackers* work much in the water, and are incessantly murmuring for more provision than we can afford them. At *Bassora* we laid in so much rice and *Ghee*, as by the *Turks* about Mr. *Shaw*, was thought an ample store to carry us to *Hilla*, but that has been a long time since expended, and more has been added from every place we have touched at, where there was a possibility of purchasing; yet we are always in want. At *Semava*, a stock was put on board by the *Sheick* for twenty men, to which we added a frail of dates, weighing one hundred pounds; these are now greatly exhausted, and we are apprehensive of being in want. The truth is, these poor tracking fellows come to us half starved, they work hard, and can eat five times as much as they usually get at home, or are allowed, when they serve a *Turk*, or one of their own countrymen; but, whilst they are in the service of an *European*, of whose riches they entertain a most extravagant idea, they are ever discontented with a common portion, and even with a double allowance, and in spite of all his humanity and care, will grumble and give him disturbance: all travellers therefore who come this way, should be careful to lay in a very plentiful stock of provisions at their first setting out from *Bassora*; as they will find it a very difficult task to get any quantity afterwards. On the observing or neglecting of this particular, their future ease or disquietude will in great measure depend. It is not possible to conceive, much less to describe, the horrid noise and disturbance, that is made by these *Arabian* male-contents upon such occasions: a stranger to their language and customs, could not but have his doubts, whether they were not about to seize him by the collar, and cut his throat. Their guttural language, fierce and ghastly looks, and threatening gestures, added to the natural wildness of the country, must needs fill him with constant apprehensions of violence, and therefore cannot fail of making his whole passage painful and displeasing to a great degree.

About two in the afternoon, a boat went by us from *Baghdad*, by which we learned the *Caravan* was not gone. Soon afterwards a *Turkish* galley also passed us with some people of consequence; they saluted us with one gun, which

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we returned. We have no prospect now but of thick sedge on each side of the river, which is here about 120 feet wide. At four, got a little out of the rushy into a more open and pasture country: here we stopped for our boat. Several *Arab* encampments are in sight, pitched on the small rising spots, which are scattered here and there about this overflown, and flat country. The present *Arabs* are, like their forefathers, a moveable people; they travel east, west, north and south, and pitch their tents, or rush houses, as the soil best serves for feeding their cattle, of which they seem to have great plenty. While here, we were visited by one of their *Sheicks* accompanied by three or four men better dressed than common; we shewed them our arms, and gratified the *Sheick* with five or six charges of gunpowder, for his match-lock pistol, and afterwards added a little snuff. Here we undressed and swam in the *Euphrates*. The same sort of birds were seen by us to-day as yesterday. This day has been much overcast, and hot, with thunder and lightening.

We were again terribly perplexed with *Muscbetos* this evening, but were relieved about twelve o'clock by a fresh gale: the *Turbans*, which we all wear, are the best defence for our heads against the sun; and our whiskers, that have been growing ever since we left *Bombay*, secure the upper lip from the vexatious sting of these insects. We made seventeen miles to-day. By observation at noon we were in the latitude of $31^{\circ} 24'$ north.

Monday,
May 8.

At one o'clock in the morning, cloudy weather, with thunder, lightning and an appearance of rain falling to the northward. At half after one a musket was fired from our yacht towards a small boat, which, from its suspicious conduct, our people believed to be a thief. At two the *Chocardas* returned from *Semava* with the four deserters. At three, the wind changed from the south, to the north, and for a little time, blew very fresh: every now and then we heard the report of a musket a little astern of us, and upon our left hand. At half past four, we began to track, as did the luggage-boat with the *Chocardas*. About six, Messieurs *Alms* and *Pigot* saw two wild hogs not far from our *Trackers*; they fired four muskets with balls, but the hogs escaped among the rushes. At seven, passed on the right, a plantation of cotton trees, in a very fertile soil, and more raised from the river, than any we have lately observed. At nine got again into an overflown meadow-country, with encampments of *Arabs*, their families, and cattle. Birds we saw as last mentioned, and some turtle; the insect we call Ladycow every now and then is among us, also flies, moths, and horse-flingers; the sparrow is also to be found here, and in every other place that I have visited in *Asia*.

The greatest part of this day we tracked thro' water, choaked up with sedge, most of it breast high; the bottom, in some places, was out of a man's depth. At six in the evening, we reached the side of a little island, and not far from it was an *Arab* camp; we waited there for our luggage-boat,

boat, which did not get up to us, till nine o'clock. At seven, whilst at anchor, a *Turkish* galley passed us, having the *Pasha Gange Mahomed Aga* on board; a general, commanding thirty thousand troops: he had been down the *Euphrates*, directing at what places the river should be let in, and where stopped. We hailed him, and some compliments passed; he told us he should haul a little ahead, and lye by for the night; we answered that we would do the same. After he had just passed us, we saluted him with one gun, which he returned.

On this little island Messieurs *Alms*, *Pigot*, myself and two servants went ashore with our guns, and had good diversion, shooting at *Jackals*; they were the most hairy ones I ever saw, and which like spaniels took immediately to the water. We found several of their holes, fired into one where we suspected a *Jackal* had kenneled, and made a fire before it, but without success. We aimed several shot at an animal we took for the otter; it lay on the bank near the water, but slipped in, and swam from us, often diving, and when up, turning its head every now and then towards us, giving a melancholy yell: we found its dung as large as that of a dog, it consisted of the shells of crabs, with which the banks of the *Euphrates* abound, as also turtle egg shells, and the skins of many kind of insects. We killed divers birds. By our *Chocardas*, we were told, that the dogs of an *Arab* camp behind us, had killed a large wild hog, which had been before wounded, probably by Messieurs *Alms* and *Pigot*. This afternoon Mr. *Alms* killed with a single ball, at the distance of about two hundred and fifty yards, a beautiful pheasant-coloured curlew; there were more in company.

This has been a windy fatiguing day for our *Trackers*; the middle part not very hot, the evening cold. The *Muschetos* about this island put us to insufferable pain, but we got rid of these tormentors in the night, as we reached to windward of the island. This afternoon we passed the very spot, where *Cojee-Simon*, the *Armenian*, was lately robbed; near to a place called *Monzaradub*. We saw here a great number of Pelicans. Got nineteen miles. Latitude by Messieurs *Doidge* and *Alms's* observations $31^{\circ} 33'$ north.

The last night was very cold, and this morning the wind is high, foul and bleak. Our *Trackers* state is such, as calls aloud for pity, and plenty of food: they have worked seven hours in the sedge and water, breast high; and at eleven o'clock in the morning no prospect of a change for the better. Saw two otters on a little dry bank, and some turtle. We got this morning three quarts of fine rich milk, and wanted to purchase a calf, but the *Arabs* would not sell it, nor have we been able to buy one since entering the river; not owing, as in *India*, to a religious scruple, but because it would be a lessening of the herd, on whose number the importance of the *Sheick* entirely depends. Our *Chocardas*, this cold morning, greatly

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greatly exerted himself, by encouraging, punishing, and by his own example shewing the *Trackers* how they ought to work; he even stripped, and threw himself into the water, swam to the rope, and assisted for a little while in the tracking. What a strange alteration in the conduct of this man!

LEMBLOON.

About noon we drew near to a high spot of ground, and passed a tomb on the right, raised to the memory of *Haleh Hossein*. Upon this rising ground, is a large town built of mats called *Lembloon*; it is on the left side of the river, opposite to which, on the right, is another tomb or monument raised to *Imaum Kzaai*. The river here is about three hundred feet broad. We sent our servant to the village to buy provisions; during his absence, the *Turkish* galley passed us, which had been to-day behind us, and less expeditious than ourselves. At four our *Sandal* went by likewise, and then our man returned with some rice and *Ghee*, and a bull-calf, which with great difficulty he had bought for us; they would by no means part with the female.

Since we left *Bassora*, we have always had cool water in plenty, owing to its preservation in the earthen jars, which we there provided ourselves with. The water is not perfectly clean, nor is it very foul; we fine it in the jars with a little alum, otherwise it would be very muddy. Upon the whole, at present we make no complaint of our water, but often declare, that if the wells of the *Desert* are as propitious to us, as the *Euphrates* is now, we shall think ourselves fortunate in this important article.

The fatigue of the morning occasioned one of our *Trackers* to run away; another of them is sick, and two more are, or pretend to be so. With pain, I observed this forenoon, that one of the *Trackers* to the *Turkish* galley from excessive weariness gave over work, and made towards the vessel, endeavouring to get into her; he seemed to be almost exhausted, and cried out for admittance, but instead of being suffered to enter the galley, he was severely beaten with a large stick by one of the officers, and the poor creature was obliged to quit his hold, and to swim the river; he made for the sedge on the left-hand side, into which he threw himself, and lay groaning as we passed by: it was debated whether we ought to take him in, but 'twas concluded, that this might give offence to the *Basha*, and especially as the man was not far now from an *Arabian* camp. Soon after we had passed him, he crept ashore, and made towards the encampment.

Our people fed well to-day; for to their rice and *Ghee*, we added the offals of the calf. How different the customs of these *Arabs*, from the *Gentoos* in *India*! none of the latter will eat of the most delicate food, even if but another *Gentoo*, unless of his own *Cast*, has touched it: the former are

so free of scruple, that they will feed on the guts and skins of beasts, and eat every scrap left on our plates.

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At nine at night we anchored in the stream, waiting for the *Sandal*, which joined us a little before eleven; presently, the *Chocardda* gave an alarm by firing his musket towards the shore, and calling out, that "rogues were very near us in boats." Our servant *Vertan* instantly fired another from the yacht, which obliged us all to arm and run to the deck. We demanded from the *Sandal*, the real cause of this manœuvre; were answered, that four or five boats had been near us, and though hailed, would make no answer. Mr. *Pye*, who had the watch, saw one small boat pass with two or three men, but no more; and was displeased at the servant's following the *Chocardda's* example, as there was not the least occasion for the disturbance: by the discharge of the muskets, a village also was alarmed, which by the voices of men and women, the cry of children, and barking of dogs, we discovered to be very near. Soon after, there was a profound silence on board the luggage-boat, by which we judged that the *Chocardda* raised the alarm, with the view only to make us keep a good look-out, while he took a sound sleep. The *Turkish* galley was at this time about a quarter of a mile ahead, at anchor also in the stream.

Since we passed *Lembloon*, we have been again amidst a low, wet country; the sides of the river full of sedge, and very distressing to our *Trackers*. The otters here are about the size of a cat. We saw but few birds to-day. A small water-lily grows among the flags all up this river.

At twelve at night, the air was warmer than usual, and damp. By observation the latitude is $31^{\circ} 40'$ north. We advanced only 12 miles this day.

In Mr. *Alms's* watch this morning, between the hours of two and five, some little noise was heard on board the *Sandal*, and our people understood, that a man had jumped from her into the water, and swam to the shore: about seven o'clock, we received a message from the *Chocardda*, desiring we would stop a little, for he wanted to speak to us on an affair of consequence: when he came, he told us, with a melancholy countenance, that, early in the morning he had been robbed of fifty *Venetian* Zechins and his outer vest; that the thief had swam from the shore, stolen into the vessel, gotten to the place where he slept, and taken the money from his trousers pocket, and his coat by his side. We sarcastically looked surprized, rallied, and told him his sleeping was unlike an officer; that none of us (which was the truth) had taken our clothes off since we had been on the passage; and then expressed our fears about the safety of our own affairs under his protection. He would fain have persuaded us to have given full credit to the story; and to acquit himself of negligence, he laid the whole blame on the drowsiness of a relation of his in the same vessel, in whose watchfulness he said he had

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placed great confidence, and brought him on that very account. We smiled, and appeared so incredulous on the occasion, that contrary to his late ceremonious deportment, he left our vessel without taking leave.

We began tracking this morning a little before five, and presently after a boat went down the river, three days from *Hilla*, which told us that the *Caravan* was not yet gone. The land here is on the drain, it having been overflowed: in sight were many comfortless huts, some placed on the very water, but almost all on exceeding damp ground, drained by a surrounding ditch of a foot and a half deep, dug within four or five feet of the hut itself. Such miserable places of abode, as we have passed in great abundance of late, I never before beheld; in each, which consists of one apartment only, are contained the man, wife or wives, children, dog, and now and then two or three fowls. One *Buffalo*-cow always belongs to this wretched spot, which every morning and evening is driven home to give sustenance to the family. In these hovels, you see sometimes a sword, but always a lance of about nine feet in length, of the same kind, but not near so handsome, as those at *Madagascar*; and from them, I imagine, issue out the petty robbers of this part of *Arabia*.

About four this afternoon we had on both sides, a fine level pasture country, well inhabited with *Buffalos*, oxen, cows and sheep; the latter we have not remarked in plenty for some days past. Saw however a great quantity of Pelicans, and other birds. The river here, is narrow, deep, rapid, and very muddy: the two last owing to the land on our right being on the drain, and the water falling with some velocity from a hanging level; the land to the left is rather lower than the river, but the water is prevented from overflowing, by a bank which has been thrown up by art, and constantly kept in repair.

We were frequently near the *Turkish* galley to-day, but could not get a sight of the *Basha*, he being in bed the whole or greatest part of the day, and has been so ever since the commencement of the *Ramazan*; such we are told is the usage of the *Mahometans* in this long fast of one moon: they suffer no food or drink to enter their lips during the whole day, but, it is said, most of them feed heartily in the night. They are glad to spend that time in sleep, which otherwise would be very tedious to them, and perhaps imagine that by this means they shall be less liable to those solicitations of nature, which their religion teaches them, at this season, entirely to relinquish*.

Our

* *Ramazan*, or *Ramadan*; a solemn season of fasting among the *Mahometans*, kept in the ninth month of the *Arabic* year. This fast consists in abtaining from meat and drink, and from lying with their wives each day, from the rising of the sun 'till the stars appear; and is of such strict obligation, that none are excused from it; for the sick, and all others who cannot observe it in this month, are obliged to fast another entire month instead of it. So superstitious are the *Mahometans* in the observance of this *Lent*, that they dare not wash their mouths,

or.

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Our *Chocardas* however is not of this scrupulous turn; the quantity of spirits and wine he daily drinks, too abundantly declares it. He was so much off his guard yesterday as to say, that he would eat even pork or bacon with us; and yet this fellow, when in a passion, is always sure to brand his *Trackers* with the infamous appellation of *Pork-Eaters*.

At seven o'clock in the evening, we drew near to *Dewana*, the capital of the government of *Hasca*, where resides *Aly Aga*; his power commences at *Hasca*, *Corna* (which ends that of the governor of *Bassora*) and extends up the river, as far as *Hilla*. The river grows much broader now, and a little higher up, it appeared to be at least a mile over. At eight, passed a large river to the left hand. All the country about us is neatly cultivated for pasturage, the river being with great care and judgment admitted, or shut out, agreeable to the necessity of the herdsman.

At a little after twelve at night, we anchored at a small distance from *Dewana*, commonly called (as is the province) *Hasca*. We got twenty-five miles to-day. At noon the latitude by observation was $31^{\circ} 48'$ north.

At sun rise, which was a quarter past five, we saluted the governor with six guns and eight bounces; and agreeable to Mr. *Shaw's* direction, sent ashore his letter, and our compliments by Mr. *Hemet*, the *Chocardas*, and one of our *European* servants. In a little time we learnt, that the governor could not be spoken with till five o'clock in the evening, upon account of the *Ramazan*.

May 11.

Coffee Pagoose, an *Armenian* merchant of *Bassora*, at present residing here, to whom Mr. *Shaw* wrote a letter in our favour, came on board of us early in the morning, to bid us welcome, and to offer his best services with the governor. He told us, he was confident *Aly Aga* would give us an honourable reception, but that on account of the *Fest* it would be impossible for any person to get access to him before five in the evening; that he would put Mr. *Shaw's* letter into the hands of one of the governor's attendants, who on his master's coming out of his room, would be sure to deliver it. He added, that soon after five, he believed we might be supplied with *Trackers* and necessaries in order for our departure, provided we could not be induced to tarry longer; but that he himself should be happy could he prevail on us to stay a little while, and receive the civilities the governor would be ready to shew to *Englishmen*. As he verily

or even swallow their spittle. The men are, indeed, allowed to bathe themselves, on condition they do not plunge the head under water, lest some drops enter by the mouth or ears, &c. But as for the women they are strictly forbidden to bathe, &c. However, they frequently feast all night. The *Mahometans* call this month holy, and believe that as long as it lasts, the gates of *Paradise* are open, and those of *Hell* shut.

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believed the *Caravan* would not depart from *Baghdad* before the fifteenth of the *Moon*, we resolved to wait, and it was agreed upon between *Cojee Pagoose* and us, that at sun-set, the time *Aly Aga* was to appear on his *Terrace*, we would, on the signal of the merchant's waving his hand that the *Aga* was there, salute him from our little yacht, which we accordingly did, repeating the salute of the morning.

The governor and his numerous attendants, appeared on the house-top, a little before the setting of the sun; and when it was gotten to the horizon, I observed that he and all his train, prostrated themselves in prayer. Soon after they had ended, a message came from *Aly Aga*, congratulating us upon our safe arrival at *Hafsa*, with assurances of his doing all in his power to forward our passage up the river; and excuses for having, on account of the strict laws of the *Faſt*, kept us so long without his paying his compliments: concluding with an invitation, to drink coffee with him in the evening. To all this having made our proper acknowledgements, the messenger added, that the governor would be obliged to deprive himself of the pleasure of our company till late in the evening; the reason assigned was, because he intended to present one of us with a *Turkiſh* vest, and as he had ordered that it should be a very handsome one, it would require some hours to make it.

Monsieur *Hemet*, on this occasion, was our interpreter; and as he had spent so much of his time in *Persia*, about the court, he knew very well how to act for us. He prevailed upon *Aly Aga* to send us his great barge, at the time he wished us to come, and told him, that we were unaccustomed to sit on the ground though covered with a carpet; the governor replied, that "we should have cushions, and was he master of chairs, we should be welcome to them;" adding, that if we chose to send our own seats, it would be altogether as agreeable to him. This was a matter of the utmost indifference to us, we had no public character to maintain, and should have been as well pleased with the cushion, as the stool; but our old friend would not hear of what he called such a concession, assuring us, that the chair or the stool, "*voud be de more honorable*:" we submitted, smiling at each other. An intimation had been given us, that three would be the proper number to wait on this great man; such he really is, his government being the most important of any in this part of the world, the *Baſha* of *Baghdad* excepted. It was eleven o'clock before the officer of his household came in the barge to attend us, though during this time, there had been sent us more than one apology for the delay. As soon as we were landed, the barge saluted us with one gun: *Cojee Pagoose*, with many officers, received us on the shore, attended with servants and a number of lights, and they all accompanied us to the governor. We were received on the *Terrace*; *Aly Aga* was seated, surrounded by his principal *Agas* to the number of fifty, dressed in green or red. At our coming to the carpet, on which the stools were placed, we put off our shoes, which we had slipped down for that purpose before

before we left the vessel: we were dressed as *Europeans*, and on approaching him, we uncovered our heads, and bent our bodies, after our own manner; he returned our compliments fitting, but gracefully bending his body forwards, putting his right hand upon his breast, and then immediately pointing to our seats, we sat down, and covered our heads. We sat fronting him; on each hand he had an ancient venerable person; farther to his right, were in four ranks other officers all sitting, six or seven in each rank, and to his left were still more. Many servants stood behind us, among them my man *Alexander* had intruded himself; our *Chocard* too was observed to be at this entertainment. 1758.

Aly Aga addressed himself to us, by the mouth of *Cojee Pagoose* and Mr. *Hemet*; *Pagoose* speaking to the latter in *Persian*, and he to us in *French*, and sometimes in broken *English*. Common compliments took place first, respecting our health, that of Mr. *Shaw*, &c. then he asked us of the particular incidents of our voyage hitherto, of our intended route, and of our motives for undertaking so fatiguing and perilous a journey; he was greatly amazed to find they were not pecuniary ones, but proceeded chiefly from curiosity. He then changed his discourse to our company's affairs at *Bengal*, and the revolutions which had lately happened there; talked of our fleet in *India*, of the several powers at war in *Europe*, and of the face of affairs there at present; and at last, of the navigation up the river *Euphrates*, of the latitude of *Bassora*, *Dewana*, &c. During this conversation we were entertained, first, with a saucer of sweetmeats, of which some of us eat four or five very small spoonfuls, and intended to have finished the whole, but Monsieur *Hemet* whispered to leave off, "*for dat one spoonful only, was de more polite*;" then a small cup of coffee was brought, and after a short interval a small basin of warm sweet water scented with roses; lastly, our handkerchiefs were wetted with rose-water, and our nostrils fumigated with the smoke of *Ambergrease* and *Agala* wood. We had been given to understand, that soon after the serving of the sweet water and odours, we should be at liberty to take our leave; on our making a motion to do this, *Aly Aga* repeated to us, how sorry he was the solemnity of the *Ramazan* deprived him of the pleasure of our company by day; but that, if convenient to us, he should be happy, would we continue here for a few days to recover from our fatigue, and he would endeavour to make us pass the time as agreeably as was in his power. We excused ourselves from accepting his kind invitation, by informing him of the necessity we were under to reach *Baghdad* as soon as possible; and that we had an additional motive to hasten our journey, which was the earnest desire of seeing our native country, and our families, from whom we had suffered a long and painful separation. His answer implied, that he sincerely wished us a happy sight of both, hoped our journey and voyage would be as pleasant and speedy as possible, and that the *Great God* would conduct us safe. We expressed in the best terms we were able, our sense of his favors; to which he replied very sensibly and politely. As soon as we got from our seats,

Mr.

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Mr. *Doidge*, our elected chief, had a silk *Pelise* or vest put upon him, lined with *Ermine*, worth about ten pounds, for which he made one of his handsomest bows to *Aly Aga*.

May 12.

Our visit lasted about half an hour, when we all took leave, and repaired to the barge, and in her to the yacht: the barge fired another gun at our getting on board. *Pagoose* and the same officer of the household who had attended us before, now accompanied us to our cabin. We drank before them *Aly Aga's* health, and fired a gun. Between twelve and one both these gentlemen left us, by whom we sent on shore ten sequins, or about five guineas, to the treasurer, to be divided among the governor's servants. We detained them for a while, purposely to give Mr. *Doidge* an opportunity of finishing his letter to Mr. *Shaw*, to whom we were obliged to write, having this day, by the advice of *Cojee Pagoose*, dismissed Mr. *Chocard*, for a repetition of his insolence, without making him the least present. We had painted his behaviour in its true colours in our letter to Mr. *Shaw*, but at *Aly Aga's* request we added a postscript by way of mitigation; this strange inconsistent fellow having thrown himself at the feet of that governor, begging his intercession with us to write as little to his prejudice as possible.

Before *Cojee Pagoose* left our vessel, we desired him to tell us, what was the occasion of the hearty laugh, which we observed had taken place whilst *Aly Aga* was making his enquiries; he acquainted us that the old gentleman who sat on the governor's right hand, affected to be a judge of what Messrs. *Doidge* and *Alms* were telling *Aly Aga* regarding the latitude and longitude of places, and frequently threw in his approbation by saying "*Aye that's true:*" the laugh arose from the governor's merrily replying, "I do not doubt of the truth of what these gentlemen advance, and to be sure you are an accurate judge of it; for the utmost of your erudition in this way, is I think confined to the latitude and longitude of my *Person*; that indeed, you are pretty well acquainted with." *Aly Aga* is a native of *Persia*, and a man of a more inquisitive turn than is commonly found (as we were told) among the *Turkish* governors.

Dewana, which by our observations lies in the latitude $31^{\circ} 56'$ north, is a considerable town, built with mud; the governor is obliged to pay into the treasury of the *Basba* of *Baghdad*, fifteen hundred purses yearly, it being the stated royal rent of the district; but I am well informed that *Aly Aga* remits at least three thousand purses: this additional sum is acquired by mulcts on the *Arabs* for different crimes, especially for robberies. The fines are commonly paid in cattle by the *Sheicks*, but the *Turks* soon turn them into cash.

This conduct of *Aly Aga* in remitting more to the royal treasury than is required from him, appears a very extraordinary circumstance at first sight; but

but it is truly a most refined stroke of policy : for knowing that immense riches in this country are the surest means to shorten a man's days, he puts himself out of all danger by never presuming to accumulate them for his own use. He is rather studious to be thought the generous and disinterested, than the rich and opulent man. Doubtless, it is entirely owing to this, that he is so great a favourite with the *Basba* of *Baghdad*, whose purse he takes care to fill, though he finds it prudent to neglect his own.

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Mr. *Shaw* told me at *Bassora*, the particulars of a dispute between him and *Aly Aga* when governor of that place, for which the latter was displaced, and but of late appointed to the command at *Hasca*. He has since acknowledged, that he injured Mr. *Shaw*, and made all proper concessions to him. They had now entered into a friendly correspondence, and a new branch of trade ; which it is hoped will prove advantageous to the company, and be of service likewise to this generous, genteel, worthy man, whose common emoluments are judged inadequate to his spirit and deserts.

At half past eight, we weighed, and took our last leave of *Aly Aga*, with the discharge of all our guns ; our bounces being expended in the unexpected second salute of yesterday, we could not carry the compliment any farther : *Cojee Pagoose* undertook to apologize for us on this head. Here, two of the *Lascars* or seamen belonging to our *Sandal* ran away ; *Vertan* got two persons in their room, one of whom soon left us also : this servant had now the charge of that vessel since the dismissal of the *Chocardia* and his adherents, of whom we were now told there were three or four.

At eleven we crossed the river, and began to track on the left hand side. The land in view is partly pasture, partly arable, the cattle continue the same as lately mentioned, but horses are more numerous. We observed one of the latter swimming across the river, with a servant. This horse (by our information) was designed as a present to us, had not *Cojee Pagoose* discovered that we had already a sufficient number, and that a habit would be more acceptable.

At twelve we stopt for our luggage-boat, and at half past one began again to track : at six in the afternoon passed a fort to the right called *Monoly*. The wind is still against us, and the stream runs down at the rate of five miles an hour, which, joined to our delays from the *Sandal*, prevent our making but a very slow progress. At half past eight, the *Trackers* called to leave off work, the bottom being now bad, the banks bushy, and they themselves in fear of lions, tygers, and other wild beasts. We took the men on board, and stood off into the stream to avoid insults from the people on shore, but were obliged to return to the bank on account of the rapidity of the river. If we could have lain at a distance from the shore, we should have been more at ease in all respects ; particularly from those

1758. bitter enemies the *Muschetos*, which pestered us this evening, rather more than ever, and are inexpressibly tormenting, even to the degree of throwing us into a temporary fever. Happy for us! that with the return of the sun and wind in the mornings, we are till the close of the day relieved from them, and without this interval, I know not what might be the consequence: the sun is our great deliverer in this respect; but alas! the increasing heat of that glorious body begins to make us lament, our being no farther advanced on our journey; but as we have no reason to charge ourselves with the least unnecessary delay, we endeavour to be satisfied, and bear what may happen with becoming resolution. We made but eight miles to-day; latitude by observation $31^{\circ} 58'$.

May 13. At half past four this morning we began to track; at five we crossed to the right side of the river, in hopes that the footing and current would be more favourable; at eleven crossed again, the current being so strong, that we could not turn a point of land. At one in the afternoon, stopped for the luggage-boat. At half past two went on again, the *Sandal* being in sight. At six anchored for the night at some distance from the shore. A little before seven, we were saluted to our great surprize with the thundering voice of our late *Chocardia*, who in a small boat passed by us and commanded our servants to deliver us his compliments. We conclude that he is going on his own private affairs to *Baghdad*, or perhaps to execute there some orders from his governor.

The banks are now covered with a shrub of the cypress kind; bramble-bushes and some other shrubs make a sort of forest, well supplied with a variety of singing birds; some of them chaunt all the night: there are great quantities of wild ducks. Got eleven miles. Latitude by observation $32^{\circ} 4'$ north.

This night we took into serious consideration, the very little progress we had made, and the small portion of time we have to spare, as the *Caravan* by all accounts will set out the fifteenth of the *Moon*; and unanimously resolved, for greater expedition to move ourselves and all we have on board the yacht, into the *Sandal*, where are our horses, &c. and with our ten *Trackers* to join her's, that by their united force, we may hasten her motion, which is at present very slow.

May 14. Agreeable to this resolution, a little after four this morning, we dropped down with the stream, and joined her; by eight we dismissed the yacht, with a letter for Mr. *Shaw*, telling him of the step we had taken, and of our having borrowed her fore-top-sail, to make us a cover in the *Sandal* from the sun. At six in the evening, we passed the tomb of a religious person to the left: a little afterwards a human body floated by us, which probably had been drowned by the oversetting of a *Sandal*. This greatly alarmed our *Trackers*, who say, that accidents of this kind

have frequently happened, and positively declared, that they would not proceed any farther during the night, for fear of meeting with the like fate. At half past seven therefore, though a fine moon-light evening, we made our vessel fast to a stake fixed on the shore; we got our camp-table and stools out, and for the first time eat our morsels on the edge of the *Desert*.

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We saw to-day many ducks and one pelican; the banks are very woody, or rather bushy; few people live hereabouts, only just as many as are necessary to take care of their buffaloes, which are numerous. This morning a woman swam across the river, which here was eight hundred yards wide, pushing a basket before her. Mr. *Alms* shot a turtle with a ball, but our servants told us, it would not be safe to eat of it. We kept all night a regular watch. Another small tracking boat rode near our vessel, bound to *Hilla*, with three or four women, and perhaps twenty men; they had two or three muskets among them, and as many brace of pistols: at their coming to the shore, they discharged two loaded muskets, in order to let the robbers know they were not unarmed, or off their guard.—Advanced 12 miles to-day. No observation.

At half after four in the morning, we began to track, the river very serpentine and rapid: continued working till nine at night, when we made fast to the shore, got our stools and table ashore, and kept a strict guard all night. Two or three *Arabs* with lances, came and made a great noise, and called in their cattle as if they were apprehensive of losing them; we let them know, they had nothing to fear from us, unless they should become troublesome themselves; and on ordering them to go away, they complied. Got twenty-one miles to-day. Latitude by observation $32^{\circ} 16'$ north.

Monday,
May 15.

At half past four in the morning, began to track. At eight passed a village called *Assca*, with mud houses, encompassed with a mud wall; many *Date* and other fruit trees about it. On the opposite side of the river is another village, and a pleasant garden, called *Issidea*. At eleven passed a village to the right called *Vena-baara*, where is always a guard of soldiers: soon after, passed another village on the same side, built of mud, named *Zada*; the river water here, is somewhat cleaner than heretofore. At one in the afternoon, went by two villages on the right, one called *Chili*, the other *Dulab*; and at two came in sight of *Hilla*. Soon after, we passed a river on our left called *Romya*, which at this place discharges itself into the *Euphrates*.

May 16.
ASSCA.

ISSIDEA.
VENA-
HAARA:
ZADA.
CHILI.
DULAB.

HILLA.

A little before four o'clock we got up pretty near to the governor of *Hilla's* palace, situated in that part of the town which stands on the left, or south side of the river. Our *Sandal* carrying no guns, we could only salute with five bounces, their report however was equal to that of a four pounder.

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We were soon surrounded by a very numerous company of people, of boys especially; even the women, who came down to the river with their pitchers for water, satisfied their curiosity by looking at us; most of them had their faces half covered, many were comely, and of a pretty good complexion. The men in general were well made, some are white, but most of them tawny. We had been but a very little while near the shore, before one of the governor's officers came to bid us welcome; he sat with us on a stool by the side of the river, and took care the crowd should not press upon us. In the mean time we sent by Mr. Hemet, and our man *Vertan*, Mr. *Shaw's* letter, and another from *Aly Aga*; they soon returned with the governor's compliments, and an invitation for us to repair to the *Seraglio*; an officer with a silver *Battoon*, and high cap, came also to conduct us.

Notwithstanding it was the fast of the *Ramazan*, and before sun-set, we found the governor, *Chouder Aga*, seated on a carpet in his porch, at the entrance of his palace, ready to receive us; (he was about forty years old, and of the genteelst deportment). he bade us heartily welcome, thrice; told us we should do him honour by taking up our abode at his house, expressed his unfeigned sorrow at the fatigues and difficulties we had passed through, of which he said he had been informed three days ago, hoped we should rest well under his roof, and recover our lost strength, and that we might depend on every assistance in his power. At our first coming in, he obliged us immediately to seat ourselves on the side of the porch, opposite to him, where had been placed a carpet and cushions. The rules of the fast, were still farther dispensed with, for coffee was brought to us, as soon as we were seated. In the course of the interview, he said, as every people had their different manners, and he could not but be a stranger to our's, he must desire the favour of us, while we continued with him, to pursue our own inclinations in all things, but especially in what respected refreshments; he should therefore be glad if we would trouble ourselves to direct his domestics what sort of repast they should provide for our supper. We replied to his civilities, but begged we might be admitted to be served only with a plate of what was the usual provisions of his family: upon his repeating his wishes, we answered, "nothing could be more acceptable than a common *Pillaw*," (boiled fowl and rice). We begged indeed the favour of being accommodated with a warm *Bagnio*, which he immediately ordered to be got ready, and directed his attendants to be there in waiting with *Sherbet*, &c; but before we went to the bath, he ordered his people to show us the apartments that were provided for us above stairs. We then took our leave, each paying the other the most obliging compliments they could think of; but the *Turk* was very much our superior in this sort of conversation.

Our rooms were the best in the palace, lofty, with painted walls, and gothic arched roofs. We were accompanied to and from the *Bagnio*, by an officer carrying a silver-headed staff. At our return to the *Seraglio*,

we

we found six or eight dishes placed upon our own table, with our stools set round it; and though the whole was dressed after the *Turkish* manner, it was by no means disagreeable to an *English* palate. An intimation was also given to us, that the governor made it his particular request, that in regard to our liquors, we would be quite free and unrestrained. This was carrying his complaisance to a great height, considering how very strict the regular *Turks* are on this article: we doubted at first, whether we should send for wine, but the governor having interrogated our domestics, and learned our common practice, repeated his request by a message sent on purpose.

Chouder Aga whilst we were at supper, sat on a terrace at some distance with several of his principal officers: his treasurer accompanied us the whole evening, who eat, and would have drank wine with us also (as he whispered to our interpreter) had he not been surrounded by many observers, who were assembled to remark our customs. At this repast, both before and after supper we were careful to say grace; the *Turks* thought it a very odd custom, I believe, for they talked to one another about it a good deal. We sat without hats while at our meal, and the treasurer, who seemed to have some drollery, after we became a little familiar with one another, pulled off his *Turban* and sat uncovered too; this afforded great merriment to the spectators, and they all seemed greatly pleased with our manner of eating, so different from their own, for they never make use of knives and forks, chairs or tables. Soon after the cloth was taken away, a messenger came for the treasurer; he went, but presently returned with the governor's respects and a message, importing, that "as it was his real wish, we should be gay, and use his house as our own, and as it was probable his presence might be a restraint upon us; he therefore had taken the liberty (begging our pardon at the same time) to withdraw himself to the *Mufti's*, merely to convince us, that what he had said about our being free and unrestrained, proceeded from the very bottom of his heart, and he flattered himself, that we would display our belief of his sincerity, by our actions." Upon receiving this message, the bottle passed about very briskly; the governor's health was drank, and a chorus song was sung. Among the lookers on, were two young gentlemen, son and nephew to the governor, and for each of them a glass of wine was stolen, which they drank off in a private room. We had before this time, given in by an *Aga*, an inventory of such things as were necessary for our journey to *Baghdad*; and the treasurer at his taking leave this evening, told us, that our beasts, provisions, guards, &c. should be ready for us as soon as possible in the morning; for though the governor had given us the most pressing invitation to spend a few days with him, yet we excused ourselves upon account of the hurry we were in, and the necessity there was for our getting forwards.

It was five in the afternoon before our beasts were loaded, and we ready to begin our journey. We had very handsome provision made, both

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for our breakfast and dinner; and, in the morning, on the supposition we should have gone earlier than we did, the governor again broke in on the rules of the *Faṣṭ*, and seated himself in his porch, with a design of giving us an opportunity of taking our leave. Our whole party attended him, except myself who was greatly indisposed; but I afterwards learnt from them, that they were as much outdone in hyperbole of compliment at this second, as we all had been at our first interview. The whole of our host's behaviour was such, as greatly to prejudice us in his favour, and we wanted only a proper present to send him, as a grateful acknowledgement for his favours. We could not offer him money, consistent with the instructions Mr. *Shaw* had given us, and of every thing else that was valuable we had stripped ourselves at *Karec*. At last our good friend Mr. *Hemet* spared us a white *Shaul*, made of fine goats hair from *Carminia*, and worn much in habits by the *Turks* of fashion; it's value was about sixteen zechins or eight guineas: this, with an handsome apology, was sent by one of his domestics, who soon returned with his master's compliments, and "That he hoped we were convinced, the trifling services which he had done us, proceeded altogether from the respect he had for our characters, and from his friendship to Mr. *Shaw*; these were his only motives, for endeavouring to become useful to us in our long and wearisome journey: that he had done nothing with an interested view, and he flattered himself we would do him the justice to believe it; that the present which we had been so kind as to make him, with such an obliging apology, was the more acceptable to him, as it was greatly expressive of our satisfaction in his conduct: that he made not the least difficulty therefore in accepting of, and was infinitely obliged to us for it." Such was the complaisant and polite behaviour of this *Turkish* governor, which, to say the least, did honour not only to himself, but to his country.

At five this afternoon, we crossed the *Euphrates* on a bridge of about 38 boats, attended by five *Turkish* cavalry, taking our route for *Baghdad*. We made up a little *Caravan* of fifteen camels, thirteen horsemen well armed, six mules and asses, besides our proper servants. Soon after leaving the town of *Hilla* (which is pretty large, but bad buildings, and situated on both sides of the river) we came upon a sandy plain, and travelled a north-west course, meeting in our way several hot blasts from the *Desert*: at ten o'clock we arrived at a poor village called *Maboul-Kaury*, about twelve miles from *Hilla*; but being told the houses were dirty, and full of vermin, we spread our carpets and bedding on the ground; trusting to the clouded canopy of heaven, while the soldiers kept a good look-out. The wind blew fresh the greatest part of the night, and as there were hills of sand very near us, accumulated by the winds of the neighbouring *Desert*, our bedding was well covered with it. When I rose in the morning, I was greatly distressed with thirst, pain in the bowels, and a bilious *Diarrhœa*; fortunately, we got here some good milk, both at night, and in the morning.

MAHOUL-
KAURY.

At half past five this morning, we resumed our march, the wind blowing fresh and cold; we travelled at the rate of near three miles an hour, and at ten reached the *Caravanferah* of *Escandreau*; a structure erected for the convenience of all travellers*: but our guards would not let us enter, it was so filthy, they therefore spread carpets for us in a poor man's house just opposite to it, and there we lay down to rest. Our camels, servants, and baggage, which had been hitherto behind, but with orders to go on, passed us about eleven; and at twelve at noon, we were called upon to follow them: but finding on enquiry, that they went no farther this evening than the next stage, where they would continue till midnight, and that we could easily overtake them, we determined to tarry here, until the heat of the day was over; and sent all but one of our *Turkish* soldiers, as an escort to the baggage.

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May 18.

Escandreau
Caravan-
ferah.

At a little before four in the afternoon, we mounted; a quarter after six, came up with our camels, which had been put into a large *Caravanferah* at the entrance of *Horta*, a small miserable village, with only five or six poor families in it. This public place of rest for travellers was in very good order, and large enough to receive five hundred men, besides a great many beasts. The man in waiting at the *Caravanferah*, supplied us with straw and water for our cattle; the water is not good, therefore travellers always bring some with them for their own use, as we did. I got some goats milk here, which was very acceptable, not having been able to eat any thing but milk, since the first evening we were at *Hilla*. I was much harrassed to-day with a *Dysentery*, attended with thirst. Our course from *Escandreau* to this *Caravanferah* has been about N. E. We passed many travellers; the road is broad and good, the country flat, and hath many paths or tracks of camels, &c. but no cultivation in sight. This is said, and supposed to be the plain in the land of *Shinar*, where *Babylon* once stood. We walked up to a little eminence, where we saw a vast quantity of broken bricks and some cement.

We met with an uncommon field-mouse here of a very light-grey colour, its feet much longer than the feet of our mice, with a small long tail, ending broad, and forked like a trident: several of our company endeavoured to catch it, but the creature was so fleet and quick in its turnings, that it escaped them, and hid itself in a hole in the ground. This road indeed abounds in holes, and about them are a great many green birds, in size and make like a swallow: I first thought, that in these little burrows, those

* "The eastern nations seem always to have had a peculiar disposition to the offices of humanity. Their manner of keeping house was generally near a highway, purposely for the relieving of travellers; the patriarchs in the Old Testament sit at their gates to see those who pass by, and entreat them to enter into their houses. This cordial manner of invitation is particularly described in the 18th and 19th chapter of *Genesis*. It is yet a piece of charity frequent with the *Turks* to erect *Caravanferahs* or inns for the reception of travellers."

POPE'S *Notes on Homer's Iliad*, Book vi.

birds.

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birds roosted, or perhaps, built their nests; but going farther on, I saw some land-crabs, which inclined me to think, that the holes belonged to the crabs, and that the birds hovered about them for food. There is a shrub here of about two feet high, the leaves of which in make and taste are like the samphire; also a smaller shrub which produces cotton. We travelled about 20 miles to-day: course N. b E.

May 19.

Azaup Caravan-
vanferah.

At one in the morning, we rose, and began to pack up our bedding; the camels that carried the other baggage, had been loaded by our servants about midnight: At two, we set out in company with some additional *Arabs* and *Turks*, who with their loaded mules and asses, took up their lodging last night, within the same hospitable walls. At five we reached another *Caravanferah* in the village of *Azaup*; here we got coffee, and two quarts of good milk warm from the goats: this morning, the air was so sharp, that I was glad to exchange my *Camaline* with *Jenkins*, for his thick *Hussar* cloak. At this place we found a fire ready to make our coffee, and were refreshed by standing before it. Here, one of my friends was greatly hurt, by seeing one or two pretty women employed like horses or asses (as he in his tenderness expressed it) drawing water from a well; though even in *England*, we often see offices equally laborious and much more servile, performed by women. Besides, the drawing of water in all ages, and over all *Asia*, appears to have been the business of women; *Homer* speaks of princesses drawing water from springs, and washing with their own hands, the linnen of their respective families. We know that the woman of *Samaria*, who met *Jesus* at *Jacob's* well, came upon this very errand, and we have not the least intimation given us that it was deemed an hardship. But if the female is so bad off in this country, hard also is the destiny of the poor *Trackers*! who, exclusive of the continual fears they are under of being devoured by lions and other wild beasts, must drag like horses, through briars, bushes, water, mud, rushes, &c. and this too in the coldest season, and the darkest night. Such is really their case, and there is no possibility of avoiding it, especially when they are in the service of a *Turkish* galley.

We did not tarry above half an hour at this *Caravanferah*, but proceeded on after our camels; about this village the country is pleasant, we saw a great deal of wheat growing, and large numbers of cattle grazing. About six we discovered the *Minarets* of the *Mosques* in *Baghdad*, whose stile of building is not much unlike the monument at *London*.

For a few miles, on both sides of the road, were many flocks of sheep, herds of goats, and other cattle, as well as large spots bearing wheat; the soil all along is good, and wants only a little industry to cultivate and improve it. The distance between the *Tygris* and *Euphrates* here, we were told, is not more than six or seven miles, consequently by letting in the water from those two rivers, the whole might be made extremely fruitful.

fruitful. For many miles back, a plain open country began, and still continues gently to ascend, forming a hanging level, the highest part being towards *Baghdad*. At seven we took notice of a building to our left; and having been before apprised of it's situation, we had no difficulty in determining it to be, what here passes for the ruins of the tower of *Babel*. By the assistance of an interpreter, I questioned our *Turkish* soldiers on this subject, who answered it was *Nimrod's* tower. They said also, upon my pretending to know nothing of *Nimrod*, that he was once a king of the country, but long before their *Prophet* or our *Prophet's* time; that he declared war against the *God* of heaven, and in his foolishness and pride, built this tower, with intention to get to heaven, and make war with the *Almighty*: but he found himself deceived, for *God* confounded him and his machinations, by rending the building with the breath of his mouth; and that this ruin had been permitted to remain as a lasting monument of the folly of *man*, and of the power of *God*. We questioned the soldiers also about the confusion of languages, but of that they appeared to be totally ignorant; concluding however that we might have all our enquiries answered by those who were acquainted with the old *Persian* books, where all the particulars of this remarkable story were fully related.

At about a league distance from the city we observed an handsome large green tent, with two small ones; as we drew nigher to them, two *Turks* mounted on very handsome light grey horses, richly caparisoned, rode towards us full speed, shewing their dexterity in the *Gereed*. Upon their coming near us, they stopped, made their *Salaam*, and gave us to understand, that they came from those tents, and were in the service of Mr. *Garden* and *Cojee Raphael*, by whom they were ordered to wait there for our reception. We rode towards the tents, dismounted, and entered the largest, the ground of which was covered with a carpet. An *Argile* or smoking tube, and coffee, were immediately brought us, and one of the *Turks* galloped towards the town to inform his masters of our arrival, but both the gentlemen appeared very soon, and on their coming into the tent, were so obliging as to make many apologies for their absence at our alighting, it having been entirely owing to an accident they met with upon the road.

It was lucky for us that Mr. *Doidge* dispatched a letter to Mr. *Garden* from *Hasca*, otherwise he would before now have left *Baghdad*, and been on his way to *Bassora*. He appears to be an accomplished young gentleman, and had been a writer in the company's service at *Bombay*; was lately appointed second at *Bassora*, and is at present engaged in business of consequence at *Baghdad*. *Cojee Raphael* is an *Armenian* merchant, a christian, who with many others of his religion, and profession, was obliged to retire from *Persia* on account of it's troubles: in Mr. *Garden's* absence, this gentleman transacts all the business with the *Basba* and the merchants here, on account of Mr. *Shaw*. These two gentlemen, after having received us.

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in the most hospitable manner, persuaded us to spend the heat of the day in the tent, which was placed close to the edge of the river *Tygris*: we did, and except myself (who was too ill to partake of any thing but milk) all were merry, and dined very comfortably on the carpet, where was placed an excellent cold entertainment.

By the advice of these gentlemen, our party stripped themselves of their *Turbans*, and every part of their country dress, and put on hats and other *European* habits. Now a little of the finery sent back to *Bombay* from *Karec*, was wished for. I was apprehensive of catching cold, and therefore rode towards the city with my *Hussar*-cloak and *Turban*. Before we got to *Baghdad*, we passed over a creek on a stone bridge of four or five arches; very many were the spectators here, and much their surprize, on seeing so many *Frengees*, or *Franks*, (the general name throughout all *Turky* for *Europeans*) and by the pleasure which appeared in the countenance of the boys, it seemed they had never been so agreeably entertained before. The hat, the hair differently dressed, wig, coat, and every part of our habits and accoutrements, even the horse-whip and *European* saddles, were all matters of curiosity to men as well as boys; and yet not the least kind of incivility passed from any one of them. Such a number were never seen here before in *European* dresses, for the few who tarry any length of time, put themselves into the *Turkish* habit; but this would have been very imprudent in us, on account of our short stay, and of the great expence; two complete and genteel suits would not have cost less than near an hundred pounds. From the want of them however we are to be in a manner prisoners, for our polite countryman Mr. *Garden* would not have us degrade the *English* name (which is here in high repute) by going into the streets on foot, and our horse-furniture at present is much too mean to appear with; so that only one or two of us at most can go out properly mounted at a time, that is, with managed horses, gayly caparisoned with trappings of gold or silver all over their heads and crests, very rich laced or embroidered saddle cloths, gilt or silver stirrups, &c. &c. The *Turk* never rides with a whip, he either has a stick for *gereeding*, or spear for actual war*.

About

* The *Gereed* is an exercise, which consists in a man's dextrously throwing a lance at an antagonist, and avoiding at the same time that thrown against himself. This is always done on horse-back, and at full speed, the rider throwing himself, when in danger, under the horse's belly, or under the cover of his side, ever keeping himself from falling, by an expert use of the foot which is still retained in one of the stirrups, and by taking hold with his hands of the horse's mane, the girth, or some other part of the saddle furniture. As soon as he finds that he has eluded his adversary's lance, he throws himself upon the horse's back again, and rides after the weapon, which just before had been directed at him. This he contrives to snatch from off the ground, even while his horse is in full career, and then in his turn pursues and attacks his enemy with it. Thus the combat continues, until one or other is struck, and supposed to be killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. When this manœuvre is only performed in sport, they make use of a stick, instead of a lance. It is the *Turks* principal martial exercise, and they greatly pride themselves in doing it expertly. Their horses are in common,

About five in the evening, we entered the old town, or that which lies west of the *Tygris*. We passed the river by a bridge of thirty-nine boats, floored with *Date* trees, flags, horse-dung, and slime or mud; it is very badly railed. This bridge brought us to the new city, on the east of the river. Both cities are built with bricks, and mud; this on the east side is walled round. The public buildings are better than those of *Bassora*; but the best would be esteemed unfit for a private gentleman of a thousand pounds a year in *England*. The streets are very narrow, the *Bazars* long, generally roofed in the gothic taste, but some which have been lately repaired or rebuilt, are only clumsily covered with *Date* trees, and mud: holes are left in the roof at certain distances, for the admittance of light and air. At six we got to Mr. Garden's house. Soon after, I drank some milk, and went to bed, not a little fatigued.

The following are the respective distances of the principal places, lying on the *Euphrates*, between *Bassora* and *Baghdad*.

	Miles.
From <i>Bassora</i> to <i>Corna</i>	75
From <i>Corna</i> to <i>Cota</i>	69
From <i>Cota</i> to <i>Semava</i>	147
From <i>Semava</i> to <i>Lembloon</i>	65
From <i>Lembloon</i> to <i>Hafsa</i>	31
From <i>Hafsa</i> to <i>Hilla</i>	52
From <i>Hilla</i> to <i>Baghdad</i>	50
Total	489

mon, about fourteen hands, or fourteen and a half high, handsome, light, and spirited. They never dock their tails, and it is reckoned a disgrace for a gentleman or soldier to mount a gelding or a mare.

C H A P. III.

Account of those noxious blasts called Samiels.—Description of a Takht Revan.—Account of Baghdad.—Anecdotes of Solyman the governor, and of Selim Basha of Courdistan.—Military strength of Baghdad.—Observations on the Turks.—Description of three ancient ruins called Tawk Keffera, Kurman Shah, and Nimrod's Tower.

1758.

TO our great mortification the *Aleppo Caravan* had left *Baghdad* twenty days before our arrival. This was a melancholy piece of news to every one of us, but especially to me, on account of my ill state of health. The weather was already too warm, and the prospect before us of waiting still longer before we could begin our journey over the *Desert*, could not fail to make us very uneasy. Our old friend Mr. *Hemet* used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon me not to leave this place till the month of *October*; he urged my present bad state of health, the increasing heat of the weather, but above all the danger of our meeting with those noxious blasts, called in the *Arabian* language *Samiels*; hot and sudden gusts of wind, to which travellers are exposed in passing the *Desert of Arabia*; by some supposed to be the destructive *East Wind* mentioned in *Job*, and some of the *Prophets*. They sometimes blow about the middle of *June*, but more frequently in the months of *July* and *August*, when they commonly bring instantaneous death to every man and beast that happens to stand with his face towards them. Providentially, a certain though short warning of their approach is given, by a sensible alteration of the air. When this is perceived, all travellers, together with their horses, camels, &c. must, as the only means of safety lie prostrate with their faces to the ground, and their feet towards the *Samiel*, and thus continue till it is passed. This pestilential vapour flies swift, and commonly does not expand itself far; it's streams are of no great breadth, so that travellers at a few miles distance from each other are exposed to different *Samiels*, and some are so fortunate as entirely to escape them*.

This

* This hot wind, peculiar to the *Desert of Arabia*, is called in the *Arabian* language, *Samiel*: it blows over the *Desert* in the months of *July* and *August*, from the N. W. quarter, and sometimes it continues with all it's violence to the very gates of *Baghdad*, but never affects any

1758.
May 20.

This morning we were visited by many *Jew*, *Armenian* and *Italian* merchants; our future journey naturally became the subject of conversation, and there were as many different opinions as there were men; however, all agreed with Mr. *Hemet*, that unless we could set off at farthest, by the middle of *June*, we must find the *Desert* extremely distressing, and very dangerous. One or two proposed our going by the way of *Mosul* and *Diarbekir*; from which last place we might easily get either to *Aleppo* or *Constantinople*. They told us, it was almost certain, that at *Mosul* we should join the great *Caravan*, which left *Baghdad* about three weeks ago for that city, *Diarbekir*, and *Tocat*, but would be obliged to wait at *Mosul* twenty days: they proposed we should make it known that we were to take that route, as the merchants would gladly embrace the opportunity, and fit out a *Caravan* to join us, and thereby we should mutually strengthen and assist each other. We objected, that this would be a tedious method; they replied, that we might travel by ourselves, and with entire safety, provided we took the *Basha's* passport with us, and a proper officer to see that the orders contained in it were put in execution. The *Italian* merchant *Michael*, assured us that travelling thus, we might reach *Constantinople*, or, as the *Turks* all it, *Stamboul*, in thirty-five days. The thoughts of avoiding

any body within the walls. Some years it does not blow at all, and in others, it appears six, eight, or ten times, but seldom continues more than a few minutes at a time. It often passes with the apparent quickness of lightning.

The *Arabians* and *Persians*, who are acquainted with the appearance of the sky, at or near the time this wind arises, have warning of it's approach by a thick haze, which appears like a cloud of dust arising out of the horizon; and they immediately upon this appearance, throw themselves, with their faces to the ground, and continue in that position till the wind is passed, which frequently happens almost instantaneous; but if, on the contrary, they are not careful or brisk enough to take this precaution, which is sometimes the case, and they get the full force of the wind, it is instant death.

The above method is the only one which they take to avoid the effects of this fatal blast; and when it is over, they get up and look round them for their companions, and, if they see any one lying motionless, they take hold of an arm or leg, and pull and jerk it with some force; and if the limb thus agitated separates from the body, it is a certain sign that the wind has had it's full effect; but if, on the contrary, the arm or leg does not come away, it is a sure sign there is life remaining, although to every outward appearance the person is dead; and in that case, they immediately cover him or them with cloaths, and administer some warm diluting liquor to cause a perspiration, which is certainly, but slowly brought about.

The *Arabs* themselves can say little or nothing about the nature of this wind, only that it always leaves behind it a very strong sulphureous smell, and that the air at these times is quite clear, except about the horizon, in the N. W. quarter, before observed, which gives warning of it's approach.

I have not been able to learn whether the dead bodies are scorched, or dissolved into a kind of gelatinous substance; but from the stories I have heard, there has been frequent reason to believe the latter; and in that case, I should attribute such fatal effects rather to a noxious vapour, than to an absolute and excessive heat. The story of it's going to the gates of *Baghdad* and no farther, may be reasonably enough accounted for, if the effects are attributed to a poisonous vapour, and not an excessive heat.

The above-mentioned wind, *Samiel*, is so well known in the neighbourhood of *Baghdad* and *Bassora*, that the very children speak of it with dread.

Letter from an officer in the service of the East India company to a friend in London, Annual Register, 1766.

1758.

the *Desert*, and seeing the metropolis of the *Ottoman* empire, were circumstances very flattering to us: with avidity we adopted the proposal, but our pleasure was of short duration! others positively declaring, that the country through which we were to pass, was still in the utmost distress for want of provisions; that a fatal sickness had taken place in consequence of the famine; besides which, there was at present a civil war in *Mosul*, and the whole country about it extremely infested with robbers from the *Sanjac* mountains, therefore it would be impracticable to travel without a large *Caravan*. After a calculation of time had been made, it appeared that it would take two months before we could reach *Stamboul*, so the scheme of *Michael* dropped.

Two reverend fathers, *Fidelle* an *Italian*, and *Ange* a *Frenchman*, paid us this morning also a visit, with the compliments of *Emanuel* the *Roman* bishop of *Babylon*, and of the *French* consul at *Baghdad*; who congratulated us on our safe arrival, acknowledged the receipt of *Monf. Perdria's* letter, and assured us of his lordship being devoted to our service. The fathers could determine nothing fully in respect to our future journey; all ways were stated, and each appeared to have great difficulties. We therefore hastened to visit the bishop, in hopes he would be able to help us to fix on some decisive method. We found him a lively, well-bred, sensible man, between fifty and sixty years of age; very communicative, wishing to advise us for the best, but open enough to declare, he hardly knew how. He mentioned a common saying in *France*, *Be cautious how you give advice in what relates to marriages, or journies*, and then said, notwithstanding the prudence of the maxim in general, in the present case he would deliver his sentiments with all freedom. He told us a piece of news just come to town, of a *Caravan* having been robbed between *Mosul* and *Diarbekir*; he expressed his apprehensions of the risk we should run from the heat, and the pestiferous wind of the *Desert*, provided we did not set out by the tenth or twelfth of next month at farthest; but seemed to think, that if we could get away by that time, and would be at the expence of litters, or as they are called here *Takht Revans*, or *moving thrones*, we might perform our journey without any great degree of danger or fatigue.

As this was not a time for us to think much about saving money, we consented to the proposal; and as a *Jew* was then fitting out a small *Caravan* for *Aleppo*, and said it should depart in eight or ten days without fail, and with it would go an *Arab* conductor of good character, well-known to *Messrs. Shaw* and *Garden*, we now seemed resolved to accompany him. The bishop promised us to look out for one of those litters, recollecting that a *Turk* of his acquaintance some little time before purchased such a thing for an intended religious journey.

May 21.

The Bishop returned our visit this morning, accompanied by father *Fidelle*; he apologised for putting it off so long, saying, he was prevented from

from waiting upon us last night, having been on the look-out for the *Takht Revan*, but the *Turk* had parted with it, for a journey to *Mecca*. 1758.

The *Arab* conductor of the intended expedition, whose name is *Habil Swylem*, was also with us this morning, and promised to set off with his little *Caravan* in eight days at farthest, as the *Jew's* goods were daily expected from *Bassora*. We had a great deal of conversation, and at last, by the assistance of Mr. *Garden*, struck a bargain with him on the following conditions.

Five *Camels* for the carriage of stores in twenty-one baskets. Four *Camels* for fourteen portmanteaus, three of which are common *English* ones, the others are made of canvas, with our bedding, linen, and a tent. Six *Camels* for water for ourselves and servants, who (including the two country *Christians*) make up ten persons. Three horses, and two mules. One *Camel* for carrying corn for the beasts. One *Camel* for carrying two covered cradles on its back, for the occasional relief of our *European* servants. One *Camel* for carrying a clasp table, six clasp stools, a tent, eighteen poles, and pins, a necessary tent, and other little matters.

	Piafres.
For eighteen <i>Camels</i> , at 50 piafres each — — —	900
For as many <i>Camels</i> or <i>Mules</i> as shall be necessary to carry two	
<i>Takht Revans</i> , each to hold two persons — — —	500
Total — — —	1400

It was also agreed between us and our *Arab* conductor, that in consideration of the above fourteen hundred piafres, he shall do his utmost to bring us safe to *Aleppo*; that he shall himself discharge all contingent expences to the several *Sheicks* of the *Arabs* whom we might chance to meet with; and we are not to be called on for money for soldiers, or on any other account whatsoever respecting the journey. — If at our arrival at *Aleppo*, *Habil Swylem* shall have deserved it, then at our pleasure, to present him with a dress or two. He is also to find servants for the care of our cattle, who are to pitch and strike our tents, and do all other offices, except that of dressing our victuals; the said *Arab* is also to provide us with fewel* and water.

Nothing particular happened.

Monday,
May 22.

Mr. *Doidge* was very busy to-day in finishing a promised draught of the windings of the river *Euphrates* from *Bassora* to *Hilla*, for *Aly Aga* governor of *Hafsa*.

May 23.

* The fewel to be met with on the *Desert*, chiefly consists of camels dung, and sometimes a small shrub.

1758.

We were now very uneasy at the *Jew's* goods not being arrived, and the more so, as it was hinted to us, that his *Caravan* will not be ready to set out for at least a month, which would render it unsafe for us to proceed.

In the afternoon we paid the bishop a second visit, and prayed Mr. *Garden* to send to the *Jew* merchant, revoking an order before given him, to pay the *Arab* on our account, fourteen hundred piastras. About seven in the evening we heard from our *Terrace* the report of two small cannon, and a little after eight the *Jew* came and acquainted us that his goods were arrived. We told him our apprehensions; he declared that he should have his merchandise all ready to put on the *Camels* in three or four days, and after that it would rest with *Habil Swylem* to lade, dispatch and depart: which he heartily wished on his own account, as well as ours, could be the following day, as till then, the expence of keeping three hundred *Camels* would be a great drawback on the merchant's profit. We found he had already advanced the *Arab* eight hundred piastras on our account, but we desired him to stop his hand.

May 24.

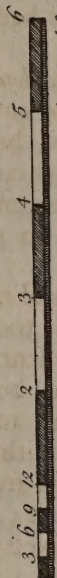
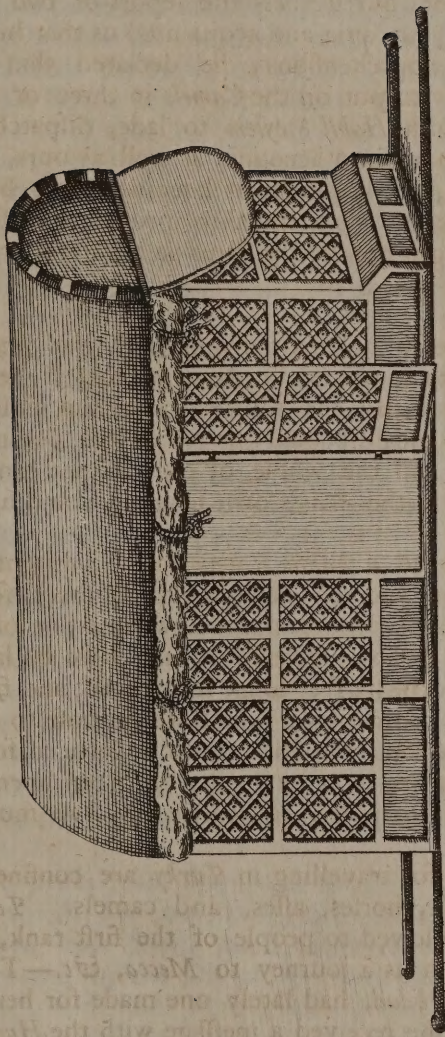
Habil Swylem came to us this morning with the *Jew* merchant; the first promised to enter into a written agreement, that if he does not go hence in ten days, he will repay the fourteen hundred piastras on demand, and the contract at our pleasure shall be void: we commissioned the *Jew* to get this agreement, and the whole of our former contract with the *Arab*, committed to paper in the *Arab's* own language, and signed by him.

Cojee Raphael ordered a *Takht Revan* to be brought for our inspection; we found it too short, and too little in every respect for our purpose, but the bishop sent us carpenters to make new ones out of the wood that Mr. *Garden* had bought for the occasion: each is to be large enough to hold two persons, and is to be six feet long, four broad, and five in height, arched at the top with thin boards, over which we purpose to put hides, the better to shelter us from the sun; the sides are to be latticed for the convenience of admitting air; the inside is to be lined with green linen, and the machines are to be fixed upon two poles, and carried by two mules.

The conveniences for travelling in *Turky* are confined to the *Takht Revan*, *Cage*, or *Cradle*, horses, asses, and camels. *Takht Revans* we are informed, are only allowed to people of the first rank, unless on very particular occasions, such as a journey to *Mecca*, &c.—The *Kabier*, or prime minister's wife at *Baghdad*, had lately one made for her own use; but soon after it was finished, she received a message with the *Haram's* * compliments, desiring to be informed what vehicle was now left by which it was possible

* *Haram* is used either for the *Basha's* chief wife, or for the place where his wives reside. *Harram*, signifies prohibited, or unlawful in respect to men.

A-Takht-Revan.



Scale of 6: one Foot to the half inch.

We were now very nearly at the Jew's goods not being arrived, and the more so as it was limited to us, that the Caravan will not be ready to let out for at least a month, which would render it unsafe for us to proceed.

In the afternoon we paid a second visit, and prayed Mr. Gardar to send to the Jew merchant, to order before given him, to pay the debt on the account of the Jew merchant. About eleven in the evening we were informed that the goods were arrived. We told him that we had already paid the debt, and after mentioning all that had happened, he would not depart: which was the first time that he had already advanced to us, but we desired him to look

The consequence of this was, that we were obliged to the Jew merchant, to send to the Jew merchant, to order before given him, to pay the debt on the account of the Jew merchant. About eleven in the evening we were informed that the goods were arrived. We told him that we had already paid the debt, and after mentioning all that had happened, he would not depart: which was the first time that he had already advanced to us, but we desired him to look

* There is also a story for the Jew's debt, who, for the place where his river runs, had a great deal of land, which he sold to us.

for the *Basha's* lady to manifest the superiority of her rank over the *Kabier's* wife; and intimating, that if she was unacquainted with any other method for keeping up the distinction between them, (as the *Haram* herself confessed she wholly was) it would be esteemed obliging in her to lay aside all thoughts of making use of the *Takht Revan* she had ordered to be built. — The compliance of the *Kabier's* lady was unavoidable, and probably so was her mortification. 1758.

Our friend Mr. *Hemet* came and excused himself, for having been three days absent, owing chiefly because he could not walk the streets in an *European* habit, without insults from the boys; on which account, and as he is determined not to move his family hence till *October*, he is preparing for himself a country habit. The *Arab* told us yesterday, he would be ready to leave this place with our party in a very few days, if we thought fit; and advised our advancing as far as *Aet*, a place some few leagues on the other side of the *Euphrates*, and there wait for the coming up of his *Caravan*: he proposed this, he said, as a means of our getting past the most dangerous part of the whole journey, in respect to the *Samiel* wind. Taking the thing for granted, we seemed to relish the scheme, but the bishop who paid us a visit this morning unattended, dissuaded us from it, saying there was no more danger between this place and *Aet*, than between that and *Aleppo*; and he hoped, if *Swylem* kept his word, or even if he should not exceed above five or six days of his time, we might with the precautions already taken, go on happily enough; but was altogether for our staying till the *Caravan* set off, lest after our departure, the conductor, though reckoned a good sort of man in his way, should play us some slippery trick. May 25.

The afternoons are very hot now in the city; the streets are so narrow, and the walls so high, that the common houses are quite suffocating. That which we live in, has a very comfortable hall, five feet below the ground. This evening was very pleasant, we spent it as we do all others with our agreeable host on the *Terrace*. He sleeps there in the night, but none of us have as yet followed his example. I am now, *Deo gratias!* quite well: but my dear friend Mr. *Doidge* is somewhat indisposed; he coughs and spits, which makes me fear it to be the first attack of a consumption.

Mr. *Garden* had a present sent him from the *Seraglio* of two pounds of *Ghee*, brought from the *Persian* mountains, distance six days journey. We are at present supplied with pretty good apples and apricots from some gardens which are situated by the side of the river near *Hilla*; and in those gardens are vines, date, and other fruit trees; grapes and plumbs will be ripe in a few days. Our table is furnished with plenty of cucumbers, and berenjoles; but cabbages are past, so are beans and peas: the river affords fish, but they are not firm.

Mr.

1758.

May 26.

Mr. *Alms* and I rose at four this morning, and took a ride round both towns, accompanied by the bishop and Mr. *Garden*. We were about an hour and three quarters in compassing the old town, which we judged to be near five miles in circumference; the other, which lies on the east side of the *Tygris*, and is not quite so large, took us up an hour and fifteen minutes. The bishop thinks they both contain about four hundred and fifty thousand souls. He was not clear as to the precise time when they were built; but what is called the new town, is less ancient than the other*. When the emperor *Amurath* took *Baghdad* from the *Persians*, he set about fortifying this part. It is surrounded with a good wall, with many turrets, and a parapet for musketry; it has also, at certain distances, nine bastions, each mounting eight brass guns, but in bad order, and of irregular sizes, procured from the *Portuguese* settlements in the gulph of *Persia*; some were cast in *Germany*, some in *Persia*, and others in *Holland*. His lordship told me, he believed there might be in the city, mounted, or on the ground, one hundred and fifty cannon. Before the wall is a good ditch, and an indifferent glacis; the ditch is dry, unless in a small part, where some water remains from the last rains, in which we observed the *Turks* to be washing their linen: this accounts for the miserable colour of our's washed at *Baghdad*. Through this ditch a constant run of water might easily be brought from the river, had the *Turks* the least inclination to add to the strength of the place, or rather were they not so extremely indolent, and inattentive to their own security; and yet, inconsiderable as the fortifications of *Baghdad* are, the famous *Nadir Shah*, or *Kuly Khan*,

* *Prideaux* in his connection of the Old and New Testament has satisfactorily cleared up this point.

"Perchance, says he, the giving of the name of *Babylon* to *Seleucia*, was that which gave rise to the present vulgar error, that *Baghdad* is now situated in the very place, where formerly old *Babylon* stood. For when *Baghdad* was first built, it truly was upon the same plat of ground, where formerly *Seleucia*, or new *Babylon* stood. For as old *Babylon* was exhausted by *Seleucia*, so afterwards was *Seleucia* by *Ctesiphon* and *Almadayen*, and these two again by *Baghdad*; it being the humour of the princes of those ages, to build new cities to be monuments of their names, and to desolate old ones in the neighbourhood for the peopling of them. By this means *Seleucia* being reduced to desolation, as well as *Babylon*, at the time when *Abu Jaafar Almanfur*, Caliph or emperor of the *Saracens*, begun his reign (which was in the year of our Lord seven hundred and fifty-four) it had nothing upon it but the cell of a christian monk, called *Dad*, and a garden joining to it. From whence it had the name of *Baghdad*, that is, in the language of that country, the Garden of *Dad*. And upon this place was the city first built, which hath ever since been called by this name of *Baghdad*. For the same *Almansur* being resolved, out of dislike to *Hasbemia*, where his predecessor before resided, to build him a new city, to be the capital seat of his empire, chose that place for it where this garden lay, and there in the year of our Lord 762, erected this city upon the very foundations on which formerly *Seleucia* had stood, on the west side of the *Tygris*. But not long after it was translated over to the other side, and there it at present stands, above the place where *Ctesiphon* was formerly situated on the same side of the river, that is, on the eastern side; and that which was first built on the western side, is now no more than a suburb to it. This city, from the reign of *Almansur*, was for many years the capital of the *Saracen* empire, and still remains a place of great note in the east. But they are much mistaken, who think it the same with old *Babylon*. For that was upon the *Euphrates*, but *Baghdad* is upon the *Tygris*, at the distance of forty miles from the place, where that old city stood." *PRIDEAUX, Book viii.*

although

although he sat down before it twice with a very numerous army, and threw several hundred shells into the city, could not master it. The wall all round is full of loop-holes for musketry, and has in its inside, little chambers or lodgments for the soldiers. From the bottom of the ditch to the top of the wall is about forty feet: the *Desert* comes quite up to the foot of the glacis.

The bishop remembers, that about twenty-five years ago, the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tygris* were so overflown, that the whole country between them appeared as one large sea; and over all the plain between this city and *Hilla*, people could pass only in boats: the water flowed quite up to the glacis, the ditch was full, the city also overflown, and the foundation of most of the buildings hurt; three hundred houses were entirely destroyed. To prevent as much as possible such a thing from happening again, the *Turks* take care now to face the foundation wall of their houses, with a composition of charcoal, ashes, and *Demar* (a sort of bitumen.)

The land towards the *Desert* is almost entirely barren, except two or three spots with corn, whose harvest is now gathering in. Without the city were many hundred *Camels*, some preparing for *Damascus*, others for *Mosul*. In our ride, I observed every *Mosque* or church to be crouded with pigeons on the outside, which breed in the *Domes* and *Minarets*; and you generally see on the *Minarets* the *Stork*, a large bird called by the *Arabs* *Leg-leg*, a destroyer of serpents; the *Turks* never offer to molest it, on the contrary a nest of them is esteemed by a bigoted *Turk* more than a field full of sheep and camels. Those who own a house where *Storks* have nested, are supposed to receive great blessings from heaven; and if a *Christian* should happen to kill one of them, his life would be in danger. Upon the wall and glacis, were several large birds, not unlike a *Mallard*; but by the peculiarity of their cry, they must be of a different species.

After our ride, we breakfasted with the bishop, on coffee, bread, and country cheese, (which last is very indifferent) apples and mulberries: the mulberries are of the small *Indian* sort, not much resembling ours in *Europe*. We finished, with smoaking the *Argile*, and drinking a glass of *French* white wine, and came home about nine o'clock, when we found the carpenters, briskly at work on our *Takht Revans*.

Basha Solyman, is the chief commander at *Baghdad* under the *Grand Seignior*: in effect, he is the supreme lord himself of this part of the empire. He makes no remittances to the *Porte*, but rather, he yearly brings his master in debt for repairs, or pretended repairs of fortifications, support of troops, &c. The *Grand Seignior* has more than once attempted to supersede him; but the *Famizaries*, of whom he has at least forty thousand under his command, would admit of no other master; since that time three or four different messengers have been secretly sent for his head, but

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as he has always been wary and apprized of their errand, instead of submitting and reverently kissing the mandate, as is the common practice of those who live within reach of the *Grand Seignior's* authority, he has always made it a rule to send the heads of those very messengers to *Constantinople* instead of his own. He keeps the province in good order, for all have a high opinion of his military skill and prowess; but whenever he shall die, it is expected, the greatest confusion will ensue: *Christians* in particular will not be in safety for their persons or property; and therefore, it is apprehended, will take care to remove in time. The *Janizaries* here are in general disposed to be rude to strangers, but so restrained by the present *Basha's* power, that the subjects of *European* princes not only live in peace, but are also treated with the greatest respect.

We found residing at *Baghdad*, *Azet Khan*, one of the competitors for the *Persian* empire, who after his defeat by *Achmet Shab*, fled here for protection, with only twenty followers. The *Khan* has lately expressed a desire of returning to *Persia*: This request of his in all probability will not be granted, the *Basha* pretending that it is not in his power to accede to it, until he shall have received an order from the *Grand Seignior* for that purpose. *Cojee Raphael*, who frequently attends the *Basha's* and *Kabier's* levees, assures me, that *Kerim Khan* has lately fought and defeated *Hassein Khan*. *Achmet Shab* still continues in his own, the *Afghan* or *Pytan* country; but in the year 1757, he marched an army into the empire of the *Great Mogul*, and plundered the capital city *Debli* of its jewels, monies, and valuable effects, though he did not think proper to dethrone the *Mogul*, following herein the example of the famous *Kuli Khan*. This *Achmet* is reported to have 300,000 soldiers under his command.

When we came from *Bassora*, we left the son of the *Grand Seignior's* *Jesferdar*, or chief treasurer, a prisoner there; here we found the father himself in prison. He is charged with having been guilty of many frauds, and his goods and chattles were a few days ago seized upon, and exposed to sale at a public auction. It is generally imagined that he will not be long-lived.

Two months ago, *Selim, Basha* of the *Courdistan* province, was put to death in this *Seraglio*; during the government of *Achmet* the late *Basha* of *Baghdad*, this *Selim* was a *Caun*, and governor of the *Persian* province of *Courdistan*, and gave great trouble not only to the *Persians* who were under his own immediate command, but also to the subjects of the *Grand Seignior* who lived in his neighbourhood. *Achmet Basha* had often sent troops against him, and a little before he died, put himself at the head of an army; but the *Persian*, though oftentimes in great danger of falling into his hands, yet made a shift to escape, which so much mortified the *Basha*, that it is universally believed, he died of a broken heart. The civil wars of *Persia* having for some years subjected the *Courdistan* province to the authority of

of the *Basba* of *Baghdad*; *Selim*, though much against his inclination, had been obliged to make his submission. *Solyman*, the reigning *Basba*, not satisfied with this, had long wished for an opportunity of getting *Selim* into his power, to gratify not only his own revenge, but that of his wife (daughter to the deceased *Achmet*) who, with many other *Turks* and *Persians* whom he had injured, thirsted for his blood: *Selim* it seems had conducted himself with so much cruelty, that he was among the *Turks* become almost the object of as much terror, as ever was the famous *Nadir Shab*. *Solyman*, to effect his design, practised the most refined dissimulation; the strongest professions of friendship on his part were repeatedly made, with assurances that the request *Selim* had presented of being appointed *Basba* over the province of *Courdistan*, should be most readily complied with. Accordingly, an invitation was sent him to come to *Baghdad*, in order to his being invested with the honours annexed to the high office; *Selim* hesitated a long time, being doubtful of the event, but at length all his scruples were overcome by the persuasion and art of two false friends, who had been often sent by him in confidence to *Baghdad*, but through mercenary views had now been brought over to the interest of *Solyman*.

The *Basba* of *Baghdad* took care to be absent at his country-seat, some distance from the capital, when *Selim* made his entrance with his two friends; but left strict orders, that he should be ushered in with all the honours due to his rank. He was accordingly conducted to an handsome apartment in the *Basba*'s palace, and treated with the greatest respect. Previous to this however, doubts had again oppressed his mind, and on his drawing nigh to the city he was seized with an agony of fear; but as it was too late to think of retreating, he resolved to make use of the only means that remained for securing his future safety. Before he entered the walls, he paid a visit of devotion to the tomb of the late *Basba*, and there, agreeable to the *Mahometan* custom, invoked the shrine of the departed spirit. He sent also a supplicating embassy to the *Basba* and his wife, desiring some new marks of their favour and forgiveness: the ambassador returned with an handkerchief from each, which is looked upon as the strongest proof of friendship they could possibly have sent. Thus comforted, all *Selim*'s fears vanished, and with alacrity he repaired to the palace.

In about five days afterwards, *Basba Solyman* returned to his capital; and the morning following was fixed upon for giving *Selim* an audience, and for investing him with the *Pelise*, or vest of silk lined with *Samoor-fur*, which in *Turky* and *Persia* is presented only to those whom they design highly to honour. On the day and hour appointed, the unsuspecting *Selim* was conducted by the proper officer into a grand apartment; then into another, less spacious; and last of all into a third, mean and obscure to a great degree. He had not continued long here, before four or five fellows rushed in and rudely deprived him of his *Cuttari* or knives, and then of his *Shawl*, being the better part of his dress; soon after, they presented him with shackles for

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his hands and feet; when they had put them on, they conducted him to a prison, where he lay eight or nine days, and then was strangled; his head also was cut off, and sent to *Constantinople*. Soon after the death of *Selim*, a schedule of the debts due from him to government was produced to his two false friends, and the discharge of them insisted upon as an indispensable preliminary to the *Basha's* appointing one of them (*Abdallah*) to the government of *Courdistan*, and the other to another advantageous and honourable post. They both agreed to the terms stipulated for their advancement; and on this occasion, the crafty *Solyman*, got in money or good security, twenty thousand purses, each containing five hundred *Piastres*, or one million two hundred and some odd thousand pounds sterling.

The forces kept up at *Baghdad* consist of about 5000 horse, 1000 *Affafs*, and 40,000 *Janizaries*, many of whom are tradesmen. *Coffee Raphael* tells me, that out of all these, the *Basha* cannot of a sudden send into the field above 10,000 men, though in a little time perhaps he might make them up 30,000. In matters indeed where the *Grand Seignior's* interest is materially concerned, reinforcements might be had in a few weeks from *Mosul* and *Diarbekir*; and the government also of *Bassora* could send troops, should the *Basha* of *Baghdad* give his orders for them. *Solyman* is turned of sixty; he was a slave to the preceding governor, hath only one wife, but, shocking to relate! we were informed that he kept upwards of 20 boys for his unnatural gratifications.

There are about 150 *Armenian Christian* families in *Baghdad*, some of whom are *Papists*, but the greater number are under their own *Patriarch*, who resides on the confines of *Turky* and *Persia*. Here are three ministers ordained by the *Patriarch*; their income is uncertain, as depending upon the voluntary subscriptions of their people. *Coffee Raphael* says, that each of them may possibly get 2000 *Piastres* a year, or thereabouts.

A very intelligent gentleman gave us the following particulars concerning the *Turks*: That they are not allowed an unlimited number of wives, but are confined to four at the most; nor do they marry for a certain time, or at pleasure (as *Sir John Chardin* relates) but for life. If their women exceed four, all above that number should be of the husband's slaves, for he has no property in his wife's slaves, and a criminal communication with them is deemed highly scandalous. She receives them from her own family on her marriage, and ever remains mistress of them, independant of the authority of the husband. Neither are the *Turks* cruel to their slaves, as has been commonly, but erroneously imagined; for excepting those who work in their galleys, these people are the happiest of any in the *Grand Seignior's* dominions. A master, who has been faithfully served by a slave for a twelve-month or more, will not sell him; on the contrary, should that slave chance to behave ill afterwards, the master, though he has power over his life, yet seldom extends his severity farther even for the greatest fault, than to strip him.

him of his clothes, dismiss him from his service, and turn him out of the house. If a slave has at any time been put to death, it must have been by a drunken, dissolute *Janizary*, and not by any master who bore the character of a gentleman or merchant. In general, the *Turks* so abominate cruelty in this respect, that should a master treat a slave with too great severity, his neighbours would not fail to reproach him, bidding him to reflect, that the slave is of the human species as well as himself, and shrewdly propose to him this interesting question, *How would you like to be so served, in the same circumstances?*

'Tis no uncommon thing with them to give their daughters in marriage to their slaves, and who are often made governors of places. There is one piece of respect however, which the master always requires when strangers are in company, and that is, for the slave to stand in his presence. This ceremony (which they take care deeply to imprint upon the minds of all) is strictly observed during their whole lives; for though a slave, after having obtained his freedom, may by a lucky turn of fortune, rise to some honourable station, while the master continues in the same rank of life, or perhaps sinks into a lower condition; yet the former, in this point of civility at least, will never be unmindful of his primitive station. It happened lately for the slave of a button-maker in *Bassora*, to be raised to the government of that city; they never afterwards met, though in the *Seraglio*, but the governor paid this point of respect to his old master, who still continued to carry on his trade.

A *Turk* will frequently disinherit an undutiful son, and give his fortune to his slave, only leaving the son a scanty pittance for his support. They always look upon a slave in a more respectable light than an hired servant: the one, they say, is a servant only by misfortune, the other often from choice. If a *Basha* of three tails, or any other man of rank, sends a slave to some distant place on business of importance, it is expected that he shall have greater civilities shewn him, than if he had never been in bondage; for you are to suppose that the slave sent on such an errand is in the secrets of his master, and consequently one in whom he places the greatest confidence. Upon the whole, it is sound policy that directs the *Turk* to put such trust in his slave, rather than in any other person; since it is natural to believe, that he whose happiness or misery entirely depends on his master's pleasure, will be least liable to deceive him.

Our friend observed also, that the *Bashas*, and other *Turkish* governors, are in general very dissolute in their manners; they commonly purchase their offices with a sum of money, but they never fail to reimburse themselves out of the pockets of those who are so unhappy as to live under their jurisdiction. No Gentleman, or Merchant *Turk*, will ever attend the court of a *Basha*, if he can possibly avoid it. Whenever any of them are sent for, they always go with fear and trembling, lest they should be obliged to pay

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pay down a sum of money, or forced into a scandalous association with the great, to the prejudice of some honest man. The *Janizaries* are generally enemies of the *Basbas*, and they are the only people of whom these officers, and the *Grand Seignior* himself, are afraid. They enjoy many privileges above other subjects; occasionally wear a cloak, and in the *Bazars* or markets, they have a right to purchase, duty free, as much of most commodities as their cloaks will cover. The *Salaam*, or salute which they make to their superiors, is far less submissive than that of any other person. They are never punished for any crime in public, but are conducted into a private apartment, the doors of which are immediately shut; in the room are many other *Janizaries*, who forming a circle round the prisoner, hear and judge of the charge that is exhibited against him: if he is found guilty, and sentenced by them to be corporally punished, the punishment must be inflicted by one of their own order, who in doing it, is obliged to rest his right knee on the ground, and not to carry the hand which holds the scourge higher than his own ear. And even the execution of this sentence, may be prevented by any one of the attending *Janizaries* shewing his disapprobation by a hem or cough, or by rising from his seat; for if he does so, the others will immediately follow the example, and the prisoner is of course discharged. If a *Janizary* be condemned to die, he is strangled by other *Janizaries*; the corpse is interred at eight in the evening, and honoured with the discharge of one cannon, in the same manner as if he had died a natural death.

Our friend concluded his account, with observing, that it was morally impossible for a *Turk*, *Persian*, *Arab*, or any other person professing the *Mahometan* faith, ever to be converted to *Christianity*, so long as any mention shall be made of the doctrine of the Trinity. For as their present grand article of faith is the unity of the Godhead, whenever they hear of one being three, and three, one, they are sure to smile at the weakness of such a belief. They acknowledge the divine mission of *Jesus Christ*, and say that he was the greatest of all the prophets before *Mahomet*, that he taught the truth relating to the Godhead, and the duties necessary for mankind; but that his followers abused the purity of his religion, committed blasphemy by calling him God, and that *Jesus Christ* will hereafter appear in judgment against them. They also deny that this prophet of God was ever crucified; for they say, God would never have permitted such an indignity to be offered to so faithful a prophet; and assert that the identical *Jesus Christ* was snatched away by God himself, and the *Jews* ignorantly put another to death in his stead*.

A gentleman *Turk's* dress is very neat. On his head he hath a white or green *Turban*, made of linen or *shawl*†; or he wears a green, red, or black

* This was a very early opinion of some Christian heretics, and no doubt *Mahomet* borrowed it from them.

† *Shawl* is a manufacture of *Camel's* hair, or *Carminian* wool.

cloth cap, or bonnet, which is a foot or more high, very stiff, being thickly quilted, and flat at top: over that part of the cap which goes round the head, is twisted a white or green linnen cloth, but his neck is always bare. Next to his body he wears a long shirt, shaped like our women's shifts; the tail of this shirt is put into a pair of linnen drawers, and over these drawers, is another large loose pair of drawers made of shawl, and to each angle part, is sewed a yellow thin slipper, without an heel, the sole of which is no thicker than the upper leather of the same slipper; these slippers are worn within another stronger pair of slippers, which also are without heels; the outer slippers, on coming into an house, the *Turk* leaves at the door. Next to the shirt, is a vest that fits close to the body and buttons on the breast, whose tail reaches to the calf of the leg: upon this first vest, is another with lapels made of fine linen cloth, which buttons close at the sleeves near the wrists; this vest reaches to the ankles with an open petticoat-like tail, and over it, around the waist, is passed a fine sash, with a border that is generally ornamented with gold or silver needle work. In the bosom, under the lapel of this second vest, is carried the watch and an handkerchief, which handkerchief is also ornamented with gold and silver embroidery: over all is worn a third vest, loose, made either of fine cloth, or of shawl; this has slit sleeves which are lined with silk, and at pleasure are either buttoned; or worn open; but this outer garment is usually thrown off when the person is at home. This description is applicable to their summer habit, the quality, though perhaps not the make of their dress, may differ in the winter. Besides the cap described, we see a variety of other caps, some of which are a foot and a half high, of very great circumference, whose outsides are covered with fur. The cap-gentlemen, I believe, are always in office under the government.

The dress of the women, with whose sight we have been favoured, but who indeed are only those that are on foot in the streets, and consequently of the lowest sort, consists of a shift, like the men's shirts; a vest or two over that, and then a loose cover or veil of linen from top to toe; their legs and feet are covered like the men's. On that part which goes over the head, is fastened a black horse-hair covering for the face, about fourteen or fifteen inches square, which they sometimes lifted up to look at us: their hands and arms are full of different marks made with gunpowder, their faces are spotted blue, and their lips often the same. The better sort of women are admitted on the *Terraces* in the evenings, but their husbands are extremely fearful lest they should be seen by men, from the houses adjoining. We have difficulty to keep ourselves within rule, not more from curiosity, than inattention. Mr. *Garden* and *Cojee Raphael* cautioned us on the subject; the former told us, that one of his neighbours had been very troublesome on this head, and once swore to him aloud, that if he should ever again catch his eye towards his territories, he was determined to throw himself instantly from the *Terrace*, and dash out his brains, that his blood might rest on Mr. *Garden's* head. One of our caps or hats, was seen by another.

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another neighbour, who immediately, open mouthed, protested against the affront: in fact, we are in this great city, prisoners in a very strict sense; a circumstance, somewhat mortifying to the free *British* spirit.

A little before we got here, a country *Christian* merchant of substance, was discovered by the public officers in bed with his own *Turkish* servant's wife; 'twas believed that he had given the husband a sum of money for this liberty, and which he had enjoyed, for some time past. Death is the punishment which the law inflicts on offenders of this kind, or embracing the *Mahometan* faith; by interest and money however the sentence was not executed in this case, but the following punishment in it's stead: the breeches or trousers of the offender were taken off, and the petticoat, or that part of the apparel which is used by the *Turkish* women instead of it, put over his head, and thus shamefully attired, he was led over a great part of the city, publicly exposed, and insulted by the rabble.

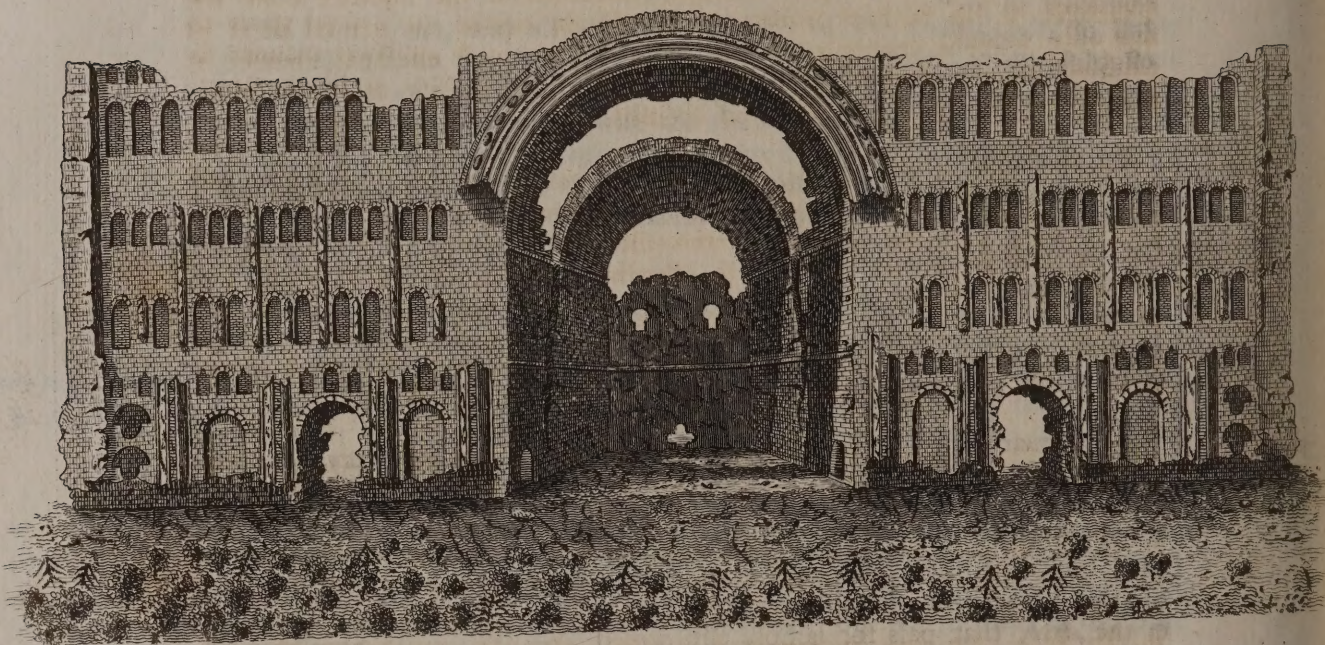
Christians, *Jews*, and all the other *Infidels* of this country, are publicly distinguished from the *Mussulmen*, by the colour of their *Turban*; the latter wearing them only of a white, or deep green, the others of different colours. None but true *Mussulmen* likewise are allowed to wear a green dress; notwithstanding this, Mr. Garden's cloaths were made of a pea-green. This near approach to the *Mussulman's* colour, is permitted to strangers in a respectable station, but they cannot go farther without giving offence, or running a great risk of being affronted.

May 27,

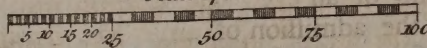
At five this evening, our whole party (Mr. Garden also accompanying us) set off on horses, and mules, for an ancient ruin called *Tauk-Kesserab*, which means *Kesserab's Arch*; it lies to the south-east of *Baghdad*, distant about 20 miles, and within a mile of the *Tygris*. The journey by land is about six hours; we rode it in six, and returned in five, exclusive of the time spent in the village. Having been disappointed in getting horses and mules for carrying our baggage, we were obliged to send it in a *Sandal* down the *Tygris*, intending that our servants should join us with the tent, &c. at the village *Yeallab* ten miles from *Baghdad*: we designed to have rested there a few hours, and then have proceeded on to view the *Arch* early the next morning before the sun should be troublesome; but our servants in the boat met with interruptions which prevented their joining us till the next morning, long after we had reached the ruins. We got to the village about a quarter past nine, having passed by a good deal of corn and garden ground, well supplied with water from the *Tygris*. Here we procured a little milk, others chose a bit of bread and cheese, and drank a glass of the wine we carried with us; after which, each endeavoured to get a little sleep, either in the open air, or under cover of a *Turkish* hovel; but all were disappointed, from the perplexing muschetos, lice, and fleas, which greatly abound in and near such sort of habitations.

At

The East-Face of Taub Kesserak.



Scale of Feet.



At one o'clock we crossed a large creek, in a boat which held twelve men, three horses, four mules, and one ass, and went on towards the *Arch*, which was seen by the help of the moon two or three miles off: the greatest part of the way was through a thicket made up of the liquorice, caper, the low cotton and cypress shrubs; in this cover (called here a forest) are often seen *Lions* and *Wild Boars*, we met with neither, but got very quietly on to *Soliman Pack's* tomb, or the tomb of *Soliman the Clean*, alias, *Smack Smooth*, who was barber to *Mahomet*. The traditional history of this person is, that he was much revered by his countrymen, and looked on as highly favoured of the *Prophet*: he lived to a great age, and was in the general estimation, a pious old man, but as he always was obliged to keep with him a female servant for the management of his domestic affairs, his moral conduct thereby became doubtful, and the subject of much disputation: his revilers however (as the story goes) at length suffered shame, for the *Prophet* himself, concerned at the injustice done the character of his faithful *Soliman*, miraculously caused the genital parts to fall off; thereby enabling the old man, in the most effectual manner to establish his innocence, by shewing them the impossibility of his committing the crime of which he stood accused.

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May 28.

In this holy man's sleeve, some of the most credulous *Mahometans* tell you, the cat made it's first appearance: having been supernaturally produced there, through his devout intercession, for the advantage of mankind. On the first discovery, the *Sage* so cherished it, that in tenderness he cut off the sleeve of his garment, and placed it as a carpet for the valuable stranger. So much for this fabulous story: the outer wall of his tomb appears to be of modern brickwork, nor does the tomb itself look so ancient as the porch or entrance to it.

At a quarter of a mile distance, stand the ruins of that very considerable work of antiquity, we intended to visit. Neither the *Turks* nor *Arabs* know any thing about it; they are at a loss to determine, whether it was a temple or palace. The bishop told us it was commonly supposed to have been a temple, dedicated to the sun; probably people have been led to this conjecture, from observing very many openings yet remaining in the *Arch*, that pass for lamps, and which they say, could have been all lighted in the twinkling of an eye; our opinion was, that these holes were so many funnels for the admission of air. Mr. *Doidge* took with his *Quadrant*, the exact measurement of the *Arch*, and the front of the building, and drew a perspective view of it with his pencil: the east face of the whole is 300 feet in length, the breadth of the *Arch* 85 feet, height of the *Arch* 106 feet*, length of the *arched* roofed room from east to west

* Our common journal contains these farther observations. "Part of the roof of this room is fallen in; the front on each side of the arch is full of niches like our cathedrals, in which there probably once stood some images: the whole fabric is built of bricks a foot square, and three inches thick."

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is 150 feet: the niches, in the face or front of the building, resemble the work of our old abbies. The front, of which Mr. Doidge has taken a view, stands due east, in which are still niches, and defaced pillars; the west and back front is very much destroyed, no view therefore was taken of that. In the *Arch* were pigeons, jays, sparrows, and some other birds. Until the sun got high, we had shelter from its rays, within the *Arch*; but after that we had recourse to our tent, where we found it very hot indeed.

To the southward, between this ruin and the *Tygris*, is a tomb and *Mosque*, named *Haud Eeffey*: and on the other side of the river, is a rising spot on which stands a powder-mill, for the use of *Baghdad*, called *Purite Kaune*. For a very considerable way all around the *Arch*, the ruins of other vast buildings are to be found, though in such desolation, that not the smallest piece of a wall is now standing. The bricks and mortar however are in such abundance, that no doubt can possibly remain but that here once stood a city of several miles in circumference; and from the accounts given by historians of the extent and situation of *Ctesiphon**, there is the greatest reason to believe, that on this very spot, that magnificent and powerful city once stood.

One of our *Turkish* servants who spoke a little of the *Portuguese* language, told my man *M'Intosh*, that the most general received opinion in this country, was, that *Tauk Kessera*, was not built by a *Persian*, *Parthian*, *Turk*, or any other *Asiatic*, but by an *European* prince, who came into this part of the world with a large army, and subdued it. As we had not yet met with any edifice in *Asia*, carrying with it so great a resemblance of the ancient *European* architecture as this; it struck me, that *Tauk Kessera* might have been constructed, soon after the conquest of this part of the world, by *Alexander the Great*, or one of his captains†.

The *Turks* confess that they know nothing certain concerning this ruin; there is however a traditionary and fabulous account amongst them, that it was built by one *Kessera*, the son of *Shirwan*; that he was the king of the country and resided in this palace; that he caused a chain to hang down

* *Ctesiphon*, according to the ancient accounts of it, was situated on the east side of the *Tygris*, at some distance from *Seleucia*, and a little removed from the river. These ruins are on the east side of the *Tygris*, about 18 or 20 miles from *Baghdad* (the ancient *Seleucia*), and that part of them which is nearest the river, is a mile distance from it.

† From the similarity between the name of this ruin *Kessera*, and the *Greek* word *Kaisar*, a friend of the author supposes that this edifice might possibly have been built by one of the *Cæsars*, emperors of *Rome*, several of whom are known to have carried their arms into this part of *Asia*; and then the *Tauk Kessera* will signify *Cæsar's Arch*.

See this controverted in *Journ. & Journey* Vol. 2. p. 350. 10

to the ground from the room in which he himself slept, so that whoever in his dominions had any grievance to complain of which they wished the king to redress, they were ordered to pull at this chain. It once happened, that an ass which had suffered much from the cruelty of his master, came and tugged at the end of it; and what was still more surprizing, the power of speech was so far miraculously given to him, as enabled him to make one of the king's attendants understand, that he the ass had business with his majesty. The creature accordingly got admittance, discovered its wounds, &c. The owner was sent for, severely rebuked, and told, that if in a certain number of days, he did not cure the ass, he should certainly be put to death. Fortunately for him, says the fable, the creature was made well exactly at the time limited, and ever afterwards the ass, and all other useful cattle, were exempted from those heavy sufferings, to which before this incident, they had been accustomed from the severity of their masters, who intimidated by this surprizing story became also more careful of the lives of their beasts. The story adds, that a great snake came afterwards to make a visit, but his business was only to bring the king a water-melon-seed, as a reward for the faithful discharge of his kingly trust: and from this single seed have since been produced all the water-melons in the world. Such kind of allegorical stories are not uncommon in *Turky*.

About a mile and a half to the eastward of the *Arch*, stands an ancient mud-wall, three sides of a square, fronting east, west, and north; the river is to the south: the wall is about forty feet high, and thirty thick, and each side about a mile in length; we conclude it to have been a citadel to this once extensive city. From the ruins hereabouts, are picked up ancient coins: not long ago, a poor fellow in digging, found a small jar with one piece of gold, and several sorts of silver and copper pieces of money. I could only learn that they are looked on as ancient *Persian* or *Parthian* coins: the present *Basha* has them, though neither he nor any of the *Turks* have a true taste for such remains. The bishop's passion turns to medals; he has made a great collection, it is said to the value of 50 or 60,000 piastres, or about 6 or 7000 *l.* sterling.

From some poor *Arabs*, who live in a small village near the *Arch*, we got milk, butter, and a lamb which our servant broiled; he shot also a young *Jackal*, which we presented to an old *Arab* woman who was very thankful, and we were told would eat it.

At half past twelve at night, we sent our baggage to the *Sandal*, to be carried to *Baghdad*, and mounted our cattle; we returned over the river to *Yeallab* about three in the morning, when we were entertained by the lark; rested before the ferry-house for half an hour, saw eight *Pelicans* in our journey back, and arrived at Mr. *Garden's* in the city, between six and seven,

Monday,
May 29.

1758.

where we got a comfortable breakfast on tea and clouted cream, sung a song, and went merrily, but very weary to bed.—Slept till near noon.—In the evening we were visited by the bishop, and father *Fidelle*; his lordship had expressed a desire that we would favour him with the out-lines, should we make a sketch of the *Arch*; Mr. *Doidge* shewed him what he had taken in his pocket-book, apologized for not being able now to compliment his lordship with a copy, but promised him one to be sent from *England* when finished: the bishop appeared pleased and obliged, and invited us all to dine with him to-morrow.

May 30.

We were politely entertained to-day by the bishop; two courses of eight dishes at dinner, a dessert, punch, claret, *French*, and *Turkish* white wines. His lordship entertained us also with an account of an antique pile of buildings called *Kurman Shab**, still to be seen at about twelve days journey between this place and *Isfahan*; wherein is a great deal of sculpture in marble, with *Basso* and *Alto Relievos*, representing battles, trophies, arms, men, and camels; and one most remarkable horse whose body seems quite detached from the wall, being joined only by the pedestal on which it stands. In the roof is a window represented, and a head crowned, with great earnestness looking through it, but at what object, the observer is for a time at a loss to guess, till casting his eye in a particular direction, which he is led to do by the extatic gaze of the figure above, he discovers a bath, and in it a naked *Venus*†.

In another part of the building, there is a long inscription in characters unknown to the bishop, or any other of the *French* antiquarians. The letters are neither *Persian*, *Parthian*, *Chaldean*, *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Coptic*, or any other type now known in this part of the world. His lordship had in his possession two or three pieces of silver coin, one of which he presented to Mr. *Doidge*, on which is a head exactly like that before described as looking with such desire on the *Venus* in the bath. The characters around its edge, his lordship says, are of the same sort with those of the inscription in *Kurman Shab*, but whose head it is, he does not pretend to determine. He has compared it with the several impressions in his books of medals, but can find no similitude. He shewed us indeed another coin, and upon comparing it with one in his book, we saw that it bore a strong resemblance of the

* *Kurman Shab*, signifies *Royal Kurman*; but whether it stands for the name of a country, city, building, or king, nobody here could inform us.

† 'Tis possible this piece of sculpture might have been intended to represent the well-known story of *David* and *Bathsheba*.

“And it came to pass in the evening tide, that *David* arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king's house; and from the roof he saw a woman washing herself; and the woman was very beautiful to look upon.”

2 Samuel, xi. chap. 2d verse.

famous *Artaxerxes*, who restored the ancient grandeur of the *Persian* kings. The bishop however is very confident that this coin, and the head in *Kurman Shab*, were both designed for the third or fourth king after *Artaxerxes*, for he thinks it was not till their reigns, that this new and unknown language was introduced.

1758.

Mr. *Doidge* borrowed of the bishop a cover of an earthen vessel, to take off an impression. It was found near the ruins of *Tauk Kessera*, and in it were many coins both gold and silver of several kings of *Parthia* and *Syria*, who reigned after *Alexander*. One of *Antiochus* the 4th, and another of *Antiochus* the 5th, of the most curious metal; the last is judged to be worth 500 crowns. The cover is four inches and a half in diameter, and thirteen and a half in circumference: It has an indented knob in the middle of the surface, through which is a hole, probably for a ring to hold it by. On each side of the knob is a *Sphinx* rampant, one with its back to the other. Between the hind and fore leg of each, is a sprig with a flower. Their wings join at the top, and terminate in a flourishing sprig over their heads. At the bottom, between their legs, is another sprig, not much unlike a mitred cap. Around all, is an inscription on the margin in large characters, unknown to every one here, but which the bishop suspects to be of the same kind with those on Mr. *Doidge's* medal, and the inscription in the ruins of *Kurman Shab*.

This morning, our conducting *Arab* came to us; and brought the *Jew* with him, who told us that all his goods were in the *Desert*, and ready to be put on the camels backs; so that *Habil Swylem's* ill health is now the only impediment to our setting out. We talked of paying a visit this evening to *Nimrod's* tower. People usually set out early in the morning, stay there in a tent during the heat of the day, and return in the evening. But to avoid the inconvenience of continuing so long under a tent, as we before experienced in our excursion to *Tauk Kessera*, and to save ourselves the trouble of carrying with us our servants and baggage, we proposed setting off early enough to allow our being at the tower by break of day, and returning to *Baghdad* before breakfast. About nine o'clock this evening, the whole city was in an uproar, occasioned by a fire breaking out in one of the *Bazars*. It was luckily extinguished, after having consumed three shops only.

May 31.

We were assured this morning that there is great danger in going to the tower of *Nimrod* by night, as the *Arabs* frequently make use of this favourable opportunity to attack travellers.

June 1.

Last night arrived at the *Seraglio* a messenger from *Aleppo*; who brings an account of the *Basha* of that city being removed to the *Bashalic* of *Mosul*, and of another's coming to *Aleppo* in his place.

June 2.

Habil

1758. *Habil Swylem* called upon us this morning, and seemed to be in better health; he declares he will leave *Baghdad* next *Friday*, and proceed directly for *Aleppo*.
 June 3.

June 4. The bishop and four reverend fathers supped with us this evening, and staid till past eleven. His lordship desired us not to forget, when we shall arrive at a certain place, (four days journey on this side of *Aleppo*) to strike a little out of the road, in order to see the remains of an antient *Roman* canal. And in our journey from *Aleppo* to *Scanderoon*, he advised us to take that road which leads to *Antioch*, there being some old ruins well worth seeing in this last place.

Monday
 June 5. The bishop and *Cojee Raphael* told me to-day, that they heard the *Arabs* about *Bassora* had lately broken down the banks of the river, by which the *Desert* near to the city is quite overflowed. His lordship expressed great uneasiness about it, as the standing water made putrid by the heat of the sun, and by the great quantity of dead fish which are always floating in it, never fails to produce fatal fevers; by which, about fifteen years ago, 12 or 14,000 people died, and not above two or three of the *Europeans* who were then at *Bassora*, escaped with their lives.

June 6. Our *Takht Revans* are now quite finished; we begun to season forty-six large, and twenty small dog-skins, we bought here for the holding of our water. The furnishing ourselves with necessaries for our journey has been attended with great difficulties, the laws of the *Ramazan* forbidding the people to work. The *Bazar*-folks and artificers have been all hungry, thirsty, and out of temper; through the interest of Mr. *Garden*, and the promise of extraordinary pay, we are at last fitted for setting out. At nine this evening the *Ramazan* ended, the *Turks* having discovered the new moon. I observed they were attentively looking out for her at sun-set. The government at nine o'clock made her appearance known to the people, by firing four guns from a bastion.

June 7. This morning was ushered in with a discharge of all the artillery of every bastion, to the number of near sixty: this is the usual demonstration of joy at the expiration of the *Ramazan*. The discharge was repeated in an hour afterwards, not, as at first, in regular successive firings from each bastion, but in a hurrying confused manner. The *Turks* are all dressed in their holiday suits, and Messieurs *Garden* and *Raphael* went to make their congratulatory compliments to the grandees.

Yesterday we delivered to *Habil Swylem*, for the use of himself, the *Takht Revan* men, and our other attendants, the following articles of provisions; it being customary, either to furnish them with their whole stock at once,
 or

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of the camels. greatly alarmed at it, and have sent a servant to inspect into the real state the necessary Camels. This, he apprehends will be our case. We are time, as the Damascene Caravan is still there, not being able to purchase the village that for a long

or to supply them daily from your own tents on the journey: and as in coming up the *Euphrates* we had already experienced too much vexation on this head with our *Trackers*, we were determined on not risking a repetition.

1758.

Rice	—	—	—	8	Baghdad Maunds,	or 120	lb
Rusk or biscuit	—	—	—	4	—	—	60 lb
Flour	—	—	—	4	—	—	60 lb
Ghee or butter	—	—	—	1	—	—	15 lb
Coffee	—	—	—	1	—	—	15 lb

At eleven o'clock in the morning, we received the mortifying news of our *Arab* conductor being again taken ill of a fever. At five in the evening, he with great difficulty crawled to our house, and we were all witnesses of his being ill indeed. We desired Mr. *Hemet*, who had some knowledge of medicine, to take care of him. Our friend Mr. *Pye* is likewise indisposed with feverish symptoms; I took away a little blood from him about six o'clock in the evening: at eight I ordered an *Ipecacuna* vomit to be given him; but his fever continuing to increase, at ten he took the fourth part of a paper of Dr. *James's* powder.

The bishop came to see us this morning. Mr. *Pye's* medicine operated properly: he sleeps, and is tranquil. The good and friendly bishop visited Mr. *Pye* in the character of a physician. With the rest of us he reasoned as a divine, recommending patience, fortitude, and resignation to the will of heaven; bidding us to be of good cheer, even though we should be detained here till the month of *September*.

June 8.

A purple fever now rages in the city; it is supposed, that an eighth part of the inhabitants are ill in it; but as yet it has not been very fatal. The very hot months, they say, are commonly most healthy. His lordship recommended it to us, not to think of setting out from hence over the great *Desert*, with any other conductor besides *Habil Swylem*, and prays us to be mindful of this maxim, that "in *Turky* an imprudent step cannot be remedied as in *Europe*."

Mr. *Pye's* fever is entirely gone, but has left him quite relaxed. *Cojeo Raphael* is of opinion, that the *Arab* will not leave the village *Aet* for a long time, as the *Damascus Caravan* is still there, not being able to purchase the necessary *Camels*. This, he apprehends will be our case. We are greatly alarmed at it, and have sent a servant to inspect into the real state of the camels.

June 9.

This morning the wind blew from the northward, and was agreeably cool. The holy-days following the *Ramazan*, end with this day. Tomorrow the several artificers will make no scruple of going to work.

We

1758.

We were informed this evening by our *Arab*, that the *Camels* are not yet come, but he expects them soon, and will certainly set out this day sen'night. Such shuffling and deceit have quite wearied us out; and as it was clear, that we could not now leave *Baghdad* before the hottest weather would set in, we consulted together, and resolved, "that the risk attending our travelling over the *Desert*, is too great, and cannot be encountered with prudence." Two *Christians* who attempted to pass it last summer exactly at this time of the year, died on the journey: so did fourteen or fifteen of the country-people, belonging to the Great *Caravan*. We concluded therefore to tarry here, though to our unspeakable mortification, till *September* next.

June 10.

The conductor of our *Takht Revans* used his utmost endeavours last night to persuade us to proceed by the *Mosul* and *Diarbekir* roads. He said, that he lately travelled that way from *Constantinople* to this place; and assured us, that the sickness and troubles which prevailed in those parts of the country are over; that in the way from hence to *Mosul*, not the least danger can possibly happen; that every day we shall be in a village, where refreshments may be had; that between *Diarbekir* and *Aleppo*, the *Desert* we have to pass, will only take us up seven days; that the *Samiel* winds may be avoided by travelling in the night only; and that a guard of soldiers, which might be procured from the *Basha*, would secure us from all insult. *Cojee Raphael* this morning joined in the proposal, on which we resolved to take this route, and commissioned *Cojee Raphael* to get the necessary *Phirmaunds* from government, and every other thing which may be useful to us on our journey.

In the evening, *Cojee Raphael*, after having consulted his friends in the city, on the nature of our journey, returned, and gave us great encouragement. He confirmed the account before given us by the conductor of the *Takht Revans*, that by that route we should avoid the great *Desert* wholly, find ourselves daily in towns or villages, and finish our journey in thirty-five or forty days. We give ourselves up entirely to his directions; and notwithstanding the many disappointments we have met with since we left *Calcutta*, begin again to please ourselves with the hope of being in a few months, in our native country, blessed with the happy sight of our families and friends.

Habil Swylem returned us this morning 1200 *Piafres*; the remainder, he said, had been laid out in necessaries for us, which he is to account for to-morrow. We now find, even was he in health, that it would be impossible for him as yet to proceed on his journey, through the want of a sufficient number of camels. He sent us a message expressive of great sorrow for our disappointment, and with offers of waiting upon us, three months hence. This poor man, we think, has not dealt quite candidly with us; yet, believe, he was not without hope of being able to fulfil his contract much better than it has turned out. He has for the most part, gotten his livelihood

livelihood under the patronage of Mr. *Shaw*, and other *European* gentlemen, and they all give him a good character. Mr. *Hemet* thinks he will get the better of his fever.

1758.

I paid the bishop a visit in company with Messieurs *Garden* and *Doidge*. He shewed us a very large and valuable *Ruby*, some antique *Onyx* stones, very curiously cut, and some more medals. He has two collections of *Roman* coins; one of them is compleat, (which he does not intend to part with) in a regular succession from *Julius Caesar* down to *Constantine*. The other set (which has a chasm of seven *Emperors*) his lordship proposes to sell*, and imagines that it may be worth 50,000 *Piaſtres*. He has also some medals of private *Roman* families, and a great number of the Kings of *Syria*, *Parthia*, and *Persia*. Of the last he has many duplicates in gold, silver, and copper.

June 11.

Yesterday returned a *Patamar* or express to our *Jew* merchant from *Aleppo*, by the way of the *Desert*, which he had dispatched from this place about a month or five weeks ago. He was robbed three times by the *Arabs*, but knowing some of the tribe, he had the good fortune to preserve the letter he had in charge. The *Jew* merchant, with 4 or 500 of his brethren, as also many *Mahometans*, are gone to pay their annual devotion to the tomb of *Ezekiel* the prophet, which by their account is at *Kuta* a village on the western bank of the *Euphrates*, eight or nine miles above *Hilla*: where likewise they shew you, what they call the fiery furnace, into which *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abed-nego* were thrown. Somewhere about *Corna*, are the remains of an ancient tomb, which is said to be that of the prophet *Ezra*; and in the ruins of *Niniveh*, near *Mosul* (of which hereafter) is one reported to be the prophet *Jonah's*. We are impatient for the return of the *Jew* hither to open his packet, being big with expectation of news from *Europe*. Our setting off for *Mosul* depends also on the return of these devotees, for we are to be served with thirty of their mules.

Monday
June 12.

At three this morning, all the party (except Mr. *Pye*, whose want of strength would not admit of it) accompanied by Mr. *Garden*, and an *Italian* missionary named *Clementino*, with one of Mr. *Garden's* servants, and an *Arab* to shew us the road, left *Baghdad* for *Nimrod's* tower. It lies west by north, distant about nine miles. We passed the *Tygris* by the same bridge of boats before-mentioned, and rode through the old city of *Baghdad*; from whence, quite up to the tower, ruins of buildings either wholly above or somewhat under ground are still to be seen, which can be no other than the remains of the ancient *Seleucia*. The ground began to rise in a gentle ascent, for half a quarter of a mile before we reached the tower, occasioned, as we imagined, by the rubbish of the old buildings which once stood here.

June 13.

* He seemed to wish that we would give notice of this to our countrymen.

Qq

Whether

1758.

Whether the tower was at first of a square or round form, is now difficult to determine, though the former is most probable, because all the remaining bricks are placed square, and not in the least circular. The bricks are all twelve inches square, and four and an half thick. The cement is of mud or slime, mixed with broken reed as we mix hair with mortar; which slime might either have been had from one of the great rivers, or taken out of one of the swamps in the plain, with which the country hereabout very much abounds. We passed one of these swamps in our way, which was about an hundred yards broad, and four feet deep. Between *Baghdad* and *Kircoote*, according to the bishop's intelligence, are two fountains of *Nust Demar*, or bituminous pitch. It comes out of the earth boiling hot; and this is what some writers have supposed the scriptures to mean by slime, in the building of the Tower of *Babel*. Betwixt every seventh or eighth brick in the tower, is a layer of reeds, of which I took a few for the sake of curiosity, also some of the slime, and a piece of both sorts of the brick, the harder and softer; for those which lie in the rubbish are of a much harder substance, than what now remain in the tower.

The height of the ruin is 126 feet; the diameter of the largest and middle part about 100 feet. We judge it to be solid to the center; yet near the top there is a regular opening of an oval form, but as we could not climb up to, can determine nothing positive about it; it appears however from the present look to have been a window. The circumference of that part of the tower which remains, and is above the rubbish, is about 300 feet, but probably could the foundation be come at, it would be found of far greater extent. Mr. *Doidge*, from whose draught with a pencil, the copper-plate here inserted, was taken, calculated the visible ruins of the tower to contain about 100,000 cubic feet.

The present *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Arabians*, are fond of believing this to be the identical ruin of the ancient tower of *Babel*, for which they assign a variety of reasons; but all, so void of the appearance of truth, that to set about confuting them would be losing time in trifles. I am clearly of opinion, from its situation, and many other circumstances, that it never could have been the tower of *Babel*; but rather suspect it to have been a beacon or watch-tower to give notice of the approach of an enemy; or perhaps used as an observatory to inspect the various motions of the heavenly bodies, which science was so much cultivated among the ancient inhabitants of this country, that even the *Grecians*, though desirous of being esteemed the inventors of all arts and sciences, could never deny the *Babylonians* the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. And indeed the advantageous situation of *Babylon*, which was built upon a wide, extended plain, where no mountain confined the prospect; and the constant clearness and serenity of the air in that country, so favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens, were sufficient

Tower of Babel, or Nimrods Tower.



from a: to b: is 126 feet.

Whether the tower was at first of a square or round form, is now difficult to determine, though the former is most probable, because all the remaining bricks are placed square, and not in the least circular. The bricks are all twelve inches square, and four and an half thick. The cement is of mud or lime, and was broken red as we mix hair with mortar, which time in, rather have been had from one of the great rivers, which time in, rather have been had from one of the country. In our way, which was at first, and now is, and now is, are two foundations at the base of the tower, and the distance between them is about 100 feet. The tower is now in ruins, and the ruins are of a much larger size than the tower.

The height of the tower, from the base to the top, is 126 feet. The tower is now in ruins, and the ruins are of a much larger size than the tower.

The tower is now in ruins, and the ruins are of a much larger size than the tower. The tower is now in ruins, and the ruins are of a much larger size than the tower.

sufficient motives to engage this people in the pursuit of astronomical observations *.

In our excursion to the tower, we met with no interruption, and saw but very few persons; however, it would not be prudent for a man to go thither alone, or even for a large party unarmed. We all had our pistols with us, and Mr. Garden's servant carried a musket. We tarried at the tower an hour and half, and by ten in the morning got back to Mr. Garden's house. In our return through the old city, we passed close by a decayed *Mosque*, upon whose dome we observed a stork, of the size of a goose, its breast white, its head black and white, as were its wings; it had a long beak, and legs not less than two feet in length. In its nest on the top of the dome, were young ones, the head of one of them was visible to us; the nest was built of sticks, and of an entire round form; we judged it to be four feet deep, and at least two over.

June 14.

I took notice this morning, that almost all the *Minarets* bend or incline to the south-east. Two of them lean very remarkably that way, but whether they were so designed by the builders I was not able to learn. Perhaps the inclination may be owing to the force of the north-west wind, or to the foundations giving way. From these, the people of the *Mosques*, five-times in the 24 hours, (at sun rise, at noon, at three o'clock in the afternoon, at sun set, and at midnight) call the inhabitants to prayers, crying aloud, "There is but one God, and Mahomet is his Prophet: it is the duty of man to remember his God. *Mussulmen* are now by his servants called upon to come and pay their acknowledgments, and humbly to present their supplications."

We were informed to-day, that the *Basha* was preparing for war, and would very soon put his army in march for the north-ward. The bishop, who presently afterwards paid us a visit, said he had heard the report, though not as a thing certain, but would make farther enquiry about it. He did not think it improbable, because the *Arabs* had lately robbed a *Caravan* on the northern road, and even at this time, another between *Mosul* and *Diarbekir* is hindered from proceeding, through the apprehension of meeting with the same fate. The *Arabs* and malecontents it seems have taken advantage of the disorderly state of the government of *Mosul*, whose new *Basha* is not yet arrived there from *Aleppo*; the accounts say, he was to leave *Aleppo* the day after the ending of the *Ramazan*.

June 15.

Nothing particular: but Mr. Pye was so much recovered, as to take a ride round the walls of the city. *Baghdad*, by Messieurs *Alms* and *Doidge's* observations, lies in latitude $33^{\circ} 21'$ north.

* A principio Assyrii propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolabant, cum coelum ex omni parte patens & apertum intuerentur, trajectorynes motusque stellarum observaverunt. Cic. lib. 1. de Divin. n. 2.

1758.

June 16.

June 17.

The devotee *Jews*, and *Mahometans*, to the number of above a thousand, returned to-day from the tomb of the prophet *Ezekiel*. — *Habil Swylem* returned also our necessities and arrears of money. We delivered the first into the hands of the *Aga*, appointed by the *Basha* for our leader and protector. — The *Aga* visited us this morning, and as some days before we had paid for the hire of 30 mules, we agreed to leave *Baghdad* to-morrow in the afternoon. We settled things with him relating to our journey, and many civilities passed on each side. The route of our future journey, as received from *Cojee Raphael*, is as follows:

	Hours.
<i>Baghdad to Yainkjah</i>	7
<i>Musabab-Kaun</i>	7
<i>Dely-abafs couprie Kaun</i>	6
<i>Karatapa</i>	10
<i>Askee-couprie</i>	6
<i>Dourcourmatee</i>	9
<i>Tarwook</i>	7
<i>Tazatcomatour</i>	5
<i>Kircoote (a city)</i>	5
<i>Alton couprie</i>	10
<i>Tengee Kaun</i>	5
<i>Arvele (a little city)</i>	5
<i>Zaave</i> , where we pass a river upon <i>Kellecks</i> , which river comes from <i>Persia</i> , and joins the <i>Tygris</i> .	8
<i>Gawerkoe</i>	5
<i>Mosul</i> , a city, and seat of a <i>Basha</i> of three tails	5
<i>Karamlefs</i>	6
<i>Hexie</i>	10
Another village, name unknown	6
<i>Kirkbook</i>	10
<i>Jezira</i> , where is a <i>Beg</i> ; an officer of the people called <i>Courds</i> .	10
<i>Sheatikoi</i>	10
<i>Talsbekier</i>	6
<i>Nisabin</i> , an antient place, with bad water, and bad air.	5
<i>Kazadera</i>	7
<i>Gokweka</i>	6
<i>Coashassar</i>	6
<i>Meskook</i>	7
<i>Hassfranchai</i>	7
<i>Gawerourbee (Merdin city)</i>	8
<i>Marchrean</i>	8
<i>Urfa</i> , a large city, a <i>Basha</i> of three tails, once an Armenian city.	6

1758.

Karassecca	—	—	—	7
Chopchoplee	—	—	—	7
Birjoup, here runs the river <i>Euphrates</i> , which we				
cross to <i>Alazara</i>	—	—	—	6
<i>Sajuera</i>	—	—	—	5
<i>Aktareena</i>	—	—	—	10
<i>Aleppa</i>	—	—	—	8
Total	—	—	—	261 hours.

C H A P. IV.

Occurrences on our journey from Baghdad to Karatapa, Askee-coupric, Dour-courmatee, Kircoote, Arvele, Zaave, Camalisk-Gawerkoe, and Mosul, with our method of travelling.—Observations on the face of the country.—Description of a Turkish Mosque.—Account of their priests; and of a sect called Worshippers of the Devil.—State of Christianity in Turkey.—Tomb of St. Barbara.

1758.

June 18.

AT five this afternoon we left the city of *Baghdad*, having sent out our tents, *Takht Revans*, and other luggage before us. We found the tents pitched on the eastern bank of the *Tygris*, opposite to a country seat of the *Basha*, about a mile to the northward of the walls of the city. We had the satisfaction here to meet with the bishop and father *Fidelle*, who came to wish us a good journey, notwithstanding we had mutually taken leave of each other in the city. His lordship gave us three recommendatory letters; one to *Padre Lanza* an Italian missionary at *Mosul*; a second for *Pere Eugene* a French missionary at *Merdin*; and the other for *Monf. Thomas*, consul for the French nation at *Aleppo*. *Cojee Raphael* came also and delivered us our contract with the *Mulateer*. We had thirty mules for the following uses.

For the two <i>Takht Revans</i>	—	—	—	8
For two <i>Cages</i> for the use of servants.	—	—	—	2
Saddle-mules	—	—	—	4
For baggage	—	—	—	16

For each mule we are to give 45 piaftres, and the *Mulateer* is to carry us and our baggage to *Aleppo*: he is to run all risks; if any mule dies or becomes lame, he is to get another in its room. He has received 900 piaftres, the other 450 are to be paid him at *Aleppo*. He is to find his mules in provisions; and should we make him and his people a present of a sheep and a little rice now and then, it is what they may expect by way of encouragement only, not a matter of demand.

Our *Sice*, or groom, is to have 25 piaftres, to be paid him at *Aleppo*. The *Takbt Revan-gee*, or conductor, has already been paid 29 *Zirmaboobs*, and on our arrival at *Aleppo* he is to have 31 more to make up 60 for himself and his seven men.

1758.

Cojee Raphael now told us, that we must provide a tent for the *Aga*, who in general will chuse to live by himself, and which will be much more convenient for us. Having given away one of our *India* made tents to Mr. *Robinson* at *Karee*, and a second to Mr. *Garden* at *Baghdad*, we commissioned *Raphael* to purchase another for our *Aga*. We continue on this spot till to-morrow evening, in order to recollect whatever may be wanting, and to get ourselves well supplied before we advance too far.

We took a walk this morning in one of the *Basha's* gardens, and found black and white grapes quite ripe; mulberries of the *European* kind, which were originally brought from *Mosul*, peaches, nectarines, and apricots, (the two first were not ripe): almonds, apples, and plumbs come to perfection here in their proper seasons. The quinces, figs, *Pomegranates*, and *Mossungs* (a fruit not much unlike a very small apple, but of a different species) were not ripe, though musk-melons and cucumbers were. We observed also a very large sort of service-berry, and some olive trees. In the afternoon, several *Turkish* and *Armenian* merchants desired leave to go in company with us, which we readily granted.

Monday
June 19th

Aga Mahomet or *Hamet*, whom they call *Aetch Aga*, carries with him orders from *Solyman Basha*, for all governors and captains between this place and *Aleppo*; also four recommendatory letters from him to the *Bashas* of *Mosul*, *Diarbekir*, *Urfa* and *Aleppo*: four others from *Abdulla* the *Kabier* or prime secretary, to the four *Kabiers* of those *Bashas*. The four letters for the *Bashas* were put into white purses, those for the *Kabiers* into red ones. Mr. *Garden* and *Cojee Raphael* recommended it to us, to present the *Aga* with 500 piaftres at parting, should he behave properly. They likewise wish that the *British* consul at *Aleppo* would write a letter by the return of the *Aga* to the *Basha* of *Baghdad*, acknowledging his favours to us.

Had we been merchants instead of king's servants, we were told, we should not have met with such honours; or have been permitted to travel in *Takbt Revans*, or have carried a gilt ball on the top of our tent, none but the *Basha* himself being allowed this last privilege. While we continued on this spot, the *Basha* discovered our gilt ball from his *Seraglio*, and immediately enquired whose it was: upon being told, that it belonged to the tent of the *English* travellers, he very obligingly replied, "Take no notice of it." As soon as we were informed of his politeness, we immediately ordered the ball to be taken down.

At

1758.

At seven o'clock in the evening we struck our tents, took leave of our worthy friend Mr. *Garden*, and *Cojee Raphael*, and at nine got up to *Kuli Khan's* towers and entrenchments, raised during his siege of *Baghdad*, to prevent the garrison's receiving any relief from this side of the country. These towers are eleven in number, and now somewhat decayed; they are built of brick, have holes for musketry, and stand at about five hundred yards from each other.

June 20.

DOKEHALAH.

At half past two this morning we got to *Tainkjab*, having passed over some fields of wheat-stubble; and in an hour after arrived at another town called *Dokehalah*, where we continued till the evening. The latitude of *Dokehalah*, by observation, is $33^{\circ} 43'$ north. Around both these towns are plenty of gardens (inclosed with mud-walls) which supply the city of *Baghdad* with vegetables and fruit. We put up at a clean, mud-built house, one of the best the place afforded. Our *Aga*, who was not under the same roof with us, came and paid us his compliments. He appeared to be a sensible grave man, of few words, yet can handsomely express himself on particular occasions. We agreed before we set off, that he should supply himself, as well as his own three horsemen and their cattle with provisions, at our expence; and we now commissioned him to serve our *Takht Revan* men with their provisions, being desirous not to have any disputes with them on that subject.

At half past six in the evening, we mounted our horses and mules, but it was almost seven before we could set off with our little *Caravan*. We took an eastward course for about an hour and half, which brought us to a bridge, thrown over one of those little rivulets, which run into the *Tygris*. We passed over the bridge, and then travelled north. Very many people were going the road to *Baghdad*. One party had a *Caravan*, which consisted of 2 or 300 beasts, camels, mules, and asses, loaded with straw-fodder for the *Basha's* stables. Until half past ten we marched over a dead level country, save here and there we met with a hill of sand, blown together by the wind. We passed also several creeks which had small bridges over them; these creeks are a kind of artificial rivulets, cut purposely to supply the adjacent villages with water from the *Tygris*. This great river is now to the left, or the west of us, and appears sometimes two or three miles off, at others not more than half a mile. About eleven we came to a large hill, which in this level country might be justly called a mountain; it seemed by moon-light, to extend a great way to the eastward. To the right of the high road hereabouts, I was informed, there are several small towns, that the land is cultivated around them, and the rivulets afore-mentioned serve them with water. Now I got into one of the *Takht Revan's* for the first time, of whose untoward motion we had received a disagreeable account from our *European* servants, but which was not so bad as to hinder me from taking a short sleep.

At

At one in the morning we arrived at our second stage *Kaun-Musabab*, latitude $33^{\circ} 58'$ north, where we pitched our tents, and lay in them: The *Caravanferah* here is old and not kept clean. Our *Aga* would have procured us a house in the village if we had chosen it. About nine o'clock, two parties with camels and asses came in from *Constantinople*, and put up at the *Caravanferah*; they were accompanied by a few horsemen, who had been robbed and wounded to the northward of *Mosul*.

1753.

June 21.

KAUN-MUSABAB.

The evenings and nights are pleasantly cool, but the days very hot. We get mutton, milk, and grapes. We ate pretty freely yesterday of the last, but as some of us had symptoms of a *Diarrhœa*'s coming on, we denied ourselves to-day, and fed on milk. Few of us have any appetite for meat, so that little is used. Yesterday we allowed ourselves one bottle of *Madeira* wine, and the same quantity at night.

At seven o'clock this evening we set off, and travelled rather easterly for about two hours, when we crossed a pretty good bridge over a creek of the *Tygris*, and then went north; passed through some fields of corn-stubble, and about eleven, over a good stone bridge built across a river called (according to the sound of the word as pronounced by our country servants) *Chiba Harpsie*, which they tell us, rises in *Persia*, and falls into the *Tygris*. At a quarter of a mile distance to the right of this river, is a handsome new *Kaun* or *Caravanferah*, and the ruins of an old one. It is called *Soubab-Kaun*, or *Chibach Couprie*, that is, *Chibach Bridge*. The *Aga* observing that we were desirous of seeing every thing that was remarkable, proposed riding up to it, which we did.

CHIBA
HARPSIE.

The late *Basha Hamet* performed a very gallant action near this spot, killing with his lance a lion which for three years had been the terror of the whole neighbourhood: they say, that his horse in its violent exertions on the occasion, burst asunder, he then mounted a mare, which as some relate, kicked the lion on the head, and stunned him; by this lucky circumstance the *Basha* had an opportunity of plunging his lance into his belly, and laying him dead at his feet.

At three this morning, we passed over another stone bridge of two arches, after travelling eight hours, and pitched our tents by the *Caravanferah* of *Dely-abass-couprie*, which by an observation taken by Mr. *Doidge*, lies in latitude $34^{\circ} 10'$ north. This *Kaun* is but a sorry one; we got to it a little after three in the morning, but found other travellers in possession. We again reposed under our tents, having experienced this day and yesterday, to be violently hot; the hottest indeed I had ever felt, and to me almost insupportable, taking away the appetite, and producing an excessive thirst: my fellow travellers however could eat a bit of mutton, and sup a little broth, which is more than I can attempt.

June 22.

DELY-
ABASS-COU-
PRIE KAUN.

R r

At

1758.

At some distance up the river is a village, from whence we got good milk, but no fruit. In our journey for the two last stages, we observed locusts in great abundance; the soil was well cultivated and fertile, by means of the river-water being let in. We passed many travellers, among others, the present *Basha* of *Kircoote*, who for some misdemeanour had fallen under the *Grand Seigneur's* displeasure. He is going to *Baghdad* to get *Solyman Basha* to intercede for him.

Kuscadawrie
Mountains.

At seven in the evening, we mounted again, with our arms; it being thought expedient to be well on our guard, until we have passed some mountains in sight, called *Kuscadawrie*, often infested by robbers. Now we drew lots, and settled our turns in the *Takht Revans*; and as Messieurs *Pye* and *Pigot*, the two lightest men, ride together in one, we are alternately, on and off our horses or mules, every two hours. The motion of these vehicles is uneasy; yet, not to so great a degree as to prevent wearied travellers from getting a little sleep, which, though broken and interrupted, we find to be of great benefit.

Narin river.

The heat of this day has been beyond measure fatiguing. I intended to have proceeded to, and passed over the mountains on horse-back with my arms; but soon became so faint and weak, as to be obliged to dismount, and betake myself to the *Takht Revan*, 'till nine o'clock, when I remounted at the foot of the hills with some degree of spirits, and so travelled on till eleven, amidst romantic, craggy, flinty rocks, formed very advantageously for giving a few robbers an opportunity of attacking a great number of passengers: but fortunately none presented themselves. At twelve we got on the other side of the hills, into a well cultivated valley, where were corn-stubbles. This vale is flooded at the discretion of the farmer, by a little river which we passed over, called *Narin*, whose water is very brackish, owing to the salt petre, with which the soil abounds.

June 23.

KARATAPA

About two in the morning, as we marched on, we discovered a small village to the left, inhabited by the husbandmen of the arable lands; we distinguished it by the lights, and barking of dogs. At four, we got near the town *Karatapa*, lying, by Mr. *Doidge's* observation, in $34^{\circ} 30'$ N. latitude; but our mulateers mistaking the road, it was half past five before we reached it. The *Aga* advanced before, and at our entrance met us, enquiring whether it was our pleasure to pitch our tents, or put up in an house: we chose the latter, and were shewn to the chief's, wherein were prepared two or three well swept apartments, with carpets and cushions laid on the ground. This is a good looking *Turkish* country town, built with mud; it stands on an eminence, and the streets are broader than any I have seen in *Turky*. The inhabitants were more swarthy than those of *Baghdad*, owing, probably

to their working in the fields and gardens ; here are many gardens, and yet we can get no fruit.

In this town of *Karatapa* are hundreds of *Storks* ; you see them almost on every house, in every garden, and on the walls and trees. They seem to think themselves in great security, are in no kind of fear at the sight or approach of man or beast. They had three or more young ones in their nests. The old birds make a very odd noise with their beaks, not unlike that of the *Negroes* musical finger-cracker. When this is doing, the head is turned backward, and the upper bill placed on the rump, while the under is set into the quickest motion, and made to act upon the other : this bird's beak is eight or nine inches in length like that of the *Pelican*, and of the same shape ; there is also a small red bag hanging at the throat.

The house we reside in belongs to the *Sheick* of the village, who cleared it of his women, and had it cleaned on our account. The walls are very thick, whereby the heat is much less distressing than in the two preceding days. The water here would have been good, had it been first fined, but this our servants carelessly neglected : we find by experience, that half an ounce of the powder of *Alum*, thrown into 12 or 14 gallons of muddy water, will in an hour and half make it perfectly clear ; learning this before we left *Bassora*, we there supplied ourselves with a sufficiency of *Alum* for these uses. We found no inconvenience from the *Alum*, and I am inclined to think that it is not only an excellent purifier of thick muddy water, but that in hot climates, it cools the body and braces up the relaxed fibres.

At six this evening, the weather was cloudy, which we very seldom had an opportunity of noting before ; the air since we left *Bassora*, has been very dry, a few nights on the *Euphrates* excepted. The primings to our firelocks and pistols were never damp. Our *Aga* here acquainted us, that he thought it proper to take with us the armed men of the place, and if we approved of it, he would speak to the *Commandant* to be ready to march. (By virtue of his order from the *Basha* he could command this ; nevertheless a pecuniary satisfaction from us will be expected). We consented, and at seven set out with our guard consisting of an officer and 12 horsemen equipped with pistols and lances.

On our left were the ruins of some houses ; and at a quarter after seven a *Chocard* who rode post, passed us, accompanied with two horsemen servants ; they were from *Mosul* going to *Baghdad*, and their news was, that the *Basha* from *Aleppo* was expected at *Mosul* next *Monday*, and that two *Caravans* were still detained there. At half past eight, there fell a shower of large drops of rain ; a short but acceptable refreshment to such thirsty, panting wretches as we are.

1758.

June 24.

ASKEE-COU-
PRIE.

At twelve we crossed another river (which they called like the last, *Narin*) on a little paltry bridge. All this night we travelled over a hilly, stony, uncultivated country, until about half a mile before we reached *Askee-couprie*, to which place we got at half past two in the morning. Here we found the *Sheick's* house ready to receive us, the *Aga* having advanced before for that purpose.

This village lies by observation in $34^{\circ} 50'$ north latitude; is built on an hill, hath rivulets running by it, the water of which is very clear and good. We could get no fruit here unless the *Booberry*, but were told, that at the next stage we shall get fruit, as well as wine; both will be very acceptable. The want of the first we judge to have been the cause of our being all painfully constipated; and the stock of wines laid in at *Calcutta* and *Bombay*, is expended or destroyed to about three dozen of bottles. Our *Aga* indeed puts us to no expence for wine or strong liquors; he drinks only coffee, sherbet and water: a man every way different from our *Bassora Chocarda*. Twenty *Piastres* were given to the *Commandant* for himself and the troop which escorted us hither; and as the *Caravan* for *Mosul* had been lately robbed between this spot and *Kircoote*, the *Aga* recommended our taking another guard; he behaves with great care and modesty, and assured us, in a very pleasing manner, that his only study is that of our ease and safety. We hope he is a *Turk* of honour, and so submit ourselves to his discretion.

We saw this morning in the air, a prodigious quantity of very small bats, and about noon we observed thousands of them clinging to the rafters of our house. We spent this day comfortably, compared with some that were past, chiefly owing to our being in a house. Our tents are made of canvas, well painted, lined with chintz, and have also a marquis; but a painted tent like our's, is better calculated to resist the rain than the heat; and could we have foreseen that we should have come a road, where we hitherto have found plenty of water, a common canvas tent would have better answered our end; as in the heat of the day, we might have kept it constantly wetted with water, which is altogether impracticable with those we now have. The wind blows generally fresh, but so loaded with burning particles of sand, that we find it more for our refreshment to follow the *East India* custom of shutting it out, than admitting it to us.

A little before sun-set, we began to march; our little *Caravan* is now increased, several travellers going our way having joined us for protection. It consists of our own three horses, and twenty five mules, there ought to have been thirty; in excuse for the deficiency, the mulateer pretends that although we agreed for eight mules to our two *Takht Revans*, and two to our cages, yet from custom, there should be but four for the first, and one for the last, and that *Cojee Raphael* knew of this custom, and agreed to the

the observing it: we have now no remedy, unless at *Aleppo*. To our *Caravan*, must be added our *Aga's*, and his three servants, horses, eight horse-guards, and near 30 mules or asses. The moon not rising till late, the *Takht Revans* were preceded by two great lights, placed in iron stoves, and carried by *Turkish* servants.

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All this night, we travelled a W. N. W. course, having, not far to our right, a chain of high, rocky mountains, which are called *Courmaratida*, among which are ruins of ancient fortresses, but now without inhabitants; and on the top of three or four of the mountains are some decayed towers built by *Kuli Khan*. These mountains stand about N. W. and S. E. they continued near to us without any break, till three in the morning, when we arrived in the neighbourhood of *Douzcourmatee*. Here the mountains cease for a while, and a valley begins, through which run many little rivers; we passed over five or six by bridges of one and two arches. To within a quarter of a mile of this town, the whole night's journey was barren and uncultivated, when we came upon some corn-stubble, in which were abundance of *Locusts*: many thousands of them must be destroyed by the trampling of our cattle; but their numbers notwithstanding, fall vastly short of what I saw in *Madagascar*, where the air hath been so full of them, that a man could not be distinguished at the distance of a hundred yards.

Courmaratida
Mountains.

June 25.

DOUZCOUR-
MATEE.

Douzcourmatee is composed of good mud houses, the gardens are well walled, and yield dates, apricots, apples and grapes, the latter not ripe. The severity of the last winter had spoiled many of the vines, but we were told, that commonly, good wine is to be found in this place. The *Aga*, as usual, went before, and got a room ready for our reception. We procured some good milk, a lamb, very fine apples, and cucumbers. Last night the wind was high, and most disagreeably hot and drying; I spoke to our host of the suffocating effect which I experienced from it, and he told me to consider it as a short and slight visit of the *Samiel*.

This morning, we observed many women of the village very busy in supplying their families with water from the running streams, at the foot of the hills, in earthen pitchers. Two men of considerable consequence, visited us; the governor of the place and country adjacent, was one of them, and who is a near relation of the *Basha* of *Diarbekir*, a handsome man of thirty years of age; the other was the *Commandant* of a thousand of *Basha Solyman's* forces, which are maintained here. Our *Aga* consulted them on the state of the country we are to pass through the following night, and learned that it is not altogether peaceable, for very lately a courier of the *Basha* of *Baghdad* accompanied with six or eight other horsemen, had been attacked by some *Arabs*: we therefore resolved to take 15 foot soldiers, and that

the

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the *Sheick* who lives at some distance in our road, should join us with 15 *Arabs*, who would be of more service to us than a greater number of any other kind, as *Arabs* do not usually fight with *Arabs*; but this order is discretionary, and left to the *Sheick* to decline executing, provided he shall be convinced that the road is not infested.

Monday
June 26.

We set off at seven in the evening as usual, and without any molestation got to *Tarwook*, in $35^{\circ} 10'$ north latitude, about half past two in the morning, having had for two thirds of the way, mountains at a small distance on our right, but for the last part of our journey, they were farther from us, inclining more to the eastward of the north: when we were only about a mile from the village they were almost out of sight, and a plain, or extensive vale succeeded, through which passed many a rivulet of good water; over one of them was a water-mill at work.

This village is but a sorry one, seated on a hill; we got to it over a very stony road: the adjacent country was rude and barren, if we except a very few stubble acres. The inhabitants of *Tarwook* breed silk-worms, and weave a silk, which they send for sale to the merchants of *Baghdad*, and other towns.

We were not so well off here for lodgings, as of late, yet those we have are much less disagreeable than a tent, and are the best the place affords: they belonged to a private man whose wives were obliged to move out; we saw them in the yard, nor did they seem to take much pains to conceal their faces. But this was not the first country village since we left *Baghdad*, where we noticed the women to be little scrupulous in this respect. Two or three females are our fellow-travellers; they ride astride their mules, but with the black horse-hair covering over their faces; and as the custom of the country forbids us even to look at, much less to speak to them, we remain entire strangers to each other, nor can we gratify our inclinations by complimenting them in any respect whatever. Mr. *Shaw*, who has resided many years among the people of *Turky*, assured me, it was not only the highest affront you could possibly shew a *Turk* to enquire for the health of the female part of his family, but that it was esteemed very rude even to mention the name of any of the fair sex.

The last night was very pleasant, the air cool and serene, which, thank God, continues even now, though twelve at noon. Five *Turks* with high caps on their heads, and armed, passed us just now on horseback, and also a small caravan with about 12 camels and 20 asses loaded with tobacco, which probably was under the protection of these high cap gentlemen.

With

With the same fellow-travellers as yesterday, and about fifteen foot soldiers taken from hence, we began our march at seven in the evening, and continued advancing over barren ground for the village *Tazalcomatoor*, until we got opposite to it. We then struck off to the right, travelling more north, directly for *Kircoote*, taking care not to touch at the first mentioned village. By this conduct, they say, we save a two hour's journey. Until we got within four or five miles of *Kircoote*, we passed nothing but uncultivated stony lands; but then all was arable to the city, and for some miles around was a fine plain.

We reached *Kircoote*, which lies in $35^{\circ} 30'$ of north latitude, at four in the morning, and passed by the town and citadel to a house which had been provided for us, at a little distance from the town. The fort is of an oblong figure, situated on a high artificial mount, which in the rainy season is by the run of waters from the neighbouring mountains, made an island. About fifteen years ago, *Nadir Shah* took it after a siege of 24 days: an old *Turkish* gentleman of the place informed me, that the citadel was defended by the inhabitants unassisted by the soldiery; about 5000 were in arms, nor did they surrender but on honourable terms; their properties were secured to them, only a grant of provisions for the *Persian* army was agreed to. *Kuli Khan* conformed himself to the letter of the capitulation, till he returned from his unsuccessful expedition against *Mosul*, and no longer; for he then levied heavy contributions, and on the approach of the *Turkish* army, retired, taking with him as much money as he could get from the inhabitants, as well as goods and effects for the use of his army. A little to the southward of the town he stored a magazine with corn and other provisions; these, he could not conveniently take away, nor would he destroy them, but left them to fall into the hands of his enemy. During the siege of the citadel, near 500 of the defenders were killed, and the people in general were very much fatigued and distressed. To the eastward of the city mount, is the tomb of the *Turkish* *Basha* *Hoffein*, who was wounded in the battle of *Derbent* by a musket ball from *Nadir Shah's* army, and then put to death by the sabre of a merciless *Persian* soldier; for which dishonourable and inhuman act, the *Shah* ordered him immediately to be executed, and sent the body of the *Basha* hither to be honourably interred; this incident happened a short time before the capture of *Kircoote*.

The inhabitants in general, are maintained by agriculture, the lands hereabouts being very fertile; large quantities of corn are sent from hence to foreign markets: the mechanics, such as taylor, shoemakers, &c. live as in other places, by their industry. But there is no manufacture carried on here of any consequence.

We were supplied with pretty good mutton, eggs, grapes, apples, cucumbers, figs, sugar-candy and bread.

The

June 27.
KIRCGOTE.

1758.

The house to which we were conducted was at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the town; it had a pretty garden, with a neat pond, grass plats, rose trees and running streams, whose banks were agreeably shaded by the willow. This spot belongs to the chief of the *Mahometan* priests; our *Aga* had rode on before, and obtained permission of the governor and priest for our admittance. We made a short repast, and about five, threw ourselves down on our cots. At nine in the morning, the governor, the *Mussalem* or captain of the fort, and commanding *Fanizary*, with two or three of the principal officers, came to visit us; as we were not risen, they stayed some little time with the priest, and our *Aga*, and then went away leaving their compliments. The real governor of *Kircoote* is a *Basba* of two tails, who at present was in disgrace, as just observed; the gentleman who acted in his absence is only *pro tempore*.

At four in the afternoon, Mr. *Doidge* and I returned the visit, accompanied by the *Aga*, an interpreter, and two other servants. We were received with high marks of respect; stools with cushions both for our seats, and feet, were placed on the right-hand side of the governor. The governor received us after the common custom in *Turky*, sitting on his carpet, but politely bending his body, and bringing his hand up to his breast; and after we were seated, he paid some handsome compliments, and gave us an invitation to tarry four or five days for our refreshment, assuring us that after having entertained us in the best manner in his power, he would take care that at our departure, we should be very well escorted. We excused ourselves from tarrying, but thanked him for his polite offer. On his left hand, sat eight or ten of the principal *Turks* of the place; most of them were very personable, as indeed the *Turks* in general are, both as to stature and comeliness, adorned with full, large, piercing black eyes, and arched eye-brows. Curiosity had brought about the court-yard where we were entertained, a great number of spectators, who had never before seen an *European* habit. We enquired among other things, concerning the present state of affairs in *Persia*, but could not find that they had any late accounts. It was observed during the conversation, that unhappy kingdom had not only been made miserable for many years past through the sword, but by the plague; which occasioned me to say that these two were the greatest of human curses; on which the governor gravely replied, "they are not of *Man*, but of *God*."

In the evening, our party, in company with three or four priests, spent an hour or two on the side of the pond, into which continually flowed several pleasant rivulets. The *Chief Priest*, who seemed to have an haughty spirit, informed me, that within the fort was preserved the tomb of the *Christian* St. *Dennis*, buried here at the time when *Christians* had possessions in this country. No sooner had he concluded, than, very abruptly, he by the interpreter, put to me the following question: "Since we *Mussulmen* have in

“ the highest regard all the *Prophets*, whom *Christians* revere; and since we
 “ even greatly honour and respect the name of *Jesus Christ*, how comes it
 “ that you *Christians*, pay no regard at all to our *Prophet*?” Desirous of
 avoiding to enter on what I esteemed a dangerous subject, I said, “ That as
 “ we were not priests, but men whose business was to serve their King and
 “ country by sea, such religious matters did not naturally fall under our
 “ consideration.” This answer did not prove satisfactory, for the priest repeated the question with an uncommon earnestness; to which I answered, “ That there were not wanting among *Christians*, men, who paid some attention to the memory of *Mahomet*, on account of the charitable maxims he inculcated; and the temperance and sobriety which he so strictly enjoined his followers.” He muttered to himself, but said no more. I afterwards bathed in the priest’s rivulet, under the shade of the willows; which brought to my remembrance, the satisfaction I had formerly enjoyed of the same kind in the pleasant stream of the *Avon*.

The *Aga* judged it proper to rest this day here, both for the relief of men and beasts: the heat to-day and yesterday, though great, hath yet been tolerable; the nights are agreeably cool, and have continued so during our whole journey. Agreeable to advice given us before we entered *Turky*, we all decline having the least pretence to physical or chirurgical knowledge; for otherwise, our lodgings from morning to night would be crowded with patients: as it is, there are many who apply to us and ask questions, but we do not forget to let them know, we speak from hearsay only.

June 28.

Storks are here in abundance. We have heard no singing birds, except the lark, since we left the *Euphrates*. Yesterday, for the first time since I left *England*, I saw a magpye. We find here a troublesome biting gnat, or *Muscbeto*, different from all others, in that it makes no buzzing noise upon its approach.

At six in the evening we mounted our beasts, accompanied by the *Musselem* and our *Aga*; we set out earlier than usual, in order to see the fort; three or 400 boys followed us, who were very rude, and proceeded even to throw stones at us, which behaviour gave the *Aga* and *Musselem* a great deal of vexation. We ascended the hill on horse-back, and so entered the citadel; rode through a *Bazar*, and several narrow streets. The length of the fort was about 250 yards, breadth 120; the hill it is upon, together with the wall, is about 80 feet high: a work of great labour, consisting of earth and small stones well rammed. We saw no cannon, nor any regular bastions; the strength of the place depends on its situation, and capability of being defended with stones and musketry. Many common trades are carried on by the inhabitants within the fort. We saw several of their women, whose curiosity had led them to the tops of their houses to view the *Franks*. We were conducted to a *Mosque* with a *Minaret*, and there were desired to dismount; which we did, following the example of our *Aga*; we were then bade to

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pull off our boots, before we entered the church to see the tomb of *St. Dennis*: as we had received no intimation that any such honour as seeing a *Mosque* was intended us, and not knowing that *Christians* were ever permitted to enter, we hesitated, and ordered it to be intimated to the *Caliph* who was there, that we had always understood that none but those of the *Mahometan* faith were allowed to go into their churches, and that our curiosity was sufficiently satisfied, desiring that we might do nothing irregular. He replied, it was true that *Christians*, inhabitants of the country, were not allowed to enter, but as we were travelling gentlemen, and *Christian Saints* were deposited here, they wished to oblige us, and provided we left our boots without, there was nothing that hindered our admission. We still doubted of the propriety of the step, and were the more uneasy about it by an incident which had happened between Mr. *Pigot* and the *Chief Priest*. On this critical occasion we looked round, but could not for the crowd discover our *Aga*; we then made the interpreter call aloud for him, and agreed he should be asked, if there was nothing improper in the thing proposed, and whether we ran any risk in complying: he, with great seriousness spoke to the priest and *Musselim*, and after receiving their answers, he told us, "No." We then desired that he himself should shew us the way; accordingly he pulled off his boots, and entered the *Mosque*; we did the same, and found it a neat little building without painting, or other ornaments: it had a small pulpit somewhat raised, and two tombs raised round, in which they told us were the remains of two ancient holy *Christians*; one of them they called *Saint Dennis*, the other we could not make out, they said either *Hosea* or *Isaiab*. I asked, if they were sure it was not the tomb of a *Jew* instead of a *Christian*? Was answered, no *Jew*, but a *Christian*. Within the railing were the coffins of the dead, but as these were covered, our curiosity carried us no farther. The priest of the *Mosque* sprinkled us with rose-water, and threw some on our handkerchiefs; and then we withdrew to the porch, where he asked us for a present, which we ordered our servant to give him. We put on our boots, mounted our horses, and rode out of the fort to follow the *Caravan*, which had already begun its march.

We had great reason to believe, that the priest had fixed his eye upon Mr. *Pigot*, a handsome youth of about twenty, to make a convert of him; for he took several occasions to go to him, whilst he lay on his cot in a shady retreat, and endeavoured this very afternoon to make him repeat after him some *Turkish* sentences, which Mr. *Pigot*, unsuspicious of danger, attempted to do: the priest took him by the hand, and directed him to stand (as Mr. *Pigot* understood rather by his motions than words) instead of continuing to lie at length on his cot: *Francisco*, one of our country servants, a *Maronite Christian*, and born at *Aleppo*, passing by and hearing him repeat the words "*Allah il Allah, Muhamed resoul Allah*," which signified, a declaration of the existence of one God, and of *Mahomet* being his true *Prophet*, called to Mr. *Pigot*, and desired him not to repeat them: he then ran to me, desiring with tears in

his

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his eyes, that I would enjoin the young gentleman not to suffer himself any more to be thus exercised, for the priest was attempting to convert him to *Mabometanism*; adding, he knew an instance of it at *Smyrna*, where an unwary person having been taught the like words, the meaning of which he did not understand, and enticed to repeat them before proper witnesses, found himself under a necessity of undergoing the other ceremonies, as ablution, circumcision, &c. which are always the appendages of conversion. This servant since assured me, that the *Chief Priest* did then and often afterwards highly abuse him for having intermeddled; adding, that he was now grown old, must die soon, and would go to hell, unless he embraced the true faith. On our leaving the priest's house, we desired his acceptance of some raw coffee, and half a dozen of china coffee-cups which our *Aga* had recommended as the most agreeable present we could make. We sent it by *Francisco*, with our thanks for his civilities; he received it with a consequential air, but thanked us, and with a high sounding voice, said, "He hoped before long we should all become true *Mussulmen*."

We took with us from *Kircoote* 15 armed men, and travelled over a tract, rocky, and perfectly barren, till after four o'clock in the morning, when we met with some ground which had here and there a cultivated spot. At half past four, we rode by a miserably looking village on our left; it extended to a new bridge of one high arch, which was of so difficult an ascent, that we judged it safest to dismount. This bridge was built at the expence of the reigning *Basba* of *Baghdad*, the old one being in ruins; two arches of it still remain at a little distance from the new bridge, which is about 45 feet high, and very narrow. Having passed a little river by this bridge, we came to a small town called *Alton-Couprie*. The river hath its source in the high *Courdistan* mountains, which we now saw to the right before us, whose tops are partly covered with snow, and empties itself into the *Tygris*. The old bridge here, they tell us was built by the ancient *Christians*, to whom the town formerly belonged. The river abounds with fish, and we got some fine carp; there are some we were told which weigh 200 pounds.

June 29.

ALTON-
COUPRIE.

We pitched our tents on an eminence, somewhat to the northward of the town, and for want of a house, continued in them the whole day. Here I again experienced the weather to be unspeakably hot and distressing. We have to rejoice however that our good fortune brought us this way, and did not suffer us to go by that of the *Great Desert*. Dreadful is the heat even here! but how much more must it have been in the other road, where we should ever have been in want of a house and vegetables, and never have had a plenty of water. In our way hither, we saw a large stone bomb-shell, which our guard told us was one of *Kuli Khan's*; we met also a little *Caravan*, four days from *Mosul*: they confirmed the account we before received of the *Basba's* being expected there in four or five days, and that the two great *Caravans* waited for an escort.

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To-day we got a fine water-melon, and two or three ordinary muskmelons. This town has not any manufacture, the people live by what they get from passengers who go through it, and by the produce of their agriculture. The country in general is hilly, not to speak of the before-mentioned *Courdistan* mountains, which appear to me to run about N. N. W. and S. S. E. These, and the *Sanjack* mountains opposite to them, are the retreating places of the common robbers of the country, who always attack such parties of travellers, as they think are unable to resist them. Here are many storks; these birds feast on slugs, worms, &c. which they find in the corn-fields, and sometimes on serpents; at least we were credibly informed so.

At the common hour, (seven in the evening) we decamped from *Alton-Coupric*, and took with us 30 foot soldiers. We travelled the whole night in a pleasant, cool air, and without the least molestation; our guard, according to their usual custom, firing now and then a musket, *in terrorem*. The country, like what we have so long travelled over, is stony and uncultivated, affording only wild shrubs and thistles; of the last there are great quantities, and a vast variety, from the size of a middling artichoke to that of the smallest rose-bud. At one in the morning, we got to *Yengee Kaun*, which is a good building, standing by itself, and well adapted for the reception of travellers. Here our *Takht Revan-gee* and *Mocah* or head mulatier would have put up, but were opposed by us and the *Aga*: they pleaded that both men and beasts were tired, and that we were at too great distance to think of proceeding to *Arvele*. The debate continued for some time, till at length we prevailed; and pursuing our journey through the same kind of country, without any thing remarkable happening, we came in sight of the high fort of *Arvele* about five in the morning*.

June 30.
Yengee Kaun.

ARVELE.

This fort is built like that at *Kircoote* on a high artificial mount, of difficult access, and its form is circular. The present village is but a trifling one; that a larger town once stood here is manifest in a very striking manner by the great extent of the old burial-ground, and by some ruins which are still visible. I take the fort to be half as large again, and the hill perhaps 20 feet higher than that of *Kircoote*. It was attacked and taken by *Nadir Shab* after a siege of five or six days. The village stands at the foot of the fort, towards the south-west.

Before six we arrived at *Arvele Kaun*, at which, although a poor one, we put up, as being a better defence from the sun than our tents. We got

* *Arvele*, probably the remains of the ancient *Arbela*. Hither *Darius*, after the battle of *Gaugameba*, retreated at midnight from the victorious *Alexander*, of *Macedon*. He did not stay here long, but sat out for *Media*, in order to recruit his army. Soon after his departure *Alexander* arrived at *Arbela*, which city surrendered to him, and in it he found a great quantity of furniture and equipage belonging to the crown, and 4000 talents, and all the riches of his army, which *Darius* had left there before the engagement. GUTHRIE'S *History of the World*.

here good bread, eggs, milk, a lamb, and some red apples.—The *Persian* mountains continue in sight; the *Turkish* country is yet hilly.

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At eight in the evening, we left *Arvele* with 30 soldiers, and continued a west-course almost all night, the ground affording wild shrubs only; amongst which there was abundance of the wild marjoram in bloom, and the beautiful flowering oleanders. At half past four we saw a hare, and soon after got to a river called *Zarp*, which we passed on *Kellecks**. We had but a little way to walk on the other side, before we arrived at a comfortable clean house, near a town called *Zaave*, in which we continued the whole day; and there heard by an *Aga* from *Mosul*, of the new *Basha*'s arrival, and that the *Caravan* would set out next *Thursday*, with 40 flags, or about 1000 soldiers.

July 1.
Zarp River.

ZAAVE.

Our *Aga* had some trouble here to make the captain of the soldiery attend us with a guard to *Mosul*. He at first absolutely refused, and even when he seemed to consent, he made such an exorbitant demand for his attendance, that our leader could not comply with it, but positively told him, that if he persisted in his conduct, he would immediately dispatch a messenger to *Basha Solyman*, and wait either here, or at *Mosul*, for his answer, assuring him moreover that he would oblige him to give his refusal under his hand. The captain was greatly alarmed at this, and after some reflection, agreed to go with us, on the promise of 25 *Piafres* for himself and 12 men accoutred with lances and pistols. This captain is suspected of being privately concerned with the robbers in the neighbouring mountains, and that either for his actual assistance, or certain connivances, he shares with them in all the plunder they get between this place and *Mosul*: but this my informer said, was no wonder, since this very man and all the inhabitants of the village, pay adoration to the *Devil*.

I did not give credit to this report at first, but afterwards was assured by *Padre Lanza* a missionary at *Mosul*, that it was very true, and that there are many more of the same religion in this country. The *Sanjacks* in particular are of the number. These people once professed *Christianity*, then *Mahometanism*, and last of all *Devilism*. Yet even now, according to the *Padre*, they will in their greatest distresses, call out *Jesus, Jesus!* These people say, 'tis true that the *Devil* has at present a quarrel with *God*; but the time will come when the pride of his heart being subdued, he will make his submission to the Almighty; and as the Deity cannot be implacable, the *Devil* will receive a full pardon for all his past transgressions, and he, and all those who paid him attention during his disgrace, will be admitted into the blessed mansions. This is the foundation of their hope; and this chance for heaven they esteem to be a better one, than that of trusting to their

* *Kellecks* are made of sheep or goat-skins blown up; upon these, large sticks are laid across, which make a sort of deck; they are moved along by two men with paddles.

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own merits, or the merits of the leader of any other religion whatsoever. The person of the *Devil* they look on as sacred; and when they affirm any thing solemnly, they do it by his name. All disrespectful expressions of him, they would punish with death, did not the *Turkish* power prevent them. To shoe a horse, in their language, is expressed by a word that has a double meaning, and may imply a malediction of the *Devil*. This expression therefore they religiously avoid, and have constituted another for the purpose. Whenever they speak of him, it is with the utmost respect; and they always put before his name a certain title, corresponding to that of his *Hignests*, or *Lord*.

July 2.

CAMALISK
GAWERKOE

At twelve at night we resumed our march, and travelling over the same sort of country as of late, with nearly a west course, we passed about three in the morning a small river, which takes its rise also amongst the *Persian* mountains, and falls into the *Tygris*. About five o'clock we got to a poor town, inhabited by *Christians*, called *Camalisk Gawerkoe*, which, I was told, means *Christian Gawerkoe*. The chief of it informed me, that it was once a city, the seat of a *Chaldean* bishop, and larger than *Mosul* is at present, but that it suffered great persecution, and was almost entirely destroyed when *Mahometanism* first took place in this part of the world.

The town has now only about thirty families, descendants of the original possessors. These, with the other *Christians* within the *Grand Seignior's* dominions, are permitted to live in peace, and to enjoy their religion on condition that they pay extraordinary taxes, and do not attempt to make proselytes among the *Mussulmen*; a breach of the law in this respect, being always punished with death. Not a missionary or *Christian* dares to write or speak to a *Turk* about religion. Of what utility then can the missionaries of the church of *Rome* be in *Turkey*, in propagating the *Christian* faith, unless we can suppose that they are fond of embracing martyrdom? And it is asserted, that not a single instance can be produced of the conversion of a *Mahometan* to any other religion, since the commencement of the *Hegira*.

The inhabitants subsist by the profits of agriculture, and a small manufacture of coarse linen cloth. They have a church, and four ministers or *Papas*, who are allowed to marry; they live upon the voluntary contributions of their flock, and are appointed to their offices by the *Chaldean Patriarch*. Close by the town, are the remains of an artificial mount, whereon once stood a citadel; and within the town, a fragment or two of a large church yet stand: heaps of rubbish are to be seen all around the village, as well as upon the hill. The present inhabitants (as we are informed) speak the original *Chaldean* language, as well as the *Turkish* and *Arabian*.

At a little distance from the town, they shew you the tomb of *St. Barbara*, who, according to the *Papas* account, died a martyr by the hand of her own father, a *Pagan*, because she persisted to believe in *Jesus Christ*. They tell you, that the father's sword fell to pieces in his hand at the first attempt

[illegible]

attempt on his daughter's life, that he then burnt her with red-hot pincers, and at last cut her into pieces. They likewise tell you, that St. *Thomas* preached the gospel both at *Nineveh*, and at this place, in his way to the *East Indies*.

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The air this morning was rather sharp, and not so serene as usual. In the evening, our host, who is the head-man of the village, led us to the tomb of St. *Barbara*, which had been also her prison. It is placed at the foot of the hill, whereon had stood the citadel, and the King's palace. Her father, as our conductor told us, was prime-minister to the King, and made use of the royal authority, as well as his own, to bring his daughter back from *Christianity* to the worship of the *Gentile* deities; but all in vain, and so she suffered martyrdom on the account. Her ashes, it is said, still remain deposited in the wall of the prison, on which is a tablet of marble with an inscription in *Chaldean* characters, within a circle. The diameter of the circle is about a foot. The inscription was quite perfect till the time of *Nadir Shah*, who visiting the tomb, and apprehending that money was hidden there, ordered the wall to be pulled down, by which some of the characters were defaced. In the several corners of the prison we observed other inscriptions in the same characters; they too are cut in marble, and relate to the father's treatment of his daughter. Her figure is wretchedly executed in coarse marble, with a cross on her breast. Several other crosses are also drawn and placed about the walls.

We were afterwards conducted to the church of the present *Christians*; the face of it affords a striking impression of its antiquity: it was built, according to the accounts given us, in the earliest ages of *Christianity*: it is without painting, has two aisles and a nave. The door of the altar was shut, but we were told that within was contained the representation of a crucified *Jesus*: on the right of the altar is the vestry; to the left, the font for baptism by immersion: at the west end of the church are books, and among them the Old and New Testament, with the church's daily service, all in manuscripts of the *Syriac* and *Chaldean* characters.

Mr. *Doidge* bought of one of the inhabitants, the *Old Testament* as he supposed, for the seller called it an history of the *Prophets*. And one of the Deacons sold me an old manuscript, which on the word of a *Christian* he declared to be the *Gospel*: of the truth of these assertions neither of us was in the least able to judge, we only intended them as curiosities for our learned friends in *England* *.

The church stands east and west, and is about 400 yards from the saint's tomb. At some little distance to the southward of the town, are the ruins

* A specimen of the MS. purchased by the author, having been since laid before Doctor *Morton* and Mr. *Ridley* of the Royal Society, they both decisively pronounced it to be the old or simplex *Syriac* version of the *New Testament*. An extract hereof is in the annexed plate.

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of a considerable church, dedicated to St. *John the Evangelist* : in the church which they now make use of, is a small crucifix, brought, say the *Papas*, from *Jerusalem*.

This place, as well as *Mosul*, and many others, suffered extremely last year through the scarcity of provisions, but not to so great a degree as *Diarbekir*.

Monday
July 3.

We staid at this village till twelve at night, and then travelled W. b N. without any thing happening worthy of notice till half past four, when we got upon arable land, which continued quite to the *Tygris*. About a little after five, we passed a village on our left, standing close to some ruins, which are reputed to be those of ancient *Nineveh*. Nigh the high road, is an old building held in great veneration by the *Turks* and *Jews*, who verily believe it to be the tomb of the Prophet *Jonah*.

We crossed part of the *Tygris* on horse-back, and the other part by a bridge of 19 boats: a little higher up the river, are the decayed arches of an antient stone bridge. The water of the *Tygris* is very low here, and far from being rapid. A few days journey farther up, I was told it is much more shallow, and continues to diminish until it becomes very small, from whence probably its head cannot be far off.

Mosul.

At half past five in the morning, we entered *Mosul* through the gateway facing the river; then turned to the left, and rode quite through the city, encamping a little to the southward, without the walls.

C H A P. V.

Occurrences at Mosul.—Situation of ancient Nineveh.—Account of the Sanjacks.—Journey from Mosul to Esche-Mosul, Nisibin, and Merdin; with observations on those places, their productions, manufactures, &c. &c.

OUR tents were pitched by the side of the river, and very near to the ruins of a once handsome *Christian* church, adorned with curious figured stone architecture in front; this was afterwards converted into a *Mosque*, and *Nadir Shab* raised a battery upon its walls to play against the city.

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While our *Aga* was visiting at the palace, we dispatched the bishop of *Babylon's* letter to *Padre Lanza*, and then reposed ourselves on our cots. About nine in the morning, the *Padre* paid us a visit, bade us welcome, acknowledged the receipt of his lordship's letter, and assured us of his readiness to contribute all in his power, to our ease and convenience. He told us, that he was obliged from duty as well as inclination, so to do; not only in obedience to the bishop's request, but through gratitude for the many favours which he and his brethren had received in this country, from Mr. *Porter*, the *English* ambassador at the *Porte*, Consul *Drummond*, and other gentlemen of our nation. He invited us to take up our abode at his house in the city; we promised to be with him sometimes in the day, but begged leave to sleep in our tents, because of the shortness of our time.

The *Caravans* for *Diarbekir* and *Aleppo*, had but a few hours before our arrival, left the very spot on which we pitched our tents; they marched only an half hour's journey, when they again encamped, and there tarry in order to discharge the customs due to the government on their merchandises. *Friday* next it is expected they will proceed, with an escort both of horse and foot.

In the evening we were visited by *Padre Francisco* another *Carmelite*, lately from *Aleppo* in the *Basha's* train. He is the *Basha's* body physician, a post of honour, which besides protecting him and his brethren, makes him of some consequence in the country, but produces very little pecuniary profit.

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profit. His house indeed is partly supplied with provisions by the *Basha*; and now and then, though very seldom, he gets a present of fifty *Piaftres*: *Hoffein*, like the rest of the great men in *Turky*, being not only very covetous, but also is of opinion, that any person is amply rewarded by having the honour of admittance into his presence, without receiving any other emolument for his services.

He is at present indisposed, so that our *Aga* has not kissed his sleeve. His *Kabier* hath promised us all protection; and on his desiring to know our wants, and being told by the *Aga* that we desired only his charge to the *Caravan-Bashi*, and commander of the troops which accompany the *Caravan*, to behave properly to us in our march, he assured the *Aga* they should, and that with the greatest respect, on forfeiture of their heads.

*Mosul** (which by an observation taken by us lies in $36^{\circ} 30'$ north) is the best built city in *Turky* that I have yet seen, but still has nothing in it worthy the notice of an *European*: its walls and bastions are pretty much out of repair, and have but a bad dry ditch around them; yet *Nadir Shab*, although he besieged the place near six months, could not take it. The present *Basha*, at that time commanded, and the city was full of brave inhabitants, who one and all resolved to die rather than give it up to the enemy. The latter assaulted the walls three several days successively, but were as often repulsed; the breaches they made in the day were repaired in the night; an uncommon ardor possessed the breasts of the besieged, even their women and children with the greatest cheerfulness assisted in the defence of the city. The *Christians* (who amounted to 10 or 12000 within the walls) behaved so well, as to gain the esteem and admiration of the other inhabitants. Some of their churches being much damaged during the siege, were afterwards repaired at the expence of the government. The reigning *Basha* indeed leans towards the *Christians*, his grandfather being one, and a priest; and he often calls them his relations. He is now 68 years of age, and very infirm. During the siege, the *Turks* declared publicly, that should the place be forced to surrender, they were determined to put all their wives

* "*Mosul*, the capital of a *Beglerbegat*, stands on the west bank of the river *Tygris*, in latitude 36 degrees. It is a large city surrounded with stone walls, and has many fair streets, but withal a great many lying waste. *Tavernier* speaks of it as a ruined place, that there are only two blind markets, and a sorry castle, and yet he says it is much frequented by merchants, and that its *Bassa* commands 3000 men. Here is a bridge of boats over the *Tygris*, and the city is a thoroughfare from *Persia* to *Syria*, which makes it a place of trade, and which is more augmented by a constant traffic from this place to *Baghdad*. The country on this side the river is sandy and barren, but over-against it is exceeding fruitful, and yields them very good crops of corn and divers fruits. This town although subject to the *Turks*, and the seat of a *Basha*, is mostly inhabited by *Nestorian Christians*, a people (says *Rauwolf*) who though they pretend to be *Christians*, are worse than *Turks*, for they practise many villanies, and ordinarily rob on the highway. This place is commonly called the successor of *Nineveh*; it may indeed have been built out of its ruins, but the situation is different, for that city stood on the other side of the river in *Assyria*." *MOLL's Geography*.

and daughters to death first, for that they should never fall into the vile hands of the abhorred *Persians*.

About 400 yards without the walls of the city, and for two thirds of its circuit, is the burial ground. There seems to be but very little difference in the method of the *Turks* interment and our own: the corpse is carried (as I had an opportunity of observing) on a bier, attended by a priest and the friends of the deceased; it is afterwards put into the ground, and a stone or tomb put over it, agreeable to his circumstances and profession. A soldier's tomb has always trophies and military implements placed upon it.

The learned world has been much at a loss to determine the spot whereon stood antient *Nineveh* *; some say near *Jonah's* tomb just opposite to *Mosul*; others, at another place some hours journey up the river. Is it not probable that both these opinions may be right, and that antient *Nineveh* took in the whole of this ground? Geographers describe it, as a place of prodigious magnitude and extent, of one hundred and fifty *Stadia* (or eighteen miles three quarters) in length, and ninety *Stadia* (or eleven miles and a quarter) in breadth. Its circumference was four hundred and eighty *Stadia*, or sixty miles. Besides this account of heathen writers, the scripture expressly tells us, that it was a city of three days journey; and in whatever manner we explain the expression, whether it would take up so much time to walk round the walls, or to make a regular perambulation through every street, it will at least shew that it was a place of vast extent. It seems therefore probable, that all the cultivated lands which now lie between these two ruined places, were once contained within the limits of *Nineveh*: what confirms me in this conjecture, is, that much of this ground is now hilly, owing no doubt to the rubbish of the antient buildings. There is one mount of 2 or 300 yards square, which stands some yards N. E. of *Jonah's* tomb, whereon, it is likely, a fortification once stood. It seems to have

* Antient *Nineveh*, built by *Ninus*, or by *Nimrod*, and named in honour of *Ninus* his son or nephew, stood on the east bank of the *Tygris*, over against where *Mosul* now stands. So enlarged by its kings, that it became bigger than *Babylon*, namely, 480 furlongs, or 60 miles in compass: the wall 100 feet high, and so thick as to admit of three chariots to go on it abreast, and adorned with 1150 towers of 200 feet high, which were so strong as to be thought impregnable: neither had *Arbaces* after three years siege taken it, if the river by overflowing had not become its enemy, and broken down 20 furlongs of the wall, thereby fulfilling an old prophecy, and giving the victor entrance.

To this city the Prophet *Jonah* was sent to denounce God's judgment, but upon repentance, it was spared.

Destroyed afterwards by *Ashyages*, the eighth *Median* king from *Arbaces*, because of its frequent rebellions: and laid so low in time, that St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in the middle of the fifth century, in his comments upon the *Prophets* says, the place where it stood was hardly to be discerned: and at this time nothing of it appears except a heap of rubbish a league in length.

On a hill not far from *Mosul*, the people shew the monument of *Jonah*, which is in great veneration, and has a mosque built over it." MOLL'S *Geography*.

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been made by nature, or perhaps by both nature and art, for such an use.

In so large a city there are of course many *Mosques*; one near the palace is the largest and most modern: its top on the outside, is ornamented with green tiles. At the door of the *Mosques* are usually inscriptions in gilt letters, declaring the awfulness of the building, as being the house of God. One of the *Mosques* hath a *Minaret* which bends as those at *Baghdad*; some of the most bigotted of the *Turks* say, *Mahomet* saluted it as he passed, and that the *Minaret* bent in reverence to the *Prophet*.

This city's manufacture is *Mussolen* (a cotton cloth) which they make very strong, and pretty fine, and sell for the *European*, as well as other markets: agriculture and trade maintain the rest of the inhabitants.

We can get no other fruit here than poor water-melons and cucumbers: The last winter's frost killed their trees. There is not one garden on either side of the river, that produces any thing valuable. What little fruit the *Basha* gets is sent him from *Courdistan*, whose mountains to the N. E. of the city yet shew their snowy heads. The bread is good here, and we think not dear, it being about five farthings *per pound*, but this may be a very high price for a poor *Turk*. Dreadful, and even incredible are the accounts we daily hear of the calamities of the province of *Diarbekir*. The country, comparatively speaking, is now depopulated. The inhabitants, during the famine, ate dogs, their own dead children, and every other thing which mankind abhor at another season. The bodies of the dead lay in the streets for want of people to bury them. This terrible news makes us wish that we may be able to avoid seeing the metropolis of that province! the effects of this dearth reached, and in some measure still continue in, and to the southward of *Mosul*.

The hire of a mule hence to *Aleppo*, is from 30 to 35 piastres; last year it was no more than 12: this is one of the ill consequences of the late dreadful famine; almost every species of the brute creation having been killed for the support of man. This calamitous visitation is said to have been entirely owing to a preceding hard winter, and to an innumerable army of locusts that destroyed the fruits of the earth. The inhabitants of *Mosul* were supposed, before the famine, to have been 300,000, but, say the fathers, so many died or quitted the place during that time, that they now do not amount to near that number. They reckon here are about one thousand *Roman Christians*, and four thousand *Nestorians*, *Jacobines* and *Maronites*; in the villages around are many more.

July 4.

To-day we were visited by the chief *Christian* of the city, whose office is that of *Haram Bash*, chief officer of the *Haram*, or female apartments of the

the *Basba*. His manners are grave, like the *Turks*, and his compliments of the same stamp. 1758.

This morning, accompanied by our *Aga* and *Padre Lanza*, we went into the city, and spent the day at the father's house, very agreeably; I learned from *Padre Francisco*, who acts the physician, that the diseases common here, are ardent fevers, and bloody fluxes in the summer; intermittents in the wet weather and winter; and that bilious obstructions, and tumid livers are frequent, as in *India*. July 5.

The neighbouring mountains afford silver mines; and they would yield much quicksilver, had the *Turks* either skill or inclination to work them to advantage: *Lanza* says, that an *Englishman* some time ago got two or three bottles of it in his way home, and presented it to the *Basba*, as a specimen of what might be done in that way; but no farther attempts have been made in consequence of the discovery. In this country also are lead mines, which produce as much of that metal, as furnishes them with bullets, and some necessary utensils.

These gentlemen gave us no pleasing account, either of the integrity or valour of the soldiers who guard the *Caravans*; as that upon an attack, these very men are frequently the first who abandon the charge and fly; nor is it uncommon for the conductor to be in league with the chief of the robbers: upon my asking, whether such conduct would not be punished with certain death by the *Basba*, whose own honour and interest, as well as that of the *Grand Seignior*, were concerned? I was answered with a shrug of the shoulders, and a hint that even this great man might possibly receive *Hush-money* from the leaders of those very *Banditti*: but the robbers themselves have no true courage, for they tell us of a large *Caravan* having been saved by the valour of a single *European*, who happened to be travelling with it, when the *Sanjacks* made an attack.

I told *Lanza* of our adventures at *Kircoote*, particularly of our scruple about entering the *Mosque*: he replied, that himself had been drawn into conversations on the same subject; once in particular at a great *Turk's* house, who was a man of sense, and a reader of the *Prophets*, and with whom were four or five other *Turks*. The master of the house took occasion, amidst an agreeable conversation, very gravely to ask the father, what was his opinion of their *Prophet*. On his answering, that as *Mabomet* was not one of the prophets whom his religion acknowledged, it was not for him to speak on the subject: the *Turk* with a less serious air, replied, "But come, my friend," clapping his hand familiarly on his shoulder, "tell me what your books say of *Mabomet*." *Lanza* tried to avoid an answer; but the question being repeated with still more freedom and good humour, and with the word *Mabomet*, instead of *Prophet*—"And is it your real desire," said *Lanza*, "that I should tell you what they declare?" Yes, truly," rejoined the *Mussulman*. "Why then,

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then, said *Lanza*, they prove that he was an *Arab*; such a one as those who inhabit *Arabia* at present." The whole company appeared thunder-struck, for the *Arabs* are looked on by the *Turks*, as exceedingly perfidious and wicked; the master of the house was gravely silent, while the others softly conversed with one another. At length one of them uttered the following sentence: "*Were there not political reasons which prevent the execution of justice at present, for the blasphemy you have uttered, Mr. Christian! that head of yours should in a few minutes fly from its shoulders.*" The *Padre* added to me, "I seek not occasions, but if these people will oblige me, I will speak the truth without fearing what may be the consequences." I could not but applaud him as a man of courage, but advised him not to let his zeal get the better of his discretion. He informed us, that at *Aleppo* and *Constantinople*, it is not permitted for *Christians* to enter their *Mosques*; but in this part of the country, it is not much objected to on particular occasions. He is of opinion, the priest was trying to make a convert of *Mr. Pigot*.

July 6.

Our *Aga* saw *Hossein Basba* this morning, whose discourse, relating to us and our journey, was much the same as that of the *Kabier*, and so were his promises of service. As the *Caravan* waits the return of the scouts, who are sent out to reconnoitre the country, the *Basba* asked our *Aga*, if we chose to travel post, or with the *Caravan*? and being told the latter way, should it meet with his approbation; he said it did, and that he would take care to give proper instructions to the chief conductor to insure our future ease and safety.

We are to take with us from hence provisions of all kinds, except water, as we can get no supply till we arrive at *Nisibin*; and there, as far as I can find, but a poor one. Our head mulateer demands of us a camel to be hired in this place for carrying provisions, not only for ourselves, but also for every one of our attendants. Great disputes this day arose between us and him on this subject; by his positive assertions, we have too much reason to suspect that we were deceived by *Cojee Raphael*, by whom (as before observed at *Baghdad*) we were informed, that we had nothing to do in respect to provisions for him, or his people. This is now positively denied, and we are threatened that they will proceed no farther, unless we continue constantly to supply them with every article of their diet, in the same manner, (which to our surprize, we find) our *Aga* hath hitherto done, he not knowing or so much as suspecting that our contract did not make it necessary. The *Aga* declares, that *Cojee Raphael* never hinted that the mulateers were on a different footing from the *takht-revan* men.

We learned this evening, that a *Caravan* from *Aleppo* and *Urfa*, is within a day's journey of this city, and had met with little or no obstruction from the *Sanjacks*. It sent hither for an escort, and part of the troops which are to convoy our *Caravan* are gone for that purpose.

The

The *Sanjacks* are a people who inhabit the mountains opposite to the *Courdistan* or *Persian* mountains: they subsist chiefly by plunder, and the scanty produce their own hilly country affords. The late *Basha Achmet* of *Baghdad* reduced their power; he pursued them in person to their subterranean retreats, suffocated a great many, killed 7 or 800 who attempted to make their way out from the holes, and carried off some hundreds of both sexes, and sold them for slaves. This stroke put the country for a while into a more peaceable state, than it had enjoyed for many years, but of late their numbers seem to have increased, and they are again become very troublesome. Our *Caravan Bashi* assured us that they have attacked *Caravans* of 200 to 700 men, and sometimes carried all off: he himself, with 200 armed men, was set upon last year by 600 of the mountaineers; but exerting himself to the utmost, he made a shift to save about half the *Caravan*. His son who conducted another, being of less experience was taken prisoner, and the whole merchandise spoiled and carried off; he says, that sometimes when the robbers discover a stronger force than they chuse to encounter, they will parley, and profess friendship, and seem contented to receive a small present for their chief. They have suffered much lately by the famine, which probably has occasioned their being more daring. A few days ago, a party of twenty persons, among whom was a *Christian* merchant with 6000 *Sequins*, was set upon and overcome by a company of these robbers, and all they had taken from them. The *Sanjacks* are mostly to be dreaded hereabouts, because they always make their attack in great bodies; but after the next stage, though they continue infesting the roads even to *Nisibin*, yet their strength lessens, and a well guarded *Caravan* hath not so much to apprehend from them.

I passed the whole of this day with my fellow-travellers in the tent, but felt the afternoon so exceedingly hot as to throw me into a fever, and deprive me of all appetite. There were brought to us as very great rarities, a small plate of apricots, two or three tolerable musk-melons, and some young cucumbers. Neither the city nor neighbouring villages could furnish us with wine, spirits, orange-juice, or verjuice; *European* lump and powder sugar is very dear and scarce here, but candy is more plenty, and rather reasonable. We have seen but few buffaloes, oxen, or cows here, or at any other place since we left *Baghdad*. The milk we have at any time been supplied with, was of the goat or sheep. Storks are here in great plenty, and so are locusts; people are employed with broad flails to keep the last away from the rising plants.

July 7.

In the evening Mr. *Doidge* in his little walk, cast his eye on a country house of the *Basha* at a small distance from our tents, and this day the chief gardener gave us possession of it. It stands pleasantly on the side of the *Tygris*, opposite the ruins of *Jonah's* tomb, in one of the *Basha's* gardens; it has but two rooms; the dimensions of the largest are 40 feet by 20, with a vaulted roof, and arched front; the top of the arch is 30 feet from the ground.

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ground. Through the room goes a waterduct from a reservoir at the back of the building, to a fountain in the front: the works of the fountain are out of repair, which is a very unlucky circumstance for us in this sultry season. This, as well as most of the chief houses in the city are ornamented with marble brought from a quarry in the neighbourhood.

Padre Lanza visited us last night, when I proposed being at his house as to-day, but cannot think of giving up even for a moment the tranquillity I enjoy in this agreeable retreat. The streets too are so steep in many places, and badly paved, that there is great difficulty in riding through them; in the evening also we are always followed by an army of boys, who are scarcely to be restrained from throwing stones at us. Our present situation is a very agreeable one, being quite close to the river in the middle of a cucumber and melon garden, and having in view all the gardens and villas, with which the banks of the river are ornamented; besides that venerable piece of antiquity, called *Jonah's tomb*. We intended to have resided entirely in this house, but having been told it would not be prudent to sleep in it at night, we then repair to our tent. Last night our watchman discovered, more than once, suspicious persons lurking around us; and about one this morning, we were awakened by the discharge of a firelock, and the most visible confusion amongst our people; owing to an attempt having been made by a pilferer, on the servants arms as they lay on the ground in the tent: our guard fired powder only, and then grappled with the thief, but luckily for him he made his escape.

Yesterday afternoon, the wind was high; it blew from the southward of the west, and brought with it a deal of heat and dust: as I kept under cover of the garden house, I did not feel it quite so distressing as otherwise I should have done, but even with that advantage, it was truly troublesome: I was very hot and restless, nor did I breathe so freely as usual. Messrs. *Pye* and *Pigot*, complained much as well as myself, and the latter very often shifted from one place to another in hope of finding relief. Our *Turkish* servants, and the people of the country inform us, that the wind was a real *Samiel*; and they advise our *European* servants not to think of buying for us any poultry or pigeons; declaring, that neither of these can live long even in the city, much less in the *Desert* over which we are to pass; and this afternoon an account was brought us, that out of eight fowls (our whole stock) six of them were dead.

July 8.

Our *Aga* waited on the *Kabier* this morning for intelligence, and before he left him, came in the commander of the troops who is to escort the *Caravan*: the *Kabier* took the opportunity to recommend us and our concerns, very warmly to him. The *Aga* told this minister, where, and in what manner we passed yesterday, and desired leave that while we remained here, we might be indulged with the free use of the *Basha's* garden and house, and that we might be permitted to lodge in it: the *Kabier* replied, we were very welcome

welcome to use it as we pleased, but that in consideration of the very many wretched, half-starved people who filled the country, he would not recommend our being there in the night time, not knowing what attempts might be made on us in so lonely a place. However, Mr. *Pigot* and I determined to risk it; the rest of our fellow-travellers, as they suffer not so much from the heat of the climate, chose to tarry in the tent rather than occasion the trouble of carrying our moveables backwards and forwards every morning and evening. Since we left *Baghdad*, I have not eaten more than twice with any degree of appetite, and have for the last three days, been entirely without one; I have lived wholly on bread and milk, and very little of the first suffices.

We were to-day visited by two considerable *Christian Diarbekir* merchants, who have goods in, and are themselves going with, our *Caravan*: we saw them once before at *Padre Lanza's* house. The wind this morning was not so high, nor so hot as yesterday; but the afternoon was still more intemperate, being distressingly sultry, and the air loaded with dust from the *Desert*.

Horse soldiers visit us in the garden every evening, who regale themselves on cucumbers, each eating six or eight very large ones without either bread or salt: among them this day was a renegade *Frenchman*, but he did not chuse to talk to us in *French*; he eyed the books I had by me, but only spoke to his comrades, and in the *Turkish* language. As our stock of wine was nearly expended, we were obliged (agreeable to our invariable naval practice) to drink *Saturday night* in water only, from the bountiful *Tygris*.

This day I passed alone in the garden house; the heat has been sufferable. *Padre Lanza* had a complaint exhibited against him to the *Basha*, by the *Chaldean Patriarch*, (the head of the *Nestorians*) for having enticed to the *Roman* communion a large party of the *Patriarch's* flock: the *Basha*, with whom *Lanza* has an interest through *Francisco* the physician, sent for *Lanza*, and as a friend advised him "*to direct the lost sheep to return and kiss their shepherd's sleeve.*" These bickerings, thefts and disputes, I have been told are frequent in this country, amongst the many different *Christian* ministers: *Tantene animi caelestibus ira.*—At five in the afternoon the kind *Padres* came to bid us farewell, having heard of the *Caravan's* setting out this night; they brought us a present of three or four bottles of spirits, and some preserves. We put ourselves in readiness for marching, and in the evening threw ourselves on our cots in our cloaths, expecting to have been called upon soon after midnight, but they suffered us to sleep till five in the morning.

July 9.

At six o'clock we mounted, and with our attendants and baggage set off from *Mosul*; soon afterwards we passed by some marble quarries; U u and

Monday.
July 10.

1758.

Baduce River.

and at half past nine, joined the great *Caravan* upon a rising ground, near a river called *Baduce*. For the first four miles to the northward of *Mosul*, we passed over corn lands; the rest was a desert affording only shrubs and thistles. We got some milk this morning from an *Arab* village. The day was very sultry and fatiguing, although the wind was near north-west. In the evening the troops appointed for our escort came up to us, and at sun-set all the tents amounting to near forty were struck, in order to our being in readiness for marching at the word of command. Our *Aga* staid behind a little, to make our compliments, and to take his leave of the *Kabier*. He was again witness to a second warm recommendation, which that minister delivered in our favour to the commander of the troops, as well as to the *Caravan Basbi*. Our live stock, which consisted of five lambs, was through the forgetfulness of our servants, left behind. We were told however that we shall have an opportunity of purchasing more at old *Mosul* to-morrow. All the country about is very hilly, and the *Courdisan* mountains are not far from us.

July 11.

At one this morning, notice was given by a loud voice, "*To charge!*" At two the camels had ceased their melancholy groans (which they always utter when loading) and were all in motion, taking a course to the eastward of the north some little time; but on the whole we travelled about N. W. over the same kind of sterile land as yesterday. About half past four we saw twenty *Antelopes* near the foot of the hills. Half an hour after, we passed a ruined village to the left. At five our horse-guards went a-head between some high hills of chalk and stone. At the entrance of this pass on the left hand, is the ruin of a small fortress, and farther on we saw more ruins. This road was so rugged for about half an hour's journey, that we could not with any sort of satisfaction keep in our *Takbt Revans*; it brought us at six o'clock to the banks of the *Tygris*, where were numbers of sheep feeding, a few oxen, and some calves. Here we made up our late loss, buying of the *Arabs* five or six sheep. Eagles and pigeons are here in great plenty; *Locusts* also in abundance, with blue, purple, variegated wings, and which I observed did not fly near so high as the common *Locusts*.

Esche
Mosul.

The *Arab* women were hard at work in pitching their tents. We took possession of them for a while, at which they were much out of humour, but we at length appeased them, by giving them good words and a little money. At seven we raised our own tents upon a spot belonging to *Esche Mosul*, or old *Mosul*; which probably was part of the spot on which ancient *Nineveh* once stood. Our *Aga* here made us a present of a young *Antelope* just killed.

The heat to-day has been excessive. To lessen it as much as possible, I caused one of the *Takbt Revans* to be placed under a tent, and the top
of

of the tent to be as well wetted with water, as the paint would admit of, and likewise the ground for several yards round, by which means I suffered rather less than I should otherwise have done. In the evening we took a walk about the ruins, which appeared to have been those of a considerable city. I enquired of the *Turks* how long it had been deserted, but they could not tell, only believed it was before the time of *Christianity*: they are bad chronologers, so no dependance is to be put upon their account. The houses were built of stone, and the streets paved with the same.

1758.

At two in the morning, we set off with our great *Caravan*, which now consists of nine hundred camels, principally laden with coffee-skins, *Mussolen* cloth, and gauls, 150 horse-guards and 100 foot soldiers, besides our own party, and 120 armed merchants with their servants. We were more than an hour getting through the streets of the ruined city; and in leaving it passed through what had been a gate-way, joining to a rampart or high wall. The land, for an hour after we left the ruins, was near level; we then passed through a long street of *Arab* tents, whose inhabitants appeared to possess large flocks of sheep; but before we reached them, we forded a piece of standing water about two feet deep, and twenty yards over. Our course, through the old city, was N. b. E. then we travelled N. N. W. which brought us to hills and dales; and a quarter before seven we rested, and pitched our tents upon a hill called *Talmash* or *Talmouse*; having in sight the *Sanjack* mountains on the left. Here is plenty of water, but not reckoned good, therefore called *Ajesew*, or *Bitter Water*. We tasted it, but could not esteem it very bad, and observed many people drinking of it. About the hill on which we are now encamped, are the ruins of buildings; we are told that formerly here was a town, but the inhabitants could not continue in it, on account of their troublesome neighbours the *Sanjacks*. We saw a great many birds like pigeons, but they have the cry of rooks.

July 12.

TALMASH.

All my brother travellers have fallen off their appetites lately, and though not to so great a degree as myself, feel much trouble from the heat of the day; Mr. *Pye* complained much, Mr. *Alms* had a troublesome diarrhoea. Mr. *Pigot* looks very much fatigued, and we all have lost some inches in waist since we left *Baghdad*: my servant *Alexander* has a bloody flux. I passed this day better than any one of our company, owing to the care I took in having my tent again wetted with water; was able to eat a morsel of ham, the first meat I had tasted for a great while past.

The people of the *Caravan*, I here observed, dress their victuals by a fire made of camel, horse, or mule's dung; sometimes the ground affords a dry shrub for that purpose.

At eleven in the night we decamped, and took our march over a tolerable plain country; our course for some time was N. then N. N. W.

U u 2

and

1758.

July 13.

SEFAYA.

and yet farther to the west; upon the whole about N. W. It brought us, about two in the morning, nearer to the *Persian* mountains than we have been yet. We passed over some hills and vales, but in general a smoother road than of late. The land by nature very fertile, though it now produces only wild grass, flowering shrubs and thistles, which are almost all in the seed. At seven we encamped upon a rising ground, having at its foot, a run of good water, with an innumerable quantity of birds of the kind I mentioned yesterday: this spot is called *Sefaya*.

The *Caravan Baschi* here paid us a visit, and before he left us whispered *Francisco* our servant, that “it was customary for gentlemen like us to make him a present. The servant gave him to understand, he must not expect it, at least until we should be on taking our leave of the *Caravan*. He smoked his pipe, drank coffee with us, and parted.—Every *Turk* we have yet had to deal with, (except *Aly Aga*, and the governor of *Hilla*) has been rather indelicate in regard to money matters. Even their greatest *Bascha*'s will be scandalously guilty of the lowest meannesses in this respect; for which reason we have always cautiously avoided making visits to them, or their ministers, knowing it could not be done but at a very considerable expence.

Our *Aga* told us, that the *Caravan Baschi* behaved very unpolitely, in not having waited upon us while we were in our tents before *Mosul*; and therefore he desired, we would not think of making him any present without his advice. He told us also, that the *Aga*, general of the soldiers escorting the *Caravan*, had begged of him to prevail upon us, particularly this night, to keep together, and as near to the *Takht Revans* as possible; as well on account of the danger we were in of an attack from the *Sanjacks*, as to prevent our being insulted by any of his own troops, who might do it through mistake and ignorance. He added, that he hoped they would not do it through wantonness.

At nine in the evening we marched, went N. b. W. the first four hours, then N. W. b. W. for two more, afterwards about W. and W. b. S. upon the whole a N. W. or N. W. b. W. course, over the same kind of soil, luxuriant in grass and seedy flowering shrubs; all which are very thick, and as high as the horse's middle. The *Courdistan* mountains are in sight to the right, the *Sanjacks* to the left; distant from each other sometimes 12, 20 and 30 miles: the country between them a mixture of hills, dales and plains, most of the latter covered with a deep rich mould.

This night I observed several of those curious insects, which so abound in *India*, and are by us called *Fire-flies*: they are not quite so long as the *Spanish* fly, are of a brown colour, and carry under their bellies a luminous bag which is opened and shut by two active lips: by this, (their own light) they are guided in the evening and night, when like the owl they are always busy. In the *East Indies* I very often saw the air almost full of these little

little flying luminaries; the trees, in which they lodge, have a pretty and agreeable appearance: The few insects which appeared to-night, are the first I have seen out of *India*. Here are plenty of partridges; we sprung the old ones, and our cattle almost trod on their young and eggs. About five in the morning an *Antelope* crossed the road with surprizing swift-ness. At seven we got to a small run of water from the *Persian* mountains, and encamped on a hill close by the stream called *Demir-Rapee*.

1758.

July 14.

DEMIR-
RAPEE.

The first part of the last night was agreeably temperate, the middle cool. This morning was sharp and a little hazy, and what is a rare thing to us, the air was a little damp. We all breakfasted with tolerable good appetites. Yesterday and to-day, we observed on the sides of the rivulets some green sedge, the only verdure in sight. About the water to-day, we had many larks, and likewise vast multitudes of those birds which resemble pigeons, but croak like rooks. Mr. *Alms* brought in a grasshopper (if it may be ranked in that class of insects) which measured from head to tail five inches, its horn four, circumference of the belly three: it had six legs, three on each side; two little claws on each side of its mouth, no wings, and seemed, though very strong, very inactive. Its head and joints had a resemblance of the craw-fish. Yesterday were brought us half a dozen land-crabs of the size of a common small sea-crab. Out of the little river near us, we got a dish of mullets and dace, of which I eat a few, but either they, or the sherbet I drank after them, made of the juice of green grapes, disagreed with me. Mr. *Doidge* has the rheumatism in the shoulders; Messieurs *Pye* and *Pigot* look thin and harrassed: I bore this day's heat pretty well in the *Takht Revan* under the tent, and eat my bread and cheese with more satisfaction than for a good while past.

In our *Caravan* we now observed some hundreds of men, women, and children, who are really very miserable objects; most of them have hardly wherewithal to cover thir nakedness: it is piercing to hear the cry of the infants at their mothers back; and those of four and five years of age are forced to walk with the *Caravan*, sending forth the most piteous lamentations, until overcome with fatigue, they either fall down on the ground, or are taken up into the lap, or behind some compassionate rider. Instances of this sort of charity, are frequent among the *Turks*. These poor people are returning to their abandoned houses, which they were obliged to leave on account of the famine. This evening came into our camp, from a village at the foot of the *Courdistan* mountains, twelve *Courds* well mounted, not meanly dressed, and armed with lances and pistols; they, in appearance, live in peace with the government, and pay these ceremonial visits to *Caravans*, to give information of the state of the road; or rather with a view of getting a present: they received ten *Hookers* of coffee, equal to 25 pounds, from the *Caravan-Bashi*. They say, a body of the *Sanjacks*

1758.

Sanjacks were a few days ago hereabouts, and bent their course to the southward, the very road we have passed.

July 15.

About half past eleven at night, agreeable to custom, orders were given aloud, throughout the camp, "*To charge.*" This, and every other command, relative to our motions and rest, is from the *Caravan-Bashi*. A thief being detected, was stripped, bound, and severely flogged: they talk of hanging him to-morrow, and the *Caravan-Bashi's* power, though so mean and insignificant a person, during the journey is absolute. At twelve at night we set off, and travelled the greatest part of the night over a very fine plain, lying between the east and western mountains. The soil here is remarkably good, and capable of producing great crops of grain and fruit, were it but in the hands of industrious persons to cultivate and improve it.

There was a time when a spirit of industry prevailed among the inhabitants of this country, and when the improvement of agriculture was one of the main things that engaged their care and attention. Even their greatest princes did not think it an employment any way beneath them, to look into every thing that related to husbandry; and for that purpose, caused an exact account to be given them how every province and canton was cultivated, that they might know whether each country brought forth such fruits as it was capable of producing. They descended so far into those particulars, as to inform themselves whether the private gardens of their subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit: they rewarded the superintendants and overseers, whose provinces or cantons were the best cultivated, and punished the laziness and negligence of those idle persons, who did not labour and improve their grounds*.

Such is the account given us by historians of the ancient inhabitants of these provinces. But alas! how is the face of things now changed! for in all that part of *Chaldea*, *Babylonia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Assyria*, which we have passed over, no other care seems to be taken of the land, but that it shall be capable of producing such a quantity of corn, as barely to satisfy the wants of the inhabitants for the ensuing year. So that should any extraordinary inclemency of the season, or their common enemy the *Locust* chance to prevail, a dreadful famine must inevitably be the consequence, as was sadly experienced by the whole country round *Diarbekir* the last year.

It was pleasant travelling to-night by the moon, and afterwards by the stars. The air, except its being more or less filled with dust, occasioned by the march of the *Caravan*, was serene and agreeable. Not a cloud hath

* Xenoph. Oecon. p. 827—830.

there been in the sky by day or night for a long time. Welcome, beyond expression, would be a plentiful shower of rain! At six we saw the spot we were to rest upon, called *Geraza*, being a rising ground on the other side of a rivulet of good water, which takes its rise in the *Persian* mountains.

To the left, just before you reach the stream, is a small mount, containing the tomb of *Geraza*, an ancient sage. Some ruins also are observable in a plain near to it lying between the *Courdistan* and *Sanjack* mountains. I took notice here of eight or ten mounts (in shape like those of *Kircoote* and *Arvele*) which appeared to be artificial; they were placed at about a mile distance from each other, probably they have been places of defence, or boundaries of a kingdom. By this day's observation, we found we were in the latitude of $37^{\circ} 8'$ north.

It was near seven before we pitched our tents; this work was delayed by the obstinacy, or rather insolence of our *Takbt Revan-gee*, who behaved so very ill to the *Aga*, that he was obliged to strike him. This was so much resented by him, that he put his hand to the dagger in his gash, and menaced the *Aga*. This officer was very grave upon it, and threatened to leave us, if we did not turn him away. We gave him up to the *Aga* to do what he pleased with him; not caring to give the least umbrage to a man, who during our whole journey, had shewn himself so extremely careful of us and our concerns.—I was assured, that were our *Takbt Revan-gee* within the reach of *Solyman Basba*, he certainly would be put to death for his insolent behaviour to his *Aga*. This last stage we travelled a west course. In the evening we allowed ourselves a bottle of *Madeira* to the remembrance of our friends.

GERAZA.

A quarter before twelve, we struck our tents, and immediately went on, advancing all night over one of the finest plains in the world; at least what nature intended should have been such, the soil being rich, and of the most luxuriant kind. We every now and then observed mounts, such as those we met with yesterday. Our course upon the whole of this stage was W. b. N. At six o'clock, we discovered the *Minaret* of a *Mosque* in *Nisibin*. Several little rivers ran through the plain near to this place, coming from the high hills to the east. As we drew nearer, we were ravished with the sight of verdure, and ploughed lands, at a little distance from us. The green we afterwards found to be a seed plant, which the poorer people make into bread; they call the seed *Natchile*, which is the same as what with us is called *Indian* corn. There was a plough at work, drawn by two yoked oxen, followed by a man who guided it; the share was cased with iron, the soil was a fine deep rich mould, but neither the man nor beasts seemed to labour much.

July 16.

1758.

At seven in the morning, we got to *Nisibin**. It looked pretty at a distance, being seated on a considerable eminence, at the foot of which runs a river formerly called the *Mygdonius*, with a stone-bridge of eleven arches built over it. Just by the river, at the foot of the hill or hills (for the town is seated upon two) begin the ruins of a once more flourishing place, which reach quite up to the present town. From every part of this place, the most delightful prospects would appear, were but the soil properly cultivated and planted; but instead of those extensive woods of fruit-trees, which *Rauwolf* speaks of as growing near the place in his time, we could not discover above thirty or forty straggling ones of any kind; and instead of that great extent of arable land, on which he dwells so much, a very inconsiderable number of acres are now remaining.

This is one of the many towns which so severely suffered by the late famine. It lost almost all its inhabitants, either by death or desertion. Of those who left it, and survived, some begin to return. The streets presented us with many wretches, miserably poor, and more than half-starved; they now greedily devour the rind of cucumbers, and every other refuse of food thrown out into the highway. We purchased at this place, bread, milk, cucumbers, and pretty good mutton. The first article, according to our servant *Francisco's* information, (who was here about fourteen years ago) has risen in price near four thousand *per cent*; at that time, forty cakes were sold for one *Para*, the price of a single one at present.

The town itself is despicable, the streets extremely narrow, and the houses, even those which are of stone, are mean. Our *Aga* secured us a good room in one of the *Kauns*. The late *Musselem* or governor of *Nisibin* is now in irons, by order of *Solyman, Basba* of *Baghdad*, for not having taken proper care in escorting a messenger from *Stamboul* to *Baghdad*, who in consequence of the governor's neglect, was rifled by the *Sanjacks*.

It was agreed between us to dispatch a letter from this place to Mr. *Drummond*, our consul at *Aleppo*. Accordingly Mr. *Doidge* wrote one, and sent it by a special messenger, who upon delivering it in seven days is to be paid 14 piastres; but if he fails one day only, he is then to have but

* "*Nisibis*, now *Nisibin*, a midland town 35 miles from the *Tygris* towards *Cbarra*, (or *Harra*) was heretofore a very considerable city called *Antonia Mygdonia*, from the river *Mygdonius* which runs through it: under the *Romans* it was the capital of *Mesopotamia proper*, well defended by its bishop in *Constantius's* time against the *Persians*, but taken by them afterwards in the time of *Jovian*. In its present state, it is the seat of a *Turkish Sangiack*, stands on two small hills, and makes a handsome view at a distance, but though a pretty large town, has but a sorry appearance, when you come into it, being pitifully built. The land about it is very fruitful and well cultivated, the business of the place being altogether agriculture, which the good soil renders very profitable to them. Their orchards and corn-fields, especially the former, affording great profit from the pomegranates, figs, cubebs, &c. which they send to foreign parts; and so numerous are their fruit-trees, that you would take them for woods of wild ones." *RAUWOLF*.

five. He travels on foot, and goes through the *Sanjack* territories, which is a much shorter way than that we shall take. This step of sending a letter by express, we judged a probable means of securing us an early passage in some ship from *Scandaroon* to *England*.

The *Tabkt-revan-gee* was this morning imprisoned by the governor for his insolent behaviour to the *Aga* yesterday, but was released again before night; the *Aga* contented himself with barely convincing him of the power he had over him.—A rare instance of clemency in a *Turkish* officer.

While in the *Kaun* I ordered our interpreter *Francisco* to enter into a conversation with a poor *Turk*, relative to the late famine; and the account he gave of it was dreadful even in retrospection. This poor creature in his turn asked many questions respecting the probability of such an event happening in our country: He appeared surprized to hear, that a famine had not been known for more than a century, or hardly heard of by us; and was in the utmost amazement to find, that by the laws of *England* a poor man could not starve, so long as there were any rich to provide him with food and raiment. This point, relating to the poor's laws, so struck the *Turk*, that with clinched hands, and eyes fixed towards heaven, he for awhile seemed employed in ejaculatory prayer: at last, he gravely, but with confidence replied, "*The happiness of this world is yours: Our's, in a future state.*"

The great *Caravan* will stay here three or four days, in order to pay the duties due to government. Twelve of the principal inhabitants came from *Geraza* yesterday, and after continuing with the *Caravan* a short time, went back again. These were officers of the customs, to prevent smuggling.

This morning an express arrived, which confirmed an account we received yesterday from some poor women who were in the rear of the *Caravan*; that "early the *Sunday* morning, being some miles behind, they saw about 500 armed men both horse and foot, from the *Sanjack* country, who on coming up demanded of them a faithful account, whether the *Caravan* was before or behind? on being told before, they were greatly enraged, and rode off." As we had often met with alarms of this kind, which turned out to be nothing more than bugbears, at first we gave no manner of credit to it. The express was sent by an *Arab Sheick*, on good terms with the government, who advised, that the *Sanjacks* disappointed at the escape of the *Caravan*, had turned their fury on him, alledging that their unsuccessful expedition had been owing to the false information which he had given them: the *Sheick* prayed the government to send him immediate help for the recovery of his flock, and 300 cavalry are this moment set off for that purpose.

Monday
July 17.

1758.

I learned last night, that at the foot of one of the *Courdistan* mountains, were still a few gardens in some sort of order, particularly one which is called an hermitage, and belonged once to a *Christian Patriarch*; the house is in ruins, but some of the trees remain. Upon hearing this, I ordered a person to be sent to the spot; but he returned with only a plate of walnuts, and they not quite ripe.

Saturday night last, about eleven o'clock, I was taken with a small shivering and yawning, which soon went off; but the next evening about seven o'clock I found a tightness on the abdomen, with some bilious twitchings about the ducts of the gall bladder: all my joints so ached that I was not able to stand, or walk, but with pain and difficulty. I laid myself down in hopes of sleep, and found that posture the most agreeable; but the perplexity from the *Muschetos* (which are now again become troublesome) and from a flie, which though so small as scarcely to be perceived, yet leaves a sting behind not much less painful than that of the *Muschetto*, added to the fatigue of my complaint, made the night pass very uncomfortably. This morning I was in some measure relieved by a discharge of bile; and in the evening took an *Ipecacuana* vomit, which was of great service.

As I could not on this account accompany my brethren about the town and its ruins, I must therefore insert here some notes made by the other gentlemen, in our common journal. "Here is a building that has somewhat of the appearance of a castle, but we saw no guns mounted on it. There is also a stone *Mosque* with a *Minaret*; and a little way to the eastward of the town, is an old *Christian* church, which must once have been a very large and noble building by the remains: two capitals of pillars, which supported an handsome arch, are to be seen above ground, and a small part of the arch is still remaining; but the pillars are buried under the ruins. About 100 yards from the church are five large columns of the *Corinthian* order, the greatest part of which are also buried; these they tell you were once part of the building, and it is not improbable but in the time of the *Romans* it might have been a temple."

At half past eight in the evening, we left *Nisbin* and the great *Caravan*, taking with us twenty foot soldiers; two companies of cavalry joined us likewise, who are going to *Merdin*. At ten we passed a ruin on the right, called *Serka Kaun*, and at five in the morning, another to the left. The country hath the same face as what we lately passed. Near *Nisbin* we passed several runs of water.

This night, a false alarm was given to our little *Caravan* of robbers being in sight, which put us all on our guard; but there seemed to be no foundation for it, it was rather a piece of pleasantry by our *Turkish* soldiers.

A little

SERKA
KAUN.
July 18.

1758.

A little before day-light, the mountain on which *Merdin* stands, was shewn to such of our party as were not in the *Takht Revans*, and at the morning dawn the buildings appeared. The city looked large, and of difficult access, distant from us about five miles. At six we put up at a very sorry village called *Arin*, having travelled near nine hours, about a W. b. N. course.

ARIN.

In this village we saw a thousand marks of poverty, desolation, and distress. At the very entrance of it, two human skeletons almost entire, presented themselves to our view; the bodies must either have been thrown, or perhaps dropt down dead here during the famine, and the flesh devoured by the beasts of the field, or the birds of the air. Two other villages are in sight: one lies N. N. W. four or five miles; the other west six miles. This last is called *Cojasur*. — A fine plain for many miles is in sight, pretty well cultivated, and this year has given to it a tolerable crop of corn.

Our *Aga* took no rest after this stage, but rode on to *Merdin* to solicit the governor for a guard to escort us to *Urfa*. He returned in the evening, with *Francisco*, whom we had sent to *Pere Eugene* with a letter from our friend the bishop of *Babylon*, and another from Mr. *Garden*. The former brought back the compliments of the governor, with many assurances of veneration and esteem. Our servant delivered us three letters in *French* from *Pere Eugene*, the purport of which, and a message that attended them, was, "That he had waited upon the governor, who was very ready to grant us forty or fifty soldiers, the whole that he could spare; but that he was very diffident, whether so small a number was sufficient to ensure our safety, as he had certain information that four tribes of *Arabs* having heard of our coming this way, and that we were very richly laden, were lying in wait on purpose to intercept us. He therefore advised us by all means either to wait for the coming up of the great *Caravan* from *Mosul*, or to set out for *Diarbekir* this very night, as by much the safest road; and as we carried with us a letter of recommendation to the *Basha* of this last place, who was going for *Aleppo* next *Friday*, he strongly recommended us to put ourselves under his protection." * Such were the principal contents of

* The following is a copy of the father's third letter.

"MONSIEUR,
 "Le gouverneur repond que volontier il donnera quarente ou cinquante foldats, mais qu'il ne repond pas des inconveniens qui peuvent arriver en chemin; que si vous voulez attendre la *Caravane* ou prendre le chemin de *Diarbekir* il seroit plus sur et vous feroit conduire a *Diarbekir* sans crainte, de la vous partez par *Orfa*, d'*Orfa* à *Alep*. Voyez Monfr. a quoi vous vous determinez. Je conte qu'il seroit plus sur de vous porter a *Mardin* et nous determinerons le tout.

P. EUGENE.

1758. of father *Eugene's* three letters, from whence we plainly perceived the necessity of our going at last by *Diarbekir*, which place we had always resolved to avoid.

MERDIN.

I was informed here, that a linen and silk manufactory is carried on at *Merdin*; and that the inhabitants make and sell great quantities of turbans, and many other parts of dress. The soil about the place is very rich, and yields good wheat, part of which is sent to other markets. We got from the city pretty good beef, bread, milk, a little butter, a few fowls, some grape-juice, apples, cherries, and plumbs; these are now in season: The environs abound in gardens of good fruit, though perhaps less now than formerly. It is remarkable that from *Hilla* to *Baghdad*, and from *Baghdad* to *Merdin*, not six trees are to be seen, but what are in private gardens, or on the tops of high mountains. Both *Merdin* and *Nisibin*, although in the *Basbalié* of *Mosul*, are under the jurisdiction of the *Basha* of *Baghdad*, and their respective governors are appointed by him. On four neighbouring mounts, the ruins of as many *Christian* monasteries are still visible. The castle at *Merdin* was built by *Christians*: The famous *Tamerlane* besieged it seven years before he took it, nor would it then have surrendered, had not the besieged been in want of provisions. We are told, excellent water is to be had here. *Merdin*, by an observation taken by Mr. *Alms*, lies in 37° 18' north latitude.

Alexander McIntosh all the last night, though better of his flux, was very ill with a fever, thirst, pain in his bowels, difficulty in making water, and bloody stools. He was bled twice yesterday, fomented, and had nitrous powders, &c. He had not carefully observed that regimen which was recommended to him, but indeed a very irregular kind of life we all are forced to lead at present. Our appetites are gone, though the air (particularly while we are under cover) is not so violently hot as we have

P. S. " Nous avons parlé avec le gouverneur, il m'a répondu, que volontier il donera tous les soldats que vous desirez: mais qu'il vous conseille de prendre le chemin de *Diarbekir* qui est le plus sur: que vous avez le *Bujurdi* pour le *Pacha* de *Diarbekir*, qui part pour *Alep* vendredi prochain: que d'ici, il vous donnera tous les soldats nécessaires pour cela jusque de *Mosul*. — Monfr. notre gouverneur apres avoir soupé ensemble, m'a dit de vous écrire, de vous prier, et vous exhorter de partir ce soir pour *Diarbekir*, qu'il n'y a point de voie plus sur, et comme il doit répondre de vos personnes, il vous fait des nouvelles instances. Attendu que vendredi prochain le *Pacha* doit partir de *Diarbekir* pour *Alep*, ou il est *Pacha*. De cœur

Votre Devoüé Serviteur,

P. EUGENE.

The verbal message was conveyed in these words:

" The governor's anxiety for your departing immediately, is owing to certain intelligence which he has just received, that four tribes of *Arabs* are lying in wait purposely to intercept you; they having received an information that you and your party are richly laden."

before

before found it. The last night was cloudy, with thunder, lightning, and rain: The effects of the last, were unspeakably comfortable to us.

1758.

We long earnestly for the sight of our countrymen at *Aleppo*, where we hope to find good wine, and well-dressed food, and to recover our lost appetites.—Poor Mr. *Pigot* declares, that were he to be made emperor of all the countries we have passed through, with the addition of both the *Indies* as a reward, he would not for so valuable a consideration undertake this journey a second time.

C H A P. VI.

Occurrences on the road from Merdin to Diarbekir, with a description of that city.—Account of the famine there.—We leave Diarbekir, and join the Basha Abdallah. Face of the country we travel over.—Account of some Arabs and their flocks. The Basha's deportment to us.—We arrive at Bir; Description of that city.—Observations in our journey from that place to Sajura and Aleppo.

1758.

July 19.

ABOUT half past six in the evening we left *Arin*, and travelled towards *Merdin*. In two hours we got near the foot of the mountain on which that city stands; and passed by another dead human body lying in the road, very much torn either by wild beasts, or the fowls of heaven. The cartilages were quite fresh, and part of the ragged covering still remained. On the left hand leading up to the mount of *Merdin*, are the remains of a small town. We left *Merdin* on our right, and from eight to ten we were ascending the *Courdistan* hills, over some parts of which we had great difficulty to get our *Takht Revans*, the roads being narrow and rocky.

July 20.

From *Arin* to the mountain of *Merdin*, we marched five miles a N. N. W. course; for the next two hours a N. easterly one, over a very mountainous country; and from twelve at night to four in the morning, we travelled a course from N. W. to N. E, changing very often two, three, or four points of the compass. At four we rested in a pleasant meadow covered with trefoil, by the side of a beautiful rivulet, and continued there some hours. The fresh recruit of spirits we received on breathing the cool air of the mountains, and our joy in passing through a country covered every where with so beautiful a verdure, can only be conceived by those few *Europeans*, who, like us, have travelled over this sultry part of the world in the hottest season of the year.

At eight o'clock we renewed our march through a most delightful country of pleasant bushy hills well-cultivated, and verdant dales intersected with many
a run-

a running stream: corn, grass, trefoil, wild flowers, and sweet smelling shrubs, grow here in the greatest plenty. Our ears were continually saluted with the cooing of the dove, the melody of the lark, and other singing birds, to which the hawthorn, the poplar, and the willow afforded shelter. But all these natural beauties were greatly enhanced to us by the freshness of the air, and the almost constant breezes which prevailed here. These were so extremely grateful and refreshing, that at the joyful instant, we could not help looking upon them as a full and sufficient recompence for all our past labour and fatigue. The command of this pleasant district is lodged in a *Sheick-Salem*, who is a *Courd*.

At twelve at noon we rested in a valley by the side of another running stream, not far from a village. Here we got some milk, but heard a very disagreeable piece of news by a traveller from *Diarbekir*; "that the *Basha* was already set out for *Aleppo*; and that since his departure, the road between us and *Diarbekir* had been infested by a company of banditti consisting of 5 or 600 men, who committed all kinds of outrages, extorting whatever they wanted from the several villages, and plundering every passenger that came in their way." Our *Aga* had heard this some hours before, but did not think proper to acquaint us with it till six o'clock in the evening, when he came with *Francisco* to our tent, and with a most sorrowful countenance unbosomed the disagreeable intelligence. He added, however, that he was not without hopes the whole of the account might be false; that he had dispatched a person to a narrow pass before us, in order to get farther information, and who, he trusted would return with a good account; but if not, we should then be obliged to strike out of the road towards our left, and take up our abode in a village in the mountains, until such time as he could procure a proper guard to conduct us in safety to *Diarbekir*. This news alarmed us all to a great degree, and threw a damp over those flattering hopes which we had lately entertained of being in ten or twelve days blessed with the sight and conversation of our countrymen at *Aleppo*. To keep up our spirits therefore as well as we could under such alarming circumstances, we allowed ourselves a glass or two of *Madèira* wine, though our whole stock was now reduced to ten bottles of this, and four of claret.

About nine, the *Aga's* messenger returned, and brought advice, that there were some armed men upon the road, but he could not learn they had committed any violence, otherwise than by exacting provisions for their own use, from the several towns and villages; and that in all probability they were troops belonging to the *Basha's* army, sent by him to collect the duties due to government. This intelligence raised once more our drooping spirits, and we determined to proceed: but to avoid an ambuscade, we resolved to continue where we were till two or three the next morning.

About

1758. About eight this evening, we discovered the moon rising over the hills, almost totally eclipsed, being only illuminated in the lower limb, in appearance about the twentieth part of its diameter. In half an hour after, it was quite clear. We asked the *Turks*, what this appearance meant? they answered, "Some portentous event!"

July 21.

At the hour agreed upon, we set off, and soon met a company of travellers with loaded mules and asses going to *Merdin*; among them was a *Chocarda* with a servant or two from *Diarbekir*. As we did not understand the country-language, we kept on, leaving the *Turks* and *Francisco* behind to pick up intelligence. In a few minutes, the late affrighted, half-dead *Francisco*, reanimated by the account which had been given him, came galloping after us, calling aloud, "*Courage messieurs! point de crainte! les toutes sont de mensonges! le chemin est net!*" *Courage gentlemen! there's no fear! 'tis all a lye! the road is clear!*" From whence we easily understood, intelligence had been given him of no robbers being on the road, and that no kind of danger was to be apprehended; which upon his coming up, he confirmed, as soon at least as his extacy of joy would permit him. We continued therefore to travel over the mountains, taking a north course 'till seven in the morning, when we met with a single *Turk* on horseback, who informed us, that in going on in the road to *Diarbekir*, as we were, he had discovered at some distance to the right, a great body of *Arab* horsemen, consisting of about 700, who were lying in wait for travellers, and that to prevent their seeing him he had struck away to the left of the road.

Upon receiving this fresh piece of disagreeable intelligence, we thought proper also to quit the main road, wheeling towards the left; our *Aga* at the same time putting spurs to his horse, and riding off to the right, by way of reconnoitring, leaving the whole conduct of our little troop to the discretion of Mr. *Pye*; whom, for his expert behaviour on this occasion, we afterwards dubbed with the honourable title of *Captain General*. We could not but disapprove of our *Aga's* behaviour, which though well intended, seemed in our opinion rather calculated for making a discovery of us to the enemy.

In half an hour's time, under the guidance of our new general, we got to the foot of a village, which we found deserted by the inhabitants through fear of the *Arabs*: as we were riding heedlessly on towards a cultivated spot of ground, the occupier of it with great emotion waved his hand to us, to avoid his plantation; we, supposing that every thing had reference to our present danger, concluded he meant the enemy were to our left, and that we should again return to the right. Still however we kept on through the corn, 'till we got up very near to the farmer; when our old trusty *Francisco* asked him, "*What news?*" The *Turk* or *Courd*, enraged at the damage done to his crop, put his hand to his sword, and in the most violent passion replied, "*The news he had for him, was, that he would immediately*"

immediately cut off his head.—This threat was the finishing stroke to the poor old man's spirits; he trembled, tried to make an apology, but could not utter a word. We saw the confusion he was in, but not understanding the country-language, were for a little while at a loss to guess what could be the occasion of it. The *Turkish* farmer, whose anger we soon found means to appease, confirmed to us the account we had received of the *Arab* horse being to the right of us; but as by keeping to the left of the road we had the good fortune to see nothing of them, we concluded, that they had retired towards the river (on whose banks there is some cover) to avoid the heat of the day. When the affair was over, I told *Francisco*, that I had reason to think him a very honest man, but was persuaded he was a bad soldier; he readily assented to the truth, heartily wishing himself and all of us safe in *Aleppo*: he moreover declared, that this was the most perilous journey he had ever made with *European* gentlemen, and that it should be the last.

We continued on our way for *Diarbekir*: before we got to that city, we crossed an arm of the *Tygris*, and afterwards the *Tygris* itself twice. The first time, we did it by a stone-bridge of five arches, the last, by another bridge of ten. It was about nine in the morning when we first saw from the high mountains the city of *Diarbekir*, then distant from us about fourteen miles. We continued from that time to leave the heights, and travelling north, we reached the village of *Hallipoi* about half a mile from *Diarbekir*, at two in the afternoon, after a march of near 13 hours, and the greatest part of it in the heat of the day. We put up at a good house belonging to a relation of *Osman*, a very civil young *Turk*, and our fellow-traveller from *Baghdad*.

DIARBEKIR.

Our servant *M'Intosh* (now in a fair way of recovery) having for some time past had possession of one of the *Takht Revans*, our reliefs in the other were but seldom. The wind indeed being cooler now than what we had experienced ten days ago, we did not suffer so much from the heat as we otherwise should have done: however, my spirits were quite exhausted, and I wanted some other meat and drink besides biscuit and water. In the latter part of this day's journey, I rode in the *Takht Revan* three hours; one hour was in my own proper turn, one in *Mr. Doidge's*, and the other in *Mr. Alms's*, who bearing the fatigue better than myself, were so obliging as to insist upon my doing it.

In the evening, compliments were sent to us out of the city from the *Mussollem* and treasurer. The first will have the command here, as soon as *Abdallah Basba* shall set out for *Aleppo*, who fortunately for us is not gone, and will depart on *Monday* next. His tents are all pitched without the city, and make a gay appearance: that which is intended for his own person, we distinguished by the gilded ball.

1758.

July 22.

This morning our *Aga* went into the city, and delivered a letter to the *Kabier*; leaving another for the *Basba*. The *Kabier* enquired civilly after our healths, hoped we were not greatly fatigued, offered his best services, &c., and assured the *Aga* that he should look upon us as part of his own family in the journey to *Aleppo*. He desired his compliments, and recommended it to him to wait on *Abdallah Basba* in the evening. Mr. *Pye* and I were half poisoned to-day by drinking too freely of a bowl of wine and water, into which through mistake, we put *Alum* instead of sugar. We were both so much affected by it, as to be obliged to take a vomit, which greatly relieved us.

In the evening, *Abdallah Basba* sent for our *Aga*, and after the common compliments had passed between them, in respect to us, he asked how we proposed to travel? whether in his train, or separately? adding, if we chose the latter, that he would speak to the *Mussollem* to give orders for some troops to escort us. On being told, that we came this way on purpose to accompany him, he replied, "that we should be of the family of his chief *Christian* officers;" among whom we find, are his treasurer, chamberlain, and some others. He carried his complaisance so far, as to ask whether we had tents, mules, &c. fit for the journey, saying, if we had not, he would himself give orders that we should be supplied with them.

The *French* missionaries sent us a little brandy, and some country-made wine; and were so obliging as to set their still to work, to make us a few bottles more of the first.—We find a little brandy in milk, the best cordial, and the most wholesome food we can get.—This evening we remembered our families and friends in a bowl of it. We put into the hands of a *French* father (who came this evening to invite us to take up our habitation with him and his brethren) a letter of credit which we received from *Cajee Raphael* at *Baghdad* for 5000 piastres, on our draughts upon *Aleppo* or *Constantinople*. It was drawn by *Cuttal Aga* on *Hassen Efendi* in this city. The father was very hearty in his assurances of giving us all the assistance in his power; and the behaviour of individuals in a war between two nations, becoming a principal part of our conversation, the good father expressed himself much after this manner: "That we were all naturally brethren, and though kings and rulers made war, yet the obligations between man and man were by no means dissolved by it: that it was our duty to pray God to give peace to all his people, and when the obligations we owed the public did not render it impossible, that good offices and brotherly kindness should prevail between the individuals of each nation even in the midst of war; and how much more ought this spirit of benevolence to be cherished by us, when by so extraordinary a chance, *Europeans* and fellow-*Christians* met in so distant a part of *Asia*?"

1758.

July 23.

Two other *French* fathers came this morning, to pay us their compliments; whose conversation and offers of service corresponded with those we had received yesterday. They likewise fixed in our minds the unfavourable idea we had before conceived of the *Turkish* government, by confirming the account given us at *Mosul*, of their greatest *Basbas* acting sometimes in concert with the chief of the robbers. The great body which we so narrowly escaped last *Friday*, the fathers assure us, encamped but a little while ago between this city and the *Courdistan* mountains, and continued there several days without interruption; nay, sent messages into the city to the *Basba*, and received from him provisions of many kinds. Their chief being indisposed, desired that a physician might be sent out to him, which request was immediately complied with. The fathers add, that all this indulgence could not be shewn them without their making some kind of compensation. Upon my asking whether the *Basba*, considering the late calamitous situation of his people, was able to make head against them; they replied, "Yes," and shook their heads. We were told by these gentlemen, that the *French* ship of war the *Foudroyant*, and another of inferior force, had been taken in the *Mediterranean*, and carried into an *English* port.

At nine o'clock, accounts were brought us, that our faithful servant *Francisco* was carried to prison and loaded with irons, for bad behaviour to a *Turk*.—Our *Aga* posted thither in his behalf. At eleven o'clock three or four *Turks* of some rank in the city, visited us. The *Syrian Papa*, or *Jacobine Patriarch*, we find resides in *Diarbekir**; he is an aged man, of very good life and conversation, and the chief instrument of whatever good is done by the *Turks* hereabouts, who in spite of their religious prejudices, cannot but revere the virtue he possesses.—Such was the character given him by the fathers.

Francisco returned to us in the evening, and said it was a false report that he was loaded with irons; he confesses indeed that he was confined in prison for refusing to pay the duty due to government on a country *Christian's* arrival; but on our *Aga's* applying to the *Mussolm*, and letting him know, that he was one of our servants, he was immediately set at liberty.—The old man upon the whole seems to have been less terrified with the *Turkish* prison, than he was with the farmer's sword. This evening also the father returned to us, whom we had entrusted with our letter of credit, or rather draught as we understood it to be on *Hassen Effendi*: he brought his mattress, with the design of tarrying all night with us, foreseeing he

* Monsieur *Tournefort*, in his travels, says, that there are many *Patriarchs* in the dominions of the King of *Persia*, and the *Grand Seigneur*. He of *Itchmiadzin*, who has borne the name of *Catholikos* a great while, is the chief of them all. This *Patriarch* is clothed as plainly as the other priests; he lives very frugally, and has but a few domestics, yet he is the most considerable prelate in the world, in regard to the authority he has over his nation, which tremble at the least threat of excommunication from him. They say, there are fourscore thousand villages which own him. *TOURNEFORT*, vol. iii. page 240, 241.

1758.

should not be able to return in proper time to re-enter the gates of the city. He made an apology for his being absent so long from us, but assured us, that this delay had been entirely owing to the disappointment he had met with, and the distress of mind he was in upon our account. He in short told us, that *Hassen Effendi* could not supply us with any money.

We were exceedingly chagrined, as well as displeased at this piece of intelligence, and talked of complaining to the *Basha*. The good father replied, "I have already threatned the *Effendi*, but he has convinced me, that such a procedure will not be attended with any good consequence; since the blame cannot with any kind of justice be laid upon him, but rather on *Cojee Raphael* your pretended friend at *Baghdad*, whose letter expresses no more than this: "Sir, Five *English* gentlemen coming your way, if they should "want money, and you can supply them, or can prevail on any of your "friends to do it, their bills drawn on their countrymen at *Stamboul*, or "Aleppo, to the amount of 5000 piastres, will be safe; and you therein will "oblige

Yours, &c.

CUTTAL AGA."

"Now, gentlemen, (added the father) the *Effendi* says, and I believe him, that he cannot supply you with cash himself, neither does he know of any other person in *Diarbekir* that can, to such a state of poverty are the inhabitants in general reduced; and he moreover desired me to assure you that he has no effects of the letter-writer in his hands."

A stroke so sudden and unexpected as this was, struck us with consternation little less than despair; we stood looking upon one another unable to make the least reply. As we had not among us all above ten piastres left, there appeared to be no other resource, but disposing of our watches, buckles, and whatever other trinkets we could muster. The kind father however did not permit us to continue long in this painful state; but told us, that he and his brethren had been all over the city, endeavouring to raise a friend to support us in our present exigencies, and at last had in some measure succeeded. At the same time he called upon a person whom he had brought with him, to draw nearer to us. "This good man, says the missionary (pointing to his companion) has given us his word, that he will immediately advance you 200 piastres, which will be enough for the present, and he will from time to time on the road to *Aleppo*, supply you with whatever cash you shall stand in need of. He is a country *Christian*, and goes with the *Basha*." The great degree of joy which this acceptable piece of news gave us, the reader may more easily conceive, than I express. The *Christian* laid down the 200 piastres, and confirmed the promise he had made to the fathers, relative to our future wants. So that to the good

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offices of these worthy men, we owe our not being reduced to the very extremity of distress; and to the deceit of our false friend *Cojee Raphael* all that we might otherwise have suffered.—*M'Intosh* is now on the recovery. *Benjamin Jenkins*, the night before last had a fever; and for some days past *Mr. Doidge's* rheumatism in the shoulder has been so troublesome, that it obliged him to put the arm into a sling. *Mr. Pigot* is not well, and looks greatly fatigued. *Messieurs Pye, Alms*, and self, are pretty well, but have not yet recovered our lost appetites.

Diarbekir is a large and well-fortified city, defended by bastions and turrets * after the *Turkish* manner. It has about twelve *Mosques* with *Minarets*. The former, we are told, were originally *Christian* churches. The houses, for the most part, are built of a grey moor-stone. The city, about two years ago was very populous, its inhabitants amounting to four hundred thousand souls; but in the last year, three hundred thousand died, either by cold or famine. The *Christians* residing in the city before this calamity, were reckoned to amount to 26,000, of whom 20,000 died. This account we had from one of the *French* missionaries, a *Capuchin*, who also said, that before the famine, the city contained 60,000 fighting men, but that now they are not able to muster 10,000. He assures us, that the houses and streets, nay the very *Mosques* were filled with dead, that every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death, and that the surviving inhabitants not only greedily devoured all kinds of beasts, brutes, and reptiles, but also were obliged to feed on human bodies. Yet, in the midst of this scene of horror, the *Grandees* of the city had every thing in plenty; for they had taken care to monopolize vast quantities of corn, which they sold out to the other inhabitants at most extravagant prices, and thereby acquired for themselves immense fortunes. Corn rose from two piastres a measure to 50, 60, and even 70 in the space of six months. The father added, that the very severe winter of 1756, and the *Locusts* in 1757, were the causes of this dreadful visitation: for by reason of the former, there were but few acres of land sown with corn; and by the latter, the small crop they had, was in a great measure destroyed. He spoke of the severity of that winter in terms almost incredible; that it was common to see the people fall down dead in the streets; that he himself once on quitting a warm room, and going into the open air, fell down motionless, and that his brother in attempting to assist him, met with the same fate.

This account of the effects of cold in the city of *Diarbekir* (which, according to an observation taken by *Mr. Alms*, lies only in $38^{\circ} 22'$ north) seems at first very surprizing; but considering that the place stands on a

* Our common journal says, "near 60 towers, and 16 *Mosques* with stone *Minarets*, and one with a large *Dome*; there are no guns mounted on the walls. To the east is an high hill which quite overlooks the city, and commands it. The other three sides are open to a fine large plain, part of which hath this year been sown with corn."

rising

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rising ground in the midst of an extensive plain, and that the high *Courdistan* mountains lie to the south and east of it, and the *Armenian* or *Turcomanian* to the north, whose heads are always covered with snow, and even now in *July* supply the city with ice; it will not appear at all improbable, that in a very severe winter, such as was that in 1756, the inhabitants of this city should so severely feel the effects of it. Besides, fuel must have been extremely scarce, especially among the poorer sort, as nothing of this kind is produced but upon the mountains, and these lie at such a distance, that the price of it must thereby be greatly enhanced.

This city has a good appearance; it is pleasantly situated, the *Tygris* running but at a small distance from it. The bridge of ten arches is said to have been built by the order of *Alexander the Great*. In the environs are many pleasant *Villas* with gardens, and rivulets running by them. There are also vineyards, of whose fruits the *Christians* make wine and spirits. There is at this time a good deal of arable land round the place, but not a thousandth part of what there might be, the soil being naturally very rich.

Monday
July 24.

This day, early in the morning, the *Basha* with his retinue set off from *Diarbekir*. We could not immediately follow him, being obliged to wait for provisions for the *Aga* and his servants, for our beasts and horses, and several necessaries for ourselves; so that it was past two in the afternoon before we began to march. In the mean time we wrote a letter to the hospitable fathers, thanking them in the most grateful terms for the repeated acts of friendship they had conferred upon us, and desiring the favour of their names, that we might not be ignorant of the persons to whom we were so much obliged. We soon had the satisfaction to receive an answer in *French*, of which the following is a translation.

" Gentlemen,

Diarbekir, 24th, July, 1758.

" I have received the honour of your letter, in which you thank us
" for the good offices which we have done you. We esteem them very
" trifling for persons of your distinguished merit. We should have been
" happy had it been in our power to have rendered you services of more
" consequence; but we hope you will take the will for the deed. In re-
" spect to our names, we are called, Father *Joseph Marie* of *Cambray*, Fa-
" ther *Ives* of *Douay*, Father *Peter Francis* of *Tourain*, Father *Oener* of *Mau-*
" *beuge*, and Brother *Alexander* of *Orleans*. We are at present five here,
" but two of us must soon go into *Persia*, and we do not know on whom
" the lot may fall.—We wish you an happy journey, and are with all
" possible respect,

" Gentlemen,

" Your most humble,

" and obedient servants,

" Father *JOSEPH MARIE*,

" of *Cambray*, *Capuchin*, &c. &c."

On

On finding that one of these reverend fathers bore my own name, I was not a little vexed that we had not given ourselves the trouble to make the enquiry sooner. As he was the first stranger of the name of *Ives* I had ever met with, and as in conjunction with his brother missionaries, he had rendered me the most obliging offices, probably I should have been fond of believing that I had discovered a similitude of features in the face of Father *Ives*, with those of my own family, and have made myself happy in thinking that a consanguinity of but a few intervening generations subsisted between us. Perhaps I might even have carried my reverie so far as to have concluded, that this relation of mine had been placed here by the particular designation of providence on purpose for my relief. But as the above recited letter did not arrive till we were just setting off, it never was in my power personally to know this name-fake of mine, or his services, more than those of the other fathers.

At leaving *Diarbekir*, we were favoured with the sight of two fair and pretty women, whose curiosity led them to take a look at us, and who from some motive or other, which it was impossible for us to ascertain, were so obliging as to uncover, and give us a full view of their faces. We took our leave of them, of *Hallipoi*, and *Diarbekir*, and travelled for six hours over a rocky and desert country, abounding with thistles and wild artichokes; our course upon the whole being from W. S. W. to W. N. W. differing two or three points. At eight we joined the *Basba*, and continued on the same spot of ground where he was, without any covering, till four o'clock the next morning. We found the air both sharp and damp. We then, in company with the *Basba* and his little army, renewed our march over rocky hills and dales. Our course was N. W. b W. W. S. W. S. W. and W. till about eleven o'clock, when we pitched our tents in a little valley near a running stream of water. Here we tarried the whole day, and received a complaisant message from the *Kabier*, with a present of a good sheep, which to people in our circumstances could not fail of being very acceptable: it was sent by a servant with a *Chocard* attending him. We returned our thanks by our *Aga*.

July 25.

This day, for the first time since we left *England*, we saw a wild goldfinch, which settled upon a thistle close to our tent; the sight of this little, agreeable songster gave us exquisite pleasure, owing to the single consideration that birds of this kind are inhabitants of *Great Britain*. This thought, set before our heated imaginations all those gilded scenes of delight, that we supposed were only to be found in that happy region; and which with wishes bordering upon enthusiasm we were now praying to enjoy. We panted for our *Mother Country*, that *Natale Solum* so pathetically described by the poets, and so sensibly felt by every human breast after a long and painful

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painful separation*. We could not help looking upon this tuneful goldfinch, as a fellow citizen who had kindly flown thus far to bid us welcome, to raise our drooping spirits, and signify to us that we were drawing nearer to our native country, that land of liberty after which we had so long and so passionately sighed.

July 26.

Incessu.

At twelve at night we decamped, and travelled till one in the afternoon over a very rocky, hilly country, that yielded little besides thistles, artichokes, and some wild flowers, particularly the single white and red holyhock. From ten in the morning till one in the afternoon, the heat of the sun was excessive, and fatiguing to the last degree. At eleven we passed on our right the village *Incessu*, but it is so large that it may more properly be stiled a town. It has two *Mosques*, with brick minarets. Near this place I observed with great pain a vast number of sick, weak, and lame objects. Mr. *Pye*, with difficulty escaped from being forced to act the physician and surgeon. Many of the poor wretches applied to him with great earnestness, and would scarce be satisfied with his plea of ignorance. At one we encamped in a pleasant valley, near a good stream of water.

This day we met several travellers going to *Diarbekir*.—A party, whom I took to be the governor and chief people of *Incessu*, came out to compliment the *Basha*: this great man, we believe loitered near the village, in order that presents might be made him, as he did not encamp till near four.

July 27.

At half past four this morning, we decamped, and went west, and W. by S. for four hours and an half. Then we pitched our tents by a run of water, having before crossed two rivulets. The road to-day was rather rough, though much smoother than we found it yesterday. It afforded the same kind of plants as were before noticed.

The *Basha's Haram*, or female part of his train, consists of three *Takbt Revans*, and five covered cages; all of them are ornamented according to the rank of his wives and their attendants, and closely covered with scarlet and other coloured cloths: They do not encamp till two or three hours after us. The *Haram*, and its body-guard, precede the *Basha* about half an hour's march. This great officer always enters the encampment with colours flying, and music playing, which is made up

* Nescio quâ Natale Solum dulcedine captos
Ducit, & immemores non finit esse sui.

OVID. Epist. ex Ponto, lib. i.

En unquam patrios longo post tempore fines
Pauperis & tuguri congestum cespitem culmen,
Post aliquot, mea regna videns, mirabor aristas?

VIRG. Ecl. i.

— ô, ubi campi,
Spertheosque, & virginibus bacchata Lacænis
Taygeta: ô, qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
Sistat, & ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!

VIRG. Georgic. lib. ii.

of

of kettle-drums, trumpets, hautboys, and fifes.—He is of the highest rank, and to express his dignity has three horse-tails carried in his train; one of which is always with the van-guard.

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Being in want of meat, and having but little money in our pockets, we were obliged to send to the *Kabier* for another sheep, which he readily ordered from the *Basba's* slaughter-tent. Our *Aga* sounded the *Kabier* about our quitting the *Basba's* train, and making the best of our way to *Aleppo*. He would not consent to our taking this step at present, as robbers in small companies now infest the roads; but gave us hopes however of being permitted to leave the *Basba* two days hence, taking with us a few troops for our guard.—To-day *Francisco* borrowed ten sequins for us: We could not forbear uttering a thousand bad wishes on the head of *Cojee Raphael*, for having so grossly deceived us in the article of money, which above all others is the most important in this country. He was to have supplied us with as much as we pleased, by order and on the account of Mr. *Shaw*, to whom we brought unlimited letters of credit from our friends Messrs. *Hough* and *Spencer* at *Bombay*; but for reasons best known to himself, though he accepted of the credit, and often declared that we should have every thing from him that we could possibly need, yet was so cruelly treacherous as to send us off almost penniless, advancing only 500 piastres, assuring us at the same time that 300 would be quite enough. But what sets the deceitfulness of this man in a stronger light, is, that in a conversation which he had with our *Aga* on the subject, before we left *Baghdad*, he expressly told him, that it was necessary we should carry with us 1000 or 1200 piastres; which sum, by woful experience, we now find is the least we ought to have had. It is therefore manifest, that he *knowingly deceived us*, and thereby totally cancelled all the obligations we owed him for his other services.

We set out this morning at half past two o'clock, and travelled seven hours on a good road over a fertile country, or what at least might be made so, if properly cultivated. In our whole way from *Diarbekir*, we have had on our right, to the northward, the *Turcomanian* mountains. This morning we joined a nation of moving *Arabs*, with their families and numerous flocks: the latter were made up of the finest sheep, and most hairy goats I ever beheld. We used a thousand entreaties to prevail on the owners of them to sell one of each sort, but could not succeed. The tails of the sheep were surprizingly large and unwieldy; they could not weigh less than from 20 to 40 pounds each, and were made up of very fine fat. A few years ago I saw some sheep with very large tails in *Barbary*, but never any of equal size with these, whose weight was such, that the poor creatures could not run; they only walked, or rather waddled; and their very heads inclined backwards, probably owing to their enormous tails. The he-goats belonging to this *Arab* flock, had horns as

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long as a deer's, and in form not much unlike them. Their hair too was very long, and yet a little curling, reaching from their sides almost down to the ground, like a fine, flowing robe *. One of these, which was likewise adorned with an unusual length of beard, went at the head of the flock of sheep, and carried a bell about its neck. These *Arabs* were just come out of the *Armenian* mountains, and for the sake of better pasturage, were moving towards the banks of the *Euphrates*.

MENISERAH.

About eight o'clock we left on our right the ruins of a village called *Meniserah*, which is the last in the province of *Diarbekir*. About two miles to the southward of these ruins, there is another village of the same name which is inhabited, but this last is in the district of *Urfa* †; so that after we had passed by the ruins we immediately entered into *Urfa's Basbalic*.

This

* This seems to be the goat spoken of by *Monfr. Tournefort* in his journey to *Pocat* and *Angora*. "They breed (says he) the finest goats in the world in the champaign of *Angora*. They are of a dazzling white; and their hair, which is fine as silk, naturally curled in locks of eight or nine inches long, is worked up into the finest stuffs, especially camlet. The thread made of this goat's hair is sold from four livres to twelve or fifteen livres the *Oque*; there is some sold even for twenty or five-and-twenty crowns the *Oque*; but this is only made up into camlet for the use of the *Grand Seignior's Seraglio*." *TOURNEFORT*, vol. iii. p. 301.

† *Urfa*, *Orfa*, *Orpha*, or *Ourfa*; antient *Edeffa*, in the latitude of 36°, about 60 miles east from the river *Euphrates*, at the head of the river *Scirtas*, in a fruitful well-cultivated, and pleasant champaign: a city so considerable, as by some to be accounted the chief of the province.

Orfa, says *Rauwolf*, with its castle, is situated very pleasantly on a hill; the town is pretty large, and well provided with fortifications. The inhabitants deal in tapestry of divers sorts, whereof some are made here. There is also a very good factory of trade from *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, and *Constantinople*, for *Caramet*, which is five days journey from it, and thence sold into *Persia*, *India*, &c.—A plentiful well near the town is called *Abraham's*, and shewn to strangers, as that to which *Rebecca* went to water her flock, (*Genesis*, chap. 24.) and upon that belief it is held in great honour.

* * * * *

Ourfa is the capital of *Mesopotamia*, surrounded with walls of free-stone, and provided with battlements and towers, seated in a good soil, producing wine, and affords pleasant gardens, which are watered by channels brought by art. The houses in the town are small, ill built, and so ruinous, that in some places, it looks more like a desert, than a metropolis.

The city is governed by a *Basha*, who has under him one hundred and fifty *Janissaries*, and six hundred *Spahis*. Great quantities of the red *Turkish* leather are dressed here, the water of this place giving it a particular beauty. *TAVERNIER*.

* * * * *

Edeffa was so ancient a place, that in *Isidore's* time, *Nimrod* was named as its founder. Under the *Romans* it was the capital of *Ostrobene*, which was the northern part of *Mesopotamia*; subject to its own prince in our Saviour's time, to whom he is said to have written a letter declaring faith in him, and desiring his presence to cure him of a disease.

It was the see of an archbishop, and in the holy war subject to the *Christians*, with the country around it. By the *Greeks*, this city was named *Calliroe*, from the fair fountains. By the *Latins*, it was sometimes called *Justinopolis*, from the emperor *Justin* who re-edified it. By the *Arabians* it is called *Rboa* and *Orrahaoi*.

Dr.

This capital city is distant from hence five hours journey, lying S. W. of us.

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At half past nine in the morning, we encamped in the most pleasant vale we had met with on this side *Diarbekir*, shaded by willow and poplar trees, intersected with runs of water, and covered with grass and flowering shrubs. Being told that there was a misunderstanding between our *Basha* and that of *Urfa*, and therefore we should not pass through that city; it was thought expedient by us to write a letter last night in Mr. *Doidge's* name, to the *European Christian* missionaries at *Urfa*, begging them to make enquiry for a messenger, who we imagined must have arrived there with an answer to a letter we had addressed to Consul *Drummond* while we lay at *Nisibin*: we requested the fathers, if they found out the messenger, to send him back with Mr. *Drummond's* answer to *Bir* or *Birjoup*, a place we should be sure to touch at.—We sent this letter by a person going to *Urfa*, who had accompanied the *Basha* thus far from *Diarbekir*.

At half past three in the morning we decamped, and set off with some of the first of the *Basha's* people. After about three hours travelling over a hilly, sandy country, we arrived at a most delightful plantation of walnut, willow, and poplar trees, which lay in a vale, where were many black-berry bushes, and a refreshing stream of water ran through it. For about two hours we skirted the outside of this pleasant covert, and then got to the place where the *Basha* intended to encamp for the day, greatly disappointed to find our stage so short, and yet partly reconciled to it, seeing we were to rest on so sweet a spot.—Our course to-day was W. S. W. and S. W., but we got forward on our journey only nine miles. Near to the valley where we now are, is some ground cultivated by the *Arabs*, and over the rivulet stands a water-mill. The valley is called *Pasellekew*, and the neighbouring village, *Hanwah*. We have seen many *Terapins* of late, and a few *Storks*. Within the neighbouring grove are many gold-finches, and other singing birds.

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Hanwah's
vale and
village.

As the *Basha* travels so much slower than we chuse to do, and as by this delay we were apprehensive of not arriving soon enough at *Scanderoon* to embark in the ships which sail from thence about this time to *England*; we desired our *Aga* to wait upon the *Kabier*, and solicit his good offices with

Dr. *Heylin* supposed it to be *Charan* or *Haran*, whither *Abraham* removed with his father and family, when they departed from *Ur*. But according to *Goliuz*, *Niger*, and others, *Charan*, which was at the same time called *Charræ* by the *Romans*, and notable for the defeat and death of *Craffus*, stood more north, 40 miles distant from hence.

Edeffa is remembered in the *Roman* history for the death of the emperor *Caracalla*, by the hand of *Macrinus*. The first taking of it by the *Saracens* was in the year 637. Prince *Baldwin*, brother to *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*, got possession of it in 1097, and the *Turks* retook it in 1142.

MOLL'S *Geography of Mesopotamia*.

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the *Basha* to grant us an escort, and that we may be permitted to make the best of our way to *Bir* in the beginning of the night. Our *Aga* undertook the commission with reluctance, but we positively insisted upon his doing it. A little after noon, our *Aga* was sent for by the *Kabier*: We took it for granted that his intention in sending for him was to deliver to him the *Basha's* permission for our going forwards, and we made ourselves not a little happy at the thoughts of it; but at his return, we had the mortification to learn that he was sent for to present the *Kabier's* compliments to the *English* gentlemen, and to desire the favour of them to spare one of their *Takht Revans*, for the use of a sick *Cadi*. The *Aga*, without waiting for an answer from us, replied, "All applications of that sort would be in vain, because one of the two *Takht Revans* was, and had been for some time, totally given up to the service of their sick *European* servants; therefore, but one remained for the relief of the five gentlemen, who were not themselves in the best state of health, and moreover were quite unaccustomed to ride in the sun."—The *Kabier* seeing the great impropriety of the message, thought fit to drop it.

Our *Aga* did not neglect this favourable opportunity of talking to the minister about our proceeding immediately to *Aleppo*. He set before him in the strongest light the necessity we were under of getting to *Scanderoon* as soon as possible, and begged his interest with the *Basha* to permit us to depart with a proper escort for *Aleppo*; making it plainly appear to him, by that means we should save a great deal of what otherwise would be lost time: for he observed, if allowed to proceed by ourselves, we could with great ease get to *Bir* in one stage (being only eight hours journey) which the *Basha* with his numerous retinue would make two of at least; and the whole way from *Bir* to *Aleppo*, would take us only three days, whereas *Abdallah Basha* (exclusive of the time he continued at *Bir*) could not perform it in less than four. In answer to all this, the *Kabier* started many objections; the principal were, the roads being infested with robbers, and the fatal consequences that might ensue should we chance to be attacked by them. He desired the *Aga* however to call upon him again in the evening, by which time, he told him, he should be able to acquaint him more fully with the *Basha's* sentiments.

Early in the evening we hurried the *Aga* away, and by six he returned with a positive refusal from the *Basha*; who pleaded in excuse for his non-compliance with our request, that the roads were full of deserters from the *Basha* of *Urfa's* soldiery, who having quarrelled with their master had turned robbers; and that the *Basha* himself in consequence of their mutiny, had withdrawn himself from *Urfa*, where he apprehended his life to be in danger, and had retired to *Bir*, as a place of safety. He added, that we were under his own immediate protection by a very particular recommendation from *Solyman Basha*, and therefore that he was answerable for all the

ill consequences that might attend any indiscreet procedure. Thoroughly mortified by this cruel detention, wearied almost to death by the length and fatigue of our journey, anxious to arrive at *Aleppo*, and not crediting one half of what had been told us, of the dangers of the road; we in plain terms told our *Aga* that we were determined to go on by ourselves without a guard, and to run all risks; the greatest of which we looked upon as nothing, compared to the hazard we ran of losing our passage from *Scanderoon* to *England*, by the unaccountably slow progress we at present made. We urged also the importance of our public dispatches, and peremptorily insisted on setting out this very night.

The conversation exceedingly alarmed the *Aga*, who with the most visible marks of concern, told us, that if we were resolved to take this step, it would be out of his power to go with us, for the *Basha's* orders were peremptory, and should he presume to break through them, the inevitable consequence must be the losing of his head. We rejoined, that however sorry we should be to leave him behind us, yet in the present case we thought ourselves obliged so to do; but for his indemnification with the *Bashas Solyman* and *Abdallah*, we would write him a letter, which was as follows:

“ Sir,

“ The business we are upon in respect to the king our master is so pressing, and the hazard we run of missing the opportunity of an *English* ship of war sailing from *Scanderoon*, so great, that we are obliged to acquaint you, we must run all risks, and get to *Aleppo* as soon as possible. If the *Basha* therefore will not permit us to have a guard, which we desire you again to solicit, we must this night set off by ourselves for *Bir*. We write this to you for our justification to all whom it may concern, but particularly our own *King*.

To AGA AMADA.

“ We are, Sir,

“ &c. &c.”

We ordered our interpreter to explain this letter to the *Aga*, and to express to him the lively sense we had of his great care over us during the whole journey, assuring him withal, that on his arrival at *Aleppo*, we should take him by the hand as our good friend, and shew him the same token of our thankfulness, as if he had accompanied us thither; but if we should have quitted that city before his arrival, we would not fail to leave with Consul *Drummond* the proper mark of our gratitude, from whose hands he would be sure to receive it. This gave him an opportunity of minutely enquiring into the exact value of our intended present, which he did not omit, saying, “ How shall I be able to judge of your consul's rightly delivering the identical sum you are so kind as to intend me?”—We withheld from him the entire gratification of his wishes in this respect, for some little space, and

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and only answered in general, that the *British* consul was a man of honour. We presently added however, that for his future security we should leave a letter at *Aleppo* addressed to him, which, on his producing to *Solyman Basba*, would not only justify his whole conduct towards us, but also express our thanks for his services, and intreat his acceptance of certain tokens of our esteem. He seemed to pay great attention to this declaration, and made some civil returns to it, by an easy inclination of his body; but still such a share of diffidence sat on his brow, that we evidently saw his heart was not perfectly at ease. Knowing the inordinate thirst which even the best among the *Turks* have for money, and actuated besides by the real regard which we had for the man, we could not defer any longer telling him, that our present would not fall short of 500 piastres.—After this he appeared very well satisfied.

We then desired him to send for the *Mocha* and *Takht-revan-gee*. When they came, we gave them to understand, that we intended to set off this very night at twelve o'clock for *Bir* without the *Basba*; and used every argument we could think of to persuade them to go with us. But they too raised a thousand difficulties, telling us, that exclusive of the risk they ran of losing their mules, which were not their own, they did not dare to proceed without the *Aga*, especially after what had passed between him and the *Kabier*. Upon their refusal, we held a short consultation among ourselves, and resolved to request the *Aga* to go immediately to the *Kabier* with our most respectful compliments, beseeching him to give us leave to wait upon him with our interpreter. He would fain have postponed it till the morning, reasoning with great propriety on the unseasonableness of the hour for waiting upon a man of his rank; but we were not now to be put off, pleading in our turn the absolute necessity we were under of not losing another moment of time: he at last yielded, taking with him *Francisco*. They did not return till past ten, and then, only with the minister's compliments and prayers, that we would rest satisfied, and acquiesce in his and the *Basba's* wholesome advice. He desired them to assure us, the road was extremely dangerous, and that our request could not be granted without the most apparent hazard; adding, that if we were robbed, it would reflect great dishonour not only upon *Abdallah Basba* who had taken us under his protection, but also on *Solyman Basba* who had so strongly recommended us; and besides, the difference of time between going by ourselves, or with the *Basba*, could not now be very great, and he hoped no kind of loss or inconvenience would arise from it.

We were obliged to put up with the disappointment, and so reposed ourselves once more on our cots; it being impracticable for us to set off, as the *Kabier* by this time had denounced a punishment of the severest kind on all our country attendants who should presume to go with us. However, we had taken care to dispatch a messenger to *Bir*, with orders to look out for the man with Mr. *Drummond's* expected answer; and should he find him,

him, he was directed to return to us immediately; if not, to wait there till our arrival, with or without the *Basha*.

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July 30.

Early this morning, *Abdallah Basha* himself sent for our *Aga*, and talked with him a great deal on the present situation of our affairs. He concluded in the same strain as his *Kabier* had done the preceding night, "that he neither could, nor *would* consent to our going *one finger's length* before him." On the contrary, he desired, that during our future march, we would take care to keep more in the body of his guards than we had hitherto done, for the times were exceedingly perilous. The *Aga* soon returned to us, and delivered the *Basha's* message. He was accompanied (agreeable to an order given by *Abdallah*) by three other persons: the one was a silver-staff officer, the other a *Christian* of his household, and the third a soldier. The two first were directed to beg that we would have patience, and put confidence in the *Basha's* care of us; to assure us that nothing but the real concern he had for our safety, prevented his giving us his permission to proceed; that the whole country was full of danger, and that a hundred soldiers would not be sufficient to protect us, there being more than two hundred deserters from the *Basha* of *Urfa's* troops, between whom and their late commander there was now an open war. As a proof of the truth of this representation, the *Basha* had ordered the soldier to attend us, who this very morning had come from *Urfa*, and confirmed the account in every particular.

We had all the reason in the world to believe, that the *Christian* was joined with the other two, not only on the presumption that his word would gain greater credit with us than that of a *Mussulman*, but because this was the very man who at the request of the fathers, had supplied us with cash. In the course of our conversation with these persons, we were informed, that the *Basha*, on hearing of the precipitate measures we were taking, had once proposed that *Francisco* our servant and interpreter should be sent for to receive the *Bastinado*, on the presumption that he had been chiefly instrumental in persuading us to set off by ourselves. We appeared to smile at this account, and told the *Turks*, that we were very sure a person of the *Basha's* dignity and politeness could never think of carrying into execution such a step, therefore we took for granted that if it was proposed, it was only in jest.

They observed in reply, that the *Basha* had told them, he was educated at *Constantinople*, and had the honour of being a *Vizier* to the *Grand Seignior*, from which happy circumstances he had frequent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the genius and tempers of the *English* nation, which he knew to be so amiable in every respect, that he was entirely convinced we had never withstood his intreaties, if this servant who was an *Aleppean*, and a subject to the *Emperor*, had interpreted with integrity all he was commanded to let us know. We assured them, that he was an inoffensive and honest

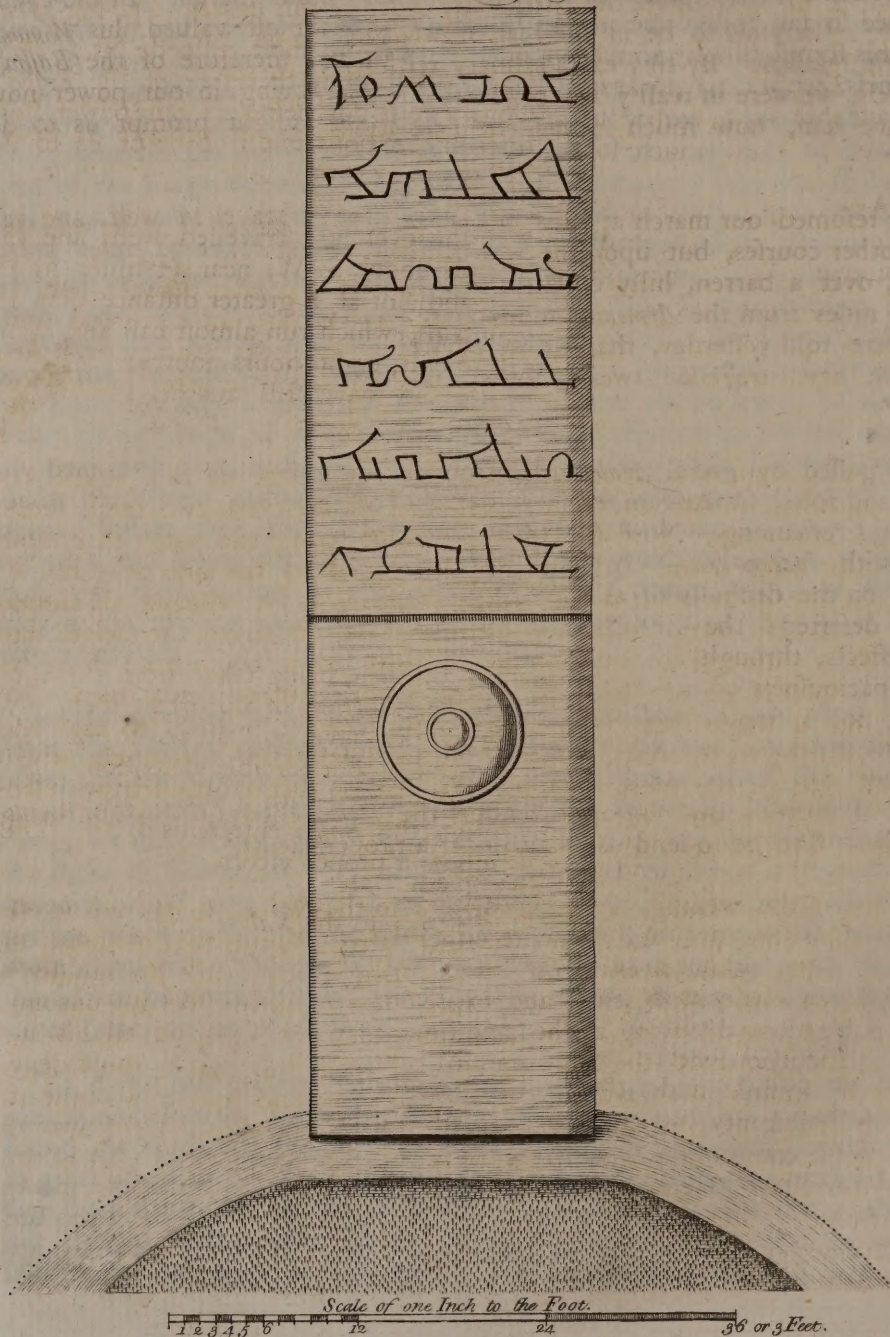
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honest man, and to the best of our belief had always executed his commission with fidelity. We desired them also to represent to the *Basha*, that though we had the most lively and grateful sense of his great concern for our welfare, yet we could not but regret every hour that did not set us forwards in our way to *Aleppo*: we therefore through them, again beseeched him to grant us a little escort, with which we would willingly venture our persons and effects. The officer peremptorily replied, that we must not go. Presently he added, that the *Basha* had proposed our sending an express from hence to the *British* consul at *Scanderoon*, requesting him to detain any one of the *King's* ships that happened to be there; and that the *Basha* himself would write a letter, informing the Consul at *Aleppo* how desirous we were to get forwards in our journey, but how impossible it was for him to comply with our desires. We begged the officer and his companions to make our acknowledgments to the *Basha* for this farther instance of his kindness, but added, that we had already written to the Consul, who we made not the least doubt would do every thing in his power to serve us; yet we knew likewise so much of the nature of the orders given to the captains of our ships of war, that nothing was sufficient to prevail on them to tarry for even a single day. We concluded, with desiring them to make the *Basha* acquainted with our thanks, and our intreaties to be gone. Before they took leave they observed, that the difference of time between our going by ourselves, or accompanying the *Basha*, would be only two days, owing to the *Basha* of *Urfa's* being arrived at *Bir*; for that would prevent our great-man from tarrying so long there as he otherwise intended.

In the evening two small plates of ready-dressed victuals were sent us from the *Basha's* cookery-tent. This scanty supply was intended for ourselves; at the same time a certain allowance of bread, *Ghee*, &c. was sent to our *Aga*, and his people. As we knew not by whose order these things came, we desired our *Aga* to make enquiry; for if they were a present from the *Basha* or *Kabier*, we very well knew that their directions in respect to the quantity, must have been but ill executed; if they came from any inferior person, we were desirous he should be acquainted that we could receive no more from him, though we were obliged to him for his good will, and should not be unmindful on our arrival at *Aleppo*, of any civilities that were either done, or intended us on the road.

To divert our present melancholy in some degree, we took a walk in the plantation before us, where, besides the trees and bushes already mentioned, we found the apple and plumb-tree. The strawberry plant also flourished here in great abundance. Soon after we had finished our walk, we received a message from the *Basha*, that to prevent any indecorum or insult being offered to our persons in the night, he had thought it necessary to order six or eight soldiers to attend us at our tents. We immediately ordered our *Aga* to wait

A Blue Stone 6 Feet long & 18 Inches broad.



wait upon the *Kabier*, and to demand the real meaning of so unusual a guard. At his return, he told us, we were to look upon it as an additional mark of the *Basha's* respect and care for us, who had also condescended so far as to direct the particular order of our march. In the evening we found this to be in the rear of what he most valued, his *Women* and his *Treasure*. By this extraordinary testimony therefore of the *Basha's* kindness, we were in reality his prisoners; it not being in our power now to leave him, how much soever our inclinations might prompt us to do it.

We resumed our march at nine in the evening; travelled west, and various other courses, but upon the whole about S. W. near 32 miles in 12 hours, over a barren, hilly country, and not at a greater distance than 12 or 14 miles from the *Armenian* mountains, which run almost east and west. We were told yesterday, that we were only eight hours journey from *Bir*, but we have travelled twelve hours, and have still another journey to make!

Monday
July 31.

We passed by several *Arab* burial-grounds, and three or four ruined villages and forts, situated on eminences; one of these has two small stone-gateways remaining. Now and then we came to a little patch of ground sown with *Indian* corn. At nine we encamped by the side of a run of water, on the declivity of a hill called *Cortocoar*. The villages all around us are deserted; the *Arabian* inhabitants having removed themselves and their effects, through an apprehension of their being taken from them by the rapaciousness of our soldiery, or the extortion of our great men. No flocks, not a single sheep is to be seen! we have no victuals to eat! and are almost ripe for mutiny, upon account of our forcible detention, which we think has its rise more in vain-glory, mixed with a little self-interested policy, than from any real apprehension the *Basha* entertains of our being in danger, were he to send us away under a proper escort.

At five in the evening, we sent our *Aga* to the *Kabier* to lay our necessities again before him, and to desire either a fresh supply of provisions, or leave to hasten by ourselves to *Bir*. Our *Aga* returned with the minister's most ceremonious compliments, and expressions of sorrow for our uncomfortable situation, declaring at the same time, that the *Basha* and all his attendants laboured under the same scarcity of food, but that he would deny himself the scanty pittance that was allotted him, and send us a couple of plates of dressed meat from his own family. These were soon after conveyed to our tents, and though they barely served to take off the keen edge of my brother-travellers' appetites, yet we looked upon them as infallible marks of the *Kabier's* humanity and politeness. For my own part, I suffered but very little upon this occasion, not having as yet so far recovered my appetite, as to feel in any great degree the painful sensation of hunger.

1758.
 August 1.

At one the next morning, we set off again, and travelled five hours over rocky hills. The first two hours our course was W. S. W. the two succeeding ones S. W. and S. S. W. and the last hour S. which brought us to the city of *Bir*, or *Birjoup* (as it is called by the inhabitants) which is situated on the eastern bank of the river *Euphrates*, against the side of a very high, chalky hill. It is about six hundred yards in length, and has five or six *Mosques* with stone *Minarets*. The buildings in general are in a ruinous condition, which with the craggy hills around, afford a picturesque and romantic prospect. The tops of these hills are covered with vineyards, as indeed are most of the environs of the city, but we could not discover any corn-lands.

The city is defended by two castles; one stands by the river's side, the other on the top of the hill. From this last, two small guns were fired in honour of the arrival of *Abdallab Basba*, who entered and rode through the city on horseback, attended by his own train, and by the *Basba* of *Urfa*, who went out of the place to meet him. There being no bridge here, and only three ferry-boats, which were all employed in transporting the *Basba's Haram* and retinue, soldiers and baggage, we had little hopes of getting across the river for some time, and therefore seated ourselves on some ruins that lay in the ditch before the town; but the *Basba* riding by, and seeing us and our baggage in the open street, immediately called our *Aga* to him, and sternly demanded, "Why the *English* gentlemen were thus shamefully treated?" Upon his being told the reason, he gave him the strictest orders, and commanded his own officers to take particular care, that the boats should be no more employed in his service till we and all our baggage were wafted over to the other side. This was the first time we had ever seen the *Basba*, and it must be owned that his whole behaviour upon this occasion was truly humane and polite. Our *Aga* kissed the hem of his garment, and we bowed after our manner, which he returned with a small bending of the chest, and a visible complacency of countenance. He was about sixty years of age, seemed active, and had a very long flaxen beard. The *Kabier*, who immediately followed the *Basba*, saluted us also with great freedom and good-nature.

It was about nine in the morning when we passed over the *Euphrates* for the second time; and thus quitted *Mesopotamia* and entered *Syria*. The river is here not more than 150 yards over, now, but in the winter-months, or after great rains, and the melting of the snow in the mountains, it must be at least twice as broad, which is very visible from its present dry bed. It supplies the inhabitants of *Bir* with a great variety of exceeding fine fish. We got here sheep, eggs, bread, and a few grapes, but no wine or spirituous liquors.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the burial-ground belonging to the city of *Bir*, is on the *Syrian* side of the river: possibly it may be owing to the ground

ground on which the town is built, being of so rocky a nature as not to admit of graves being dug in it, but with the utmost difficulty. It was upon this spot that we pitched our tents, from whence we had a full view of the city; but as its houses are built of a white, chalky stone, which bears the same colour with the neighbouring hills and soil, we could not easily distinguish the one from the other. Here we had the mortification to learn, that the two men whom we had dispatched from *Nisibin* with a letter to Mr. *Drummond* at *Aleppo*, had between *Urfa* and *Bir*, fallen in with a party of *Sanjacks*, who in a great rage had defaced our letter, and carried the messengers up into their mountains, where after severely whipping them, they at length suffered them to depart. These unfortunate men it seems did not arrive at *Bir* till yesterday, and after staying a few hours set out for *Aleppo*; so that all our hopes of getting speedy intelligence from Mr. *Drummond* are at an end.

At a quarter before three this morning, we decamped from the banks of the *Euphrates*, having the *Basba's* ladies and treasure before us, and travelled W. S. W. and S. W. for four hours and half, over a hilly, rugged country, abounding in chalk and stones. At six we passed over a bridge with three arches, and discovered a pretty looking village on our right called *Mazar*, which had many trees about, and on the hills beyond it: At half past seven we pitched our tents in a pleasant valley under the shade of a walnut-tree, with a pomegranate at our side, and an agreeable plantation of peach, almond, apple, and other trees around us. From this spot, we dispatched one of our *Takht-Revani* men with a second letter to Mr. *Drummond*. He engaged to deliver it to-morrow at sun-rise, and to meet us on the road with an answer.

August 2.

Our *Aga* has just given us all great spirits, by acquainting us that we are to keep the *Basba* company only this and to-morrow night's stage. Afterwards we are to have liberty to make the best of our way. We learnt also this evening by a traveller from *Aleppo*, that a malignant fever had 'till lately mightily prevailed in that city, and carried off many of the inhabitants: He added, that bread was at so high a price, that the poorer people were almost starved.

At a quarter before two this morning, we took our former station, behind the ladies, and marching off travelled a winding course for two hours. We passed quite through the village of *Mazar*, which has two *Mosques* with *Minarets*; then went a S. W. by W. course for two hours and half more, over a good, but much neglected soil, and at length pitched our tents in a well cultivated plain, at the east side of an artificial mount, on which a castle once stood, and around it a town named *Sajuera*. This is much such another mount as that at *Kircoote*, only not quite so large. From the top of it you have a commanding prospect of a fine extensive country with two or three villages; were the lands about them green with *Indian* corn or *Natchile*.

August 3.

MAZAR.

SAJUERA.

1758:

A river called also *Sajuera* runs through the plain, which greatly added to the scenery of the landscape.

Some ruins on the summit of the mount are still visible, particularly on the west side, where you plainly discover the pillars of a portal to the castle, which were made of bluish hard stones about five feet in length, and two in thickness. On one of them placed at the right hand as you enter the gateway of the eastern side of the ruins, and nine feet from the ground, some ancient characters were apparent, though now somewhat effaced.—They are copied in the annexed copper-plate. On the north side of this gate-way, are two or three arches, which appear to have been formerly passages to so many apartments: They are built of the same hard large stones as those which compose the portal, and are cemented together with a most durable mortar, in the composition of which I observed many small stones. We were told, that this mount and town were formerly in the possession of *Christians*; but I am apprehensive that the *Turks*, from whom we receive our information, make use of the words *Christians* and *Europeans* as synonymous terms; so whether they mean *Europeans* who lived before the times of *Christianity*, or those who formed the *Crusades* in the twelfth Century, is difficult to determine.

At six this morning, the principal men of another village just by us, and called also *Sajuera*, passed on towards our rear, in order to pay their compliments to the *Basha*. These gentlemen were all armed and on horseback, attended by a person carrying a pair of colours. About eight o'clock, near forty of the chief people of *Aleppo* came also into camp, with their horses very richly caparisoned. Their business is also to compliment the *Basha* on his drawing nigh to their city. They have been four days on the road, and had waited many hours in this village for his arrival.

We desired our interpreter to make our compliments to one of them, and to enquire of him the true state of affairs at *Aleppo* and *Scanderoon*. The gentleman he spoke to, was so complaisant as to wait upon us immediately at our tent. We entertained him in the customary method of the country, with a whiff or two of tobacco from the *Argile* tube, and a dish of coffee without sugar. He confirmed the account we had before received of a malignant fever having raged at *Aleppo*, but added, that its effects had not been very fatal. He told us, that consul *Drummond* was his tenant, and was very well, but he knew nothing of his intention of soon quitting this country for *England*; for from an intimation given by Mr. *Drummond* in a letter to Mr. *Garden* at *Baghdad*, we had flattered ourselves with the hope of having him for our fellow-traveller. The *Turkish* gentleman said farther, that there were some *English* ships now at *Scanderoon* taking in their cargo, but when they intended to sail he could not take upon him to say. He knew nothing for certain in relation to the state of

affairs

affairs between the *English* and *French* nations, but recollected to have heard the chief *Turkish* officer of the customs lately declare, that there were great hopes of a peace being soon concluded between them, consequently ships would come to *Alexandretta* more frequently, and with less interruption, than they had done of late. For better information, he recommended us to the *Kabier* of the late *Basha*, who came also into the camp this morning. Upon our asking him some questions relative to the robbers, he answered without hesitation, that the road to *Aleppo* was tolerably safe for travellers; but afterwards, on our *Aga* holding a private conversation with him, and (as we suspect) checking him for the favourable account he had given us, he presently changed his note, and added, that it would by no means be advisable for us to travel by ourselves.

Having advanced only 13 or 14 miles to-day, and still less yesterday, we are quite wearied out, and have lost all patience. As an additional mortification, we now hear, that instead of being permitted to proceed by ourselves after this night's stage, as promised, we are to be detained till after the *Basha* comes into camp to-morrow. Our liquors too are all drank up, so that we are now reduced to drink the pure element of our first parents; a most uncomfortable beverage to keep up the spirits of worn-out travellers, and who for so many years have been used to the more generous and exhilarating juice of claret and madeira. With respect to our food, we are in much the same, if not a more uncomfortable situation; sometimes we have nothing at all to eat, and if by chance we are favoured with a supply from the *Basha's* kitchen, it is only of a little mutton just killed, and so indifferently dressed, that we are scarce able to swallow a bit. However, all of us except *M^r Intosh*, have recovered our long-lost appetites; but this circumstance, which a few weeks since would have been esteemed a blessing, is now become a real misfortune. As we have no other resource left but getting to the end of our journey as soon as possible, we are all impatient to make the experiment, even at the expence of hazarding the *Basha's* displeasure. *Francisco*, whom we had sent to the late *Basha's* *Kabier* for intelligence, brought us a confirmation of some *English* ships being still at *Scanderoon*.

At half past seven in the evening, we were most agreeably surprized with the following letter from *Aleppo*.

Aleppo, 2d August, 1758.

"SIR,

"THIS day, about an hour and half before noon, your letter of the 16th of *July*, from *Nisibin*, was brought to me. The cover of it was torn, but enough of it remained to shew it was intended for me. I cannot pretend to say that the receipt of it gave me pleasure. No, Sir, it gave me an excess of pain; and I figured to myself a variety of ugly circumstances, which I shall not give you the trouble to read. Now, I cannot

1758.

" cannot but bless God that you are safe, and that I have a reasonable
 " prospect of seeing you at *Aleppo*, freed from a thousand inconveniences,
 " and as happy as I, and the other gentlemen here, can make you.

" I shall not at present lose a moment in telling you news; only that
 " our convoy, and three other men of war, are in these seas. I purpose
 " going in one of them, but when, is a question that cannot easily be
 " answered; because the plague now rages at *Smyrna*, and no patent can
 " be acquired till forty days after it shall cease. In the mean time, be you
 " perfectly easy. — I will think for you, in the best way I can. — You shall
 " hear all I have to say; and may then pursue my best thought, or a better
 " of your own.

" Don't let your brother-travellers fear. God ever love them!
 " they too shall have lodgings, &c. &c. — I shall thank you for your politeness
 " and goodness * towards me at *Merdin*, when I have the happiness
 " to embrace you at this place.

" The bearer of this goes the direct road to *Bir*. Should he find you
 " to-day or to-morrow, he may be sent back with a note from you. I hope
 " no accident can have detained you at *Bir*, or at any other place before
 " you got there. Please to give the messenger some *Paras* to purchase bread,
 " for these people are afraid of carrying more money about them than is
 " absolutely necessary.

" My family salute you and your good company; as for myself, you
 " may be assured that I am, with great sincerity,

" Dear Sir,

" Your most obedient,

" humble servant,

" A. DRUMMOND."

" P. S. The convoy is the *Preston* of 50 guns, Captain *Evans*. The
 " rammers (whom God preserve!) are,

" The *Monmouth*, Capt. *Hervey* — — 64 guns.

" The *Ambuscade*, Capt. *Gwynn* — — 36

" The *Lyme* - Capt. *Vernon* — — 24

" To *Henry Doidge*, Esq;

" I don't know where,

" but I hope near to

" *Aleppo*."

* Father *Ange* of *Merdin* intrusted to Mr. *Doidge*'s care some ancient medals which he had
 collected for the consul, and of which Mr. *Doidge* in his letter had informed him.

The

The reading of the above letter gave us all fresh spirits; we drank the writer's health in water, which (as before observed) was the only liquor we were now masters of, and afterwards threw ourselves on our cots, but such was the joyous perturbation of our spirits, that we could not take a moment's sleep.

1758.

At ten we set off once more in our proper station, and travelled near eight hours over an uncultivated country, though much less rugged than what we had lately met with. At seven in the morning, we pitched our tents by the side of a river, in a plain, near to an old *Caravanferah*. Our course was from S. S. W. to W. S. W; we travelled about three miles an hour, which has hitherto been our usual progress in tolerable roads. In bad ones we do not get forwards above two. I judge upon the whole, that from *Meridin* we have made two miles and an half by the hour; from *Baghdad* to *Meridin*, three.

August 4.

From hence we sent our *Aga* to the *Kabier*, with our best compliments and thanks to himself and *Abdallah Basba*, and likewise to know whether they approved of our proceeding to *Aleppo* by ourselves after the next stage. An answer being brought us in the affirmative, Mr. *Doidge* thought it necessary to acknowledge the receipt of the consul's letter by the same messenger who had brought it, giving him to understand that we hoped to kiss his hand at *Aleppo* to-morrow morning. In the evening we were cruelly mortified by a message which the *Kabier* sent by the *Aga*, importing, that since the morning he had held a consultation with the *Basba* on the subject of our parting with him to-morrow; that the *Basba* would by no means consent to it, but insisted on our accompanying him quite to *Aleppo*, which, he said, would be doing a mutual honour both to himself and us. As the whole tenor of this message was contradictory to the promise we had received in the morning, we did not fail to remonstrate against it, but to no manner of purpose. The *Kabier* sent us word, that he was sorry for our disappointment, yet such was the will of the *Basba*, and what reply could possibly be made to it? Adding however, that the consent given us in the morning had been without the *Basba*'s knowledge; that he (the *Kabier*) had taken upon himself to give it, not doubting of his master's acquiescence, and knowing that upon every account it would be most acceptable to us, whom he wished to oblige. These were soothing words, but by no means sufficient to stifle our discontent, or to reconcile us to this abominable act of *Turkish* despotism. We determined therefore to leave the *Basba* at all events, being now fully convinced that his sole motive for detaining us, was the foolish passion of having us in his train when he enters the city of *Aleppo*.

At half past ten we decamped again, and moved off in our usual order, passing by a few inhabited villages, and others that were quite in ruins. At six in the morning we got to the spot where the *Basba* intended to encamp,

August 5.

but

1758.

but from whence we were determined to make the best of our way. As the great man was still in the rear, we had time to place ourselves in the very track he was obliged to take. Accordingly at nine, he came by in his *Takbt Revan* with great pomp and state; we (standing in a row) saluted him, and expressed by signs a desire of speaking to him. He saw us, and made a motion with his hand for us to come nearer to him. He then made a full stop, and we advanced, having before conjured our interpreter *Francisco* to take courage, and not be afraid of repeating the whole of what we should bid him say to the *Basba*; we gently hinted the same salutary caution to our *Aga*; but alas! our good advice with both of them was all in vain. The last turned as pale as death, and reverently kissed the great man's sleeve: and as for the poor, affrighted, trembling *Francisco*, he had not the least power of utterance, but stood shivering with apprehension, and contented himself with touching the hem of the *Takbt Revan's* covering, and licking the dust from off his fingers. The *Basba* easily guessing at the purport of our intended petition, told us with an air too haughty to be pleasing, "we must stay, and that we had but one day more before we should arrive with him at *Aleppo*." In answer, we intended to have set before him the several reasons we had for going forwards, such as the want of health, necessaries, and time, besides the promise we had made our consul of seeing him to-day; but unfortunately, our interpreter (who had not yet gotten the better of his fears so far as to deliver our sentiments properly) made use of this plea of our appointment with Mr. *Drummond*, first, which we had designed should come in order last. Upon which, the great man probably conceiving his dignity to be hurt, replied with a *Turkish* monosyllable, tantamount to our *English* word, "Pshaw;" adding, "What signifies your engagement with the consul? Let that remain with me."—We attempted to urge many things in reply, but 'twas all in vain: this *Beglerbeg*, this *Lord of Lords*, ordered his people to march on, and left us to digest his final resolve as we could.

The abrupt departure and lofty deportment of the *Basba* upon this occasion, chagrined us not a little, and indeed piqued our pride so much, that with the same haste as he had made from us, we ran towards our horses, mounted, and in an instant got into the high road for *Aleppo*, leaving our *Aga*, all our country-servants, *Takbt Revans*, and baggage behind us. Our worthy *Aga* (who dared not to accompany us but at the risk of losing his head) made use of many intreaties to prevail upon us to stay another day, concluding with that which to ingenuous minds is the most powerful of all, "That he should esteem it as the highest favour done to himself." We assured him in general, that we should be always more ready to oblige him, than even the *Basba* himself, as our obligations to him were confessedly greater; but upon the present occasion it was morally impossible for us to do it, and therefore we desired to be excused, though at any other time, we should look upon his desires, as having the force of commands.

Immediately

Immediately after this, we rode off at a round trot, discoursing with each other on what might be the event. The persuasions of our *Aga* had indeed already wrought so powerfully with some of the party, that they began to have their doubts respecting the propriety of their behaviour towards the *Basba*; but now, as the die was cast, it was impossible for us to recede.

We had not gone on above half an hour, before we espied two horsemen riding full speed after us from the *Basba's* camp: one of them made signs for us to stop, to which we paid no kind of attention, till he drew nearer, and we discovered him to be our own trusty *Aga*; the other, proved to be our servant *Vertan*. At their coming up, the *Aga* told us, that as soon as we rode off, he waited upon the *Basba*, and related to him the particulars of our flight; upon which he said, "If that be the case, do you immediately follow them, with all their servants, baggage, and a company of soldiers to protect them." These joined us soon after, and we went forwards with a part of the soldiers, leaving the others behind to take care of our baggage and *Takht Revans*, in one of which *Alexander M^r Intosh* was obliged to be carried, being still extremely weak. In a few minutes after this, the gentlemen and troops from *Aleppo*, who had now taken their leave of the *Basba*, and were returning to that city to be in readiness to receive him in a proper manner to-morrow, came up with, and soon went a head of us. This single circumstance proved that *Abdallah Basba's* motive for keeping us with him, was really what has been already suggested: if he had not been actuated more by the vanity of having us in the number of his retinue on making his public entrance into *Aleppo*, than by any real concern he had for our safety, he certainly would have directed us to keep company with these gentlemen and their body of troops, under whose protection we could not have failed of travelling in perfect security.

Our road towards *Aleppo* was very rough and bad; we passed by many a high hill with a hard, chalky bottom. Our course upon the whole lay W. S. W. At noon we came abreast of a village, whose houses were of a conic form, and built of mud. Soon after, we passed by some gardens. From one to near four o'clock, we skirted a very pleasant valley full of fruit-trees and legumens, which continued quite up to the city of *Aleppo*, where we arrived at four, very hot and fatigued, having rode all night and the greatest part of the day. We have been exactly seven weeks in our journey from *Baghdad*, which is distant from *Aleppo*, by the most exact computation, in our route, 698 miles.

ALEPPO:

C H A P. VII.

Occurrences in Aleppo.—Journey to Shoger and Latichea.—Occurrences at, and description of Latichea.—Most of the party set off for the island of Cyprus.—The author follows them, and arrives at Larnica.—Occurrences and observations in Cyprus.—Arrival of four other gentlemen from India.—Their departure, with the author, from Cyprus, and arrival at Leghorn.

1758.

MR. Drummond received us with the greatest hospitality and politeness. After we had refreshed ourselves with wines, punch, and excellent beef-steaks, to all which we had long been strangers, we betook ourselves to a comfortable clean bed, where we enjoyed that sweet repose, which only the tired, the worn-out traveller like ourselves can ever truly experience. In the evening we were visited by most of the gentlemen of the *English* factory; who kindly disposed of us among their several families. Mr. Doidge and I, with our three servants, *Jenkins*, *M^cIntosh*, and *Toney*, were lodged at the consul's house; Mr. *Pye* at Mr. *Free's*; Mr. *Alms* at Mr. *Bridger's*, and Mr. *Pigot* at Mr. *Landstown's*.

Sunday.
August 6.

This morning, the remaining part of the gentlemen of our factory were so obliging as to visit us. We also were favoured with the company of two *Capuchin French* fathers, a *Carmelite*, and several *Jew* merchants. The factory consists of the following gentlemen:

<i>Alexander Drummond</i> , Esq.	—	Consul.
Mr. <i>Kirkhouse</i>	—	Chancellor.
Mr. <i>Smith</i>	—	Treasurer.
Mess. <i>Free</i>	—	} Merchants.
<i>Landstown</i>	—	
<i>Bridger</i>	—	
<i>Shaw</i>	—	
<i>Vernon</i>	—	
<i>Massick</i>	—	
<i>Hays</i>	—	
<i>Ratcliffe</i>	—	
<i>Booth</i>	—	
The Reverend Mr. <i>Holloway</i>	—	Chaplain.
Dr. <i>Patrick Russell</i> ,	—	Physician and Surgeon.

1758.

We were asked, if we were agreeable to pay our compliments to the *French, Dutch, and Venetian* consuls, for before we had gone through this ceremony, we were not to expect being visited by any of the private gentlemen of those nations; but after waiting upon their consuls, we might then depend upon every one of these foreigners coming to pay their respects to us. As we found this point to be a matter of the utmost indifference to Mr. *Drummond*, we chose to decline the increasing of our acquaintance, so that our conversation and visiting were confined to the small, but agreeable circle of our own countrymen. And this very circumstance, considering the great fatigues we had so lately undergone, was not without its advantages; for hereby we had an opportunity of being more at our ease, and of devoting the short time we were to continue here to our own concerns, which otherwise would have been almost entirely taken up in receiving or paying ceremonious visits.

Mr. *Holloway* was too ill to officiate to-day, in the public service of the church. At noon, *Abdallah Basba* made his public entrance into the city.

August 8.

Yesterday and to-day, our whole time was taken up in settling accounts, and paying off our *Mocha* and *Takht revan-gee*, with whom we had much trouble, and clamorous dispute. Mr. *Baron* our countryman a gentleman of great sagacity, and Mr. *Edee* our nation's first *Dragoman* or interpreter, took much pains to prevent our being imposed upon; but in spite of all their endeavours, these rascals will be paid more than they have a right to demand: to get any redress from government must be attended with great expence and loss of time, therefore the remedy would be worse than the disease. We resolved to leave the settling of these matters to the discretion of Mr. *Baron*, and the *Dragoman*, who is a man of sense, genteel in his deportment, and we are told, of a very considerable fortune, which is made in some measure secure to him by his connection with the *English* nation.

August 9.

Our party are now all recovering; we have better spirits, and tolerable good appetites. Mess. *Doidge* and *Pigot*, with myself, returned all our visits. Mr. *Kirkbouse* was so obliging as to go with us.

We learned from Mr. *Edee*, that the *Basba* had enquired after us, and told him of our great hurry to get from him, as well as of his own resolution to detain us, assigning no other motive for his conduct but the great anxiety he was under for our safety. As Mr. *Edee* is quite the polite, well-bred man, doubtless he made the *Basba* a great many more compliments on our part, than we ever desired he should; since to this moment we cannot but be of opinion, that he ought to have granted us an escort many days before he did; by which we should so much the sooner have been freed from our extraordinary hardships and fatigues.

B b b 2

In

1758.

In that case too, we should have thought ourselves more highly obliged to him, than it is possible for us now, even on the most dispassionate retrospection.

August 10.

This day the *Kabier* was so obliging as to make the kindest enquiries after our welfare. We believe him to be a very valuable man, and to have been much disposed to have facilitated our journey, had it been in his power.

August 11.

The city of *Aleppo* has been very sickly for some months past. The malignant fever still continues here, but its mortality is greatly abated. They do not bury now more than 200 a day, whereas till very lately they lost at least double that number. The natives for some time past have been under continual apprehension of the *Europeans* shutting themselves up in their houses, which step it seems is always deemed an indisputable sign of the plague prevailing here. This dreadful calamity has usually visited the citizens of *Aleppo*, once in 12 or 13 years. As far as I can find, there is but little difference between the present malignant fever, and what is commonly called the plague; the sooner therefore we get from hence, the better*.

August 12.

Mr. *Doidge* is much out of order; his appetite falls off, and he sweats profusely: I ordered him an emetic. I found myself not so well to-day, as of late; my legs fail me, with a general and great lassitude.

August 13.

I was taken this morning with a *Diarrhoea*, loss of appetite, &c.—Mr. *Doidge* is much in the same state as yesterday; he takes tincture of bark,

* "This unhappy country for six years past has been in a very terrible situation, afflicted during the greatest part of that time with many of the Almighty's severest scourges. Its troubles were ushered in by a very sharp winter in 1756-7, which destroyed almost all the fruits of the earth. The cold was so very intense, that the mercury of *Fahrenbeit's* thermometer, exposed a few minutes to the open air, sunk entirely into the ball of the tube. Millions of olive trees, that had withstood the severity of fifty winters, were blasted in this, and thousands of souls perished merely through cold. The failure of the crop the succeeding harvest occasioned an universal scarcity, which in this country of indolence and oppression, (where provision is only made from hand to mouth, and where, literally speaking, no man is sure of reaping what he has sown) soon introduced a *famine*, with all its attendant miseries. The shocking accounts related to me on this subject, would appear fabulous, were they not confirmed by numberless eye-witnesses, both *Europeans* and natives. In many places the inhabitants were driven to such extremities, that women were known to eat their own children, as soon as they expired in their arms, for want of nourishment.—Numbers of persons from the mountains and villages adjacent came daily to *Aleppo*, to offer their wives and children to sale for a few dollars, to procure a temporary subsistence for themselves: and hourly might be seen in our streets, dogs and human creatures scratching together on the same dunghill, and quarrelling for a bone or piece of carrion, to allay their hunger. A pestilence followed close to the heels of the famine, which lasted the greatest part of 1758, and is supposed to have swept away 50 or 60 thousand souls in this city and its environs.—I bless God, I was not a spectator of this complicated scene of misery: the very description of it must distress a compassionate disposition; the sight of it must have made an impression on an heart of flint." *Philos. Transactions*, 1763.

For a description of *Aleppo*, and its diseases, see Doctor *Russell's* treatise.

with

with elixir of vitriol. Mr. *Holloway*, the chaplain of the factory, was so far recovered of his late indisposition, as to be able to perform divine service to-day; we all with much gratitude and devotion offered up our thanks to God for our safe arrival here, after so long, painful, and dangerous a journey.

1758.

We put into the consul's hands, some little presents, intended for the good fathers at *Diarbekir*, as a small testimony of our gratitude for the kind offices they did us in our distress. We also left with the same gentleman, our best compliments and thanks to every one of our other friends upon the road, desiring our countrymen to behave kindly to them for our sakes, should they have opportunity. To-day likewise, but with great reluctance, we sent a present of a gold watch to *Abdallah Basha*. This, or something of equal value, had been demanded of our *Dragoman* by his minister. We for some time determined not to give it; but applying to Mr. *Drummond* for his advice, he told us, that as it had been demanded, we could not, consistent with the interest of future travellers, do otherwise than send it. *Abdallah* therefore had the watch, and we (in our opinion) a full discharge of every obligation we owed him for all those high marks of respect, favour, and protection, which he pretended he had conferred upon us. The *Kabier* and under servants had also presents from us, but with this difference, that what we parted with to them, was with the greatest alacrity.

Monday.
August 14.

As the island of *Cyprus* seemed to be the most proper place for us to get a passage down the *Streights*, we resolved to proceed thither: and as Mr. *Baron's* affairs call him to *Latichea*, we shall set out with him this evening for that city; it being the nearest port for taking boat for *Cyprus*. I was still so much out of order, that nothing but the earnest desire of getting one step farther towards my native country, could possibly induce me to leave this place. But the "*Amor Patriæ*," gets the better of every other consideration. Mr. *Doidge* this afternoon addressed two letters to Mess. *Shaw* and *Garden*, complaining bitterly of the treacherous behaviour of *Cojee Raphael*.

The last person we took leave of at *Aleppo*, was our very worthy and faithful *Aga*; to whom, besides the 500 piastres we promised him, we gave such additional presents as would have made him perfectly happy, had he not been apprehensive of being robbed of them when he returned back to *Baghdad*, by the very *Kabier* who engaged him in our service. It is a maxim of *Turkish* policy, that their great men having purchased their offices at an immense expence, shall be allowed to lick themselves whole, by plundering the effects of those who live under them; and hereby the great end of their empire is most effectually served, which is, to break the spirits of the generality of the people by heavy exactions, and to accustom

1758.

accustom them to bear all manner of injustice and oppression with a perfect submission.

At half past four in the afternoon we all mounted on horseback, and left the city of *Aleppo*; for the first hour and half we were accompanied by the consul, and almost all the other gentlemen of the *English* factory, whose horses and furniture made a gay appearance. We then halted at a well of good water, where we drank a parting glass in wine or punch, exchanged a mutual *buzza*, and then pronounced *Vale, farewell!* not without the lively hope of meeting again at some future period in our native country.

CANTAMAN.

We kept on a S. S. W. course, and at half past eight, pitched our tent by the side of a river very near to a *Kaun*, and not far from a village called *Cantaman*. Poor Mr. *Holloway* made it a point to accompany us thus far, though he now is, and has been in an ill state of health for the last two years. We most sincerely wish him a perfect recovery; for nobody can help esteeming so worthy, sensible, and pious a man.

August 15.

BENISH
village.

At five in the morning we again mounted our horses, and after having taken an affectionate leave of Mr. *Holloway*, we pursued a W. S. W. S. W. and S. S. W. course, for eight hours, over a stony road: we then got to a village named *Benish*, seated on a hill. In our way hither, we left several other small places, both on our right and left. The two last hours passed away very unhappily, especially with myself, my man *Alexander*, and my poor grey horse, which was one of the two, *Baron Kniphausen* had presented us with at *Karec*. The master was ready to sink under a very excruciating pain in his side, the servant complained of being worse in his bowels, and the poor horse was seized in so violent a manner as to fall down in the road; his agonies were such, that at one time we determined, out of compassion, and from a persuasion that he never could get up again, to shoot him; after however he had lain about an hour, he so far recovered as to be able to get slowly to this place. The pain in my side continued so bad, that Mr. *Pigot* drew some blood from my arm, fomented the part affected with hot water, and rubbed in some mercurial ointment. In the evening, I took a mercurial pill, with opium, and diluted freely.

August 16.

I find myself better this morning, but not so well as to proceed in my journey. My case is bilious, for every copious discharge of the intestinal tube gives me immediate relief in the hepatic ducts, and lobes of the liver. *Alexander*, and the other faithful companion of my travels, my grey horse, are also better.

August 17.

This morning I was prevailed upon to offer my medical advice for the relief of a sick youth, the son of the *Turk* whose roof we are under; but at noon, was told by the father, with the most perfect composure, that "*His*
son

son is gone to Paradise." About four o'clock in the afternoon, a traveller entered the village, who, a few hours before, had been robbed by two armed fellows of 160 piastres.

1758.

At half past five we set off from *Benish*, and travelled four hours and half through an extensive grove of dead olive-trees, which had been killed by the severity of the winter in the year 1756. This plantation brought us near to the large village of *Eadlip*, whose environs are fertile in corn and tobacco. Here are also plantations of mulberry-trees, preserved for the Silk-worm. By twelve at night, we had passed by a high hill or mountain, and entered upon a large plain, called *Roudge*, where is a well of water, and from whence we discovered several fires at a distance, which our servants told us belonged to some encampments of *Arabs*, though they appeared to be nothing more than the burning of stubble or weeds. We should have been glad to have tarried longer here, but our country attendants grew uneasy, knowing it to be the most dangerous spot, and the most infested by robbers of any in the whole way between *Aleppo* and *Latichea*. We therefore armed ourselves, and proceeded in a more regular order than we had done before.

EADLIP.

At two in the morning we had gotten over the plain, and reached a watch-house, placed on the side of a rock to our right. Here a party of soldiers is always stationed, intended to protect travellers passing this way, who upon this account, are obliged to pay a toll. It was at first demanded of us for every man and beast; but upon their being told that we were *Englishmen*, we were suffered to pass on, making a present of but one *Sequin* to the commanding officer. At half past four we got to the village *Shoger*, greatly fatigued with a journey of eleven hours, in which we took many different courses. S. one hour; S. W. three; S. S. W. two and a quarter; W. and W. N. W. and N. N. W. four and three quarters. We put up at a *Caravanseerah*, not chusing to be at the expence of making presents, which must have been the case, had we taken an apartment in the governor's palace.

August 18.

SHOGER.

Shoger is by no means an inconsiderable place. It has a governor, a man of some consequence, who is not appointed by the *Grand Seignior*, but by a private lord; the revenues of the village, and the country near it, being by the imperial bounty, the property of a *Vizier* family. Here are some *Mosques* with *Minarets*, all seated on a hill.

Just before we arrived at this village, we passed over the river *Orontes*, Orontes river, by a stone-bridge of seven or eight arches. The bridge is the largest we had crossed for some time; for though the river is in general not very wide, yet at this place it occupies a large space, owing to a considerable island in the midst of it, which occasions the water to spread and become quite shallow. The bridge is about forty yards over; but a little below, the *Orontes* is not more than twenty yards broad. From the accounts given by

1758.

by ancient writers, I had fancied the *Orontes* to be a much larger rivet, than what we found it to be. *Ovid* mentions it with the most considerable rivers in the then known world.

“ Arsit et Euphrates Babylonius, arsit *Orontes*,
 “ Thermodonque citus, Gangesque, & Phasis, & Ister.
 “ Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus Orbem,
 “ Occulitque caput, quod adhuc latet. Ostia septem
 “ Pulverulenta vacant septem sine flumine valles.
 “ Fors eadem Ismarios Hebrum cum Strymone siccet,
 “ Hesperiosque amnes, Rhenum, Rhodanumque, Padumque
 “ Cuique fuit rerum promissa potentia, Tybrin.”

Met. lib. ii.

The *Orontes* abounds in a variety of excellent fish. We had a desire to get some eels, but were disappointed, although they are sometimes very plenty here.

INGEZEK
village.

At six in the evening we left *Shoger* for *Ingezeek*, a village chiefly inhabited by *Greek Christians*, where we arrived at half past seven, after having crossed a very large and high mountain. Our course was W. N. W. and W. S. W. This evening we had a view of mount *Casius*; which is said to be so high, that on the top of it one may see day in the east, and night in the west at the same time. According to *Pliny*, the mount is four miles high in a perpendicular line. *Lucan* speaks of a mount *Casius* near *Egypt*.

“ Lucifer à Casîâ prospexit rupe, diemque
 “ Misit in Ægyptum primo quoque sole calentem.

LUCANI, Civ. Belli, lib. x.

During our stay at *Ingezeek* we made use of the *Christian Papa's* house, where we found every thing extremely mean. Fortunately for us, our consul at *Latichea*, to whom Mr. *Baron* had written a letter from *Benish*, had sent hither a supply of wine and provision for us.

August 19.

We left *Ingezeek* about six this morning, and travelled over such high mountains, that if we had occasion to write a letter from hence, we might with great propriety have dated it, *from the clouds*, which were flying much below as well as above us. These mountains have a great plenty of trees and shrubs growing on them. The fir, live-oak, crab-apple, and pear, are among the trees, and the myrtle among the shrubs.—We found the air here very sharp, and sometimes damp. At eleven we rested near a watch-house, and continued there till four in the afternoon. We were sheltered by a fine grove of sycamores, and a pleasant stream of water ran by our side. From four till half past five, we went on through pleasant vales intersected by rivulets, whose banks were blooming with the oleander and other flowers, and shaded at the same time with mulberry-trees.

Hence we had the pleasure to see on the top of a hill just before us, Mr. Beaumester the British consul of Latichea, who, with Mr. Jasper Cruter the Dragoman, and his brother a doctor of physic, were come thus far to meet us. We soon joined their company, and from the hill we were ravished with the transporting view of the Mediterranean sea. It is impossible to express the joy which this delightful prospect gave us, and how eagerly we feasted ourselves on a sight which we had so long and so passionately sighed after. We began now to think that all our difficulties were at an end, and the time not far off when we should be landed on that happy, native shore, where all our hopes and wishes centered. We continued to advance with our new companions till seven o'clock, having upon the whole of this stage, made a W. S. W. course; and then dismounted, and betook ourselves to an handsome tent, which the consul had ordered to be pitched the day before, purposely for our reception, near the village of Balearea. Here we found plenty of provision, but my indisposition would not permit me to taste of it.

1753.

BALEAREA.

We got on horseback before six in the morning, travelled till nine, W. by S. through a most agreeable country, abounding in Indian corn, and plantations of olive and mulberry-trees. We met with a small river also in our way, and several runs of water. The ground was quite covered with myrtle and oleander bushes, in full bloom. We alighted at the consul's country house, which is seated on a hill near the village Besnada, about two miles from Latichea, and the same distance from the sea. From this spot you have a most delightful prospect of the town, and of mount Libanus, and of the Mediterranean. The island of Cyprus bears from this house about S. W. and is distant twenty leagues.

August 20.

BESNADA.

The consul's country house at Besnada, was stored with every kind of refreshment, and we flattered ourselves that notwithstanding our long and fatiguing journey *, we should all be speedily restored to our former health

August 23.

* A table of the distance between each of the capital cities and towns in our route from Bassora to Latichea.

From Bassora	—	to	—	Corna	—	75 Miles.
Corna	—	to	—	Cota	—	91
Cota	—	to	—	Dewana	—	211
Dewana	—	to	—	Hilla	—	62
Hilla	—	to	—	Baghdad	—	50
Baghdad	—	to	—	Kircote	—	167
Kircote	—	to	—	Arvela	—	54
Arvela	—	to	—	Mosul	—	49
Mosul	—	to	—	Nisibin	—	103
Nisibin	—	to	—	Arin	—	26
Arin	—	to	—	Diarbekir	—	58
Diarbekir	—	to	—	Bir	—	147
Bir	—	to	—	Aleppo	—	94
Aleppo	—	to	—	Latichea	—	102

Total of Miles — 1289
C c c

and

1758. and vigour; but though we have now been here three days, to our great mortification, Mr. *Doidge*, Mr. *Pye*, and myself, still find ourselves exceedingly out of order. Our whole party however, except Mr. *Pigot* and self, made a shift to get to *Latichea* yesterday with the consul. They learnt there, that his majesty's ship the *Ambuscade* Captain *Gwyn*, is now at *Cyprus*, to which island he has lately carried a small *French* prize.

August 24. Mr. *Doidge* and I, in consequence of the above intelligence, wrote each of us a letter to Captain *Gwyn* at *Cyprus*; likewise two others addressed to the same officer at *Scanderoon*, on a supposition that the *Ambuscade* might possibly have left *Cyprus* for this last place. Mr. *Doidge* wrote also to Captain *Evans* of the *Preston* at *Scanderoon*. These letters related to our future proceedings, and Mr. *Doidge's* were directed on "his Majesty's service."

August 27. This evening our good friend Mr. *Baron* left us in his way back to *Aleppo*; he will soon proceed to *Scanderoon* to succeed Mr. *Brown* as consul, the latter being appointed successor to Mr. *Drummond* at *Aleppo*, when he shall return for *England*.

Monday, August 28. Mr. *Pye* was seized yesterday afternoon with troublesome blotches all over his body, and an universal itching of the skin. Last night he fainted, but recovered again upon being carried into the open air. This morning he took an emetic, but has not been well all day. His skin is inflamed and swollen, and his pulse naturally soft, now labours greatly. At night he took the third part of a paper of Dr. *James's* powder: this morning we found him almost perfectly recovered.

August 29. An account is just come from *Scanderoon*, that Captain *Turner*, commander of one of our *Turky* ships there, is ill; and that a malignant disorder prevails among the crew, which has already carried off his surgeon, and five private men. I find myself rather better to-day, my bowels are still in a weak state. I bathed this evening in the sea, hoping thereby to brace up my relaxed constitution.

September 1. The boat we had dispatched with our letters to *Cyprus*, returned this morning with an account, that Captain *Gwyn* sailed from thence last *Wednesday* se'nnight, to the westward. He is supposed to be gone to the *English* fleet for salt provisions, and to clean, and get fresh orders. The reason he gave for taking this step, was, the little probability of the *Turky* traders being soon ready to sail under his convoy, because of the plague still raging with great violence at *Smyrna*. A letter from *Scanderoon*, in answer to Mr. *Doidge's*, addressed to Captain *Evans*, says, "We know not where Captain *Evans* is, and have not had the least intelligence of late from *Smyrna*." Mr. *Turner*, who is stationed at *Cyprus*, recommends our going

going immediately to that island, and from thence taking our passage to *Alexandria*, from which port, he says, ships are frequently going to *Leghorn*. We are desirous of first having some certain account of the *Preston*, Captain *Evans*, who probably may still continue in these seas to take under his convoy a part of the *Turky* trade; yet we are apprehensive also of his tarrying here too long for our purpose, by being obliged to wait for the ships now lying at *Smyrna*; and should that be the case, it is very possible that he will not arrive in *England* before the spring, since the merchant ships cannot begin to take in their cargoes till the plague has ceased forty days, and when that will be, God only knows!

Mr. *Doidge* has been treating with the master of a *Ragusan* vessel, to carry us to *Malta*, where, we have not the least doubt, but we shall meet with some of our own men of war belonging to the grand fleet. They could not however agree about the price. The *Ragusan* at first demanded 2500 piastres, but afterwards came down to 2000; Mr. *Doidge* would only give him 1500, so they parted.

My fellow-travellers Messrs *Doidge* and *Pye*, being beyond measure anxious to arrive in *England*; on account of the dispatches with which the former is charged to the ministry, admiralty, and the *East India* company, and also to settle our deceased friend Admiral *Watson's* affairs, they therefore (with my full consent) resolved to-day to proceed to *Malta* in the *Ragusan* vessel, hoping by this means to get to the commanding officer of our fleet, who probably might think it expedient to dispatch a frigate with them to *England*. Lieutenant *Alms* too, whose expectation of preferment pressed him to get home as soon as possible, and Mr. *Pigot*, who wishes to pursue his studies some months next winter in *London*, determined to accompany them.

Having with pain reflected on my unhappy state of health, and the many inconveniences that must inevitably arise from so many sickly people being crowded together in the cabin of a vessel of only 150 tuns burthen, I resolved to tarry behind in this place, till my health shall be better established; or till the *Preston* with the *Turky* trade shall sail for *England*, or a better and more commodious opportunity offers than at present.

About seven this evening, my dear friends took a most affecting leave of me, and soon after left *Besnada* for *Latichea*. At eleven they embarked in the *Ragusan* vessel, and immediately set sail, taking with them *Benjamin Jenkins*, and *Toney* the black boy. They are to give 1800 piastres for this passage to *Malta*; but should they on their arrival at that island, get certain intelligence of our fleet being only 20 or 30 leagues to the westward, then the master on his being applied to, is to put them on board the admiral's ship, and be paid 200 additional piastres.

1758. This day arrived here in the consul's boat from *Cyprus*, Mr. *Preston*, a young gentleman late from *Leghorn* and *England*, in his way to *Aleppo*, where he is going to reside as a merchant, in the house of Mr. *Free*.

September 8. I wrote another letter to Captain *Evans* of the *Preston*, and sent it to *Scanderoon*: I sent also duplicates of the same to *Cyprus*, to beg the favour of a passage in his ship. Consul *Beaumeister* dispatched a *Mess* or packet for *Aleppo* this afternoon; I embraced the opportunity of writing to Messrs *Drummond* and *Baron*, and sent by the same messenger a parcel which Mr. *Doidge* had left for Mr. *Shaw* at *Bassora*.

Monday, We received advice from *Aleppo*, that the plague still rages at *Constantinople*, but had ceased at *Smyrna* the 5th of last month: the 14th instant therefore will be the fortieth day from its cessation; the ships at this last place, we presume, will then, according to custom, begin to take in their lading. This advice, which comes from one of our merchants at *Aleppo*, farther tells us, that the *Preston*, with the ships under her convoy, will not be able to sail from *Smyrna* till the 1st of *October*.

Septemb. 12. I thank God I am much better to-day. My pains are gone, and the flux greatly lessened. For the first time I now drank a glass of tar-water, and rode with the consul to *Latichea*.

Septemb. 13. I continue to drink tar-water, and have received great benefit from it. I rode again to the town with the consul, Mr. *Preston*, and Mr. *Jasper Cruter*. This last gentleman was so obliging as to shew Mr. *Preston* and me, the marine-yard, and the mole or small harbour, wherein were 12 French ships, from 150 to 200 tons burthen, whose employ is to carry *Turkish* goods, and *Jew* passengers from port to port: they are called *Caravanserabs*. We afterwards visited the remains of two triumphal arches, which are so fully described in Mr. *Drummond's* book of travels, that it would justly be deemed impertinent in me to say any thing of them. We then paid a visit to Mr. *Clinkey*, who acts here as vice-consul for the *Dutch* and *Germans*. In our way to this gentleman's house, we passed through several streets, in which are colonnades (mentioned also by Mr. *Drummond*) and *Bazars*, or market-places, kept in good order.

LATICHEA. *Latichea* is a pretty large town, built of good stone got from the sea-shore. It has six or seven *Mosques* with *Minarets*, and the houses are better built than the *Turkish* ones are in general. The governor is appointed by the *Basha* of *Tripoli*: He is absolute in his power, of which he has given a most convincing proof since our arrival at *Besnada*, having ordered three criminals to be impaled, for a robbery on the highway. This punishment was inflicted immediately upon their being taken, without waiting for the tedious form of a trial.

My health continues to mend.—This evening the whole family took a ride to the consul's new plantation of mulberry and cotton trees, three miles to the northward of *Besnada*, and mount *Casius* appeared to be about 20 miles distant from it. 1758.
Septemb. 14.

To the N. E. of *Latichea*, for some miles, all the rocks near the sea shew the remains of ancient workmanship. Large excavations are to be seen in many of them, which Mr. *Drummond* very properly supposes to have been chiefly *Catacombs* or tombs for the dead, though some of them appeared to me, to have been rather grottos for the living. The consul and his company entertained us to-day with the *Gereed*. The figs are now ripe, and in consequence we have great plenty of *Becca-ficca* birds and *Ortolans*. They are about the size of a bull-finch, exceedingly fat, and the taste of their flesh is generally esteemed as exquisitely good.

I had the mortification to hear to-day from the *Patroon* belonging to the consul's boat, that by letters received from *Smyrna* of the 21st ult. the plague then continued to rage there, and that it had made its way into the neighbouring islands. If this be true, how distant yet are my hopes of getting to *England*!

Letters received this day from Mr. *Drummond* bring no public news. He says, he writes in haste, and intends detaining the packet, till letters arrive from *Constantinople*, which are daily expected.

We went this day to *Latichea*, and there learned, that two *English* privateers were arrived at *Cyprus*; and that two *French* merchant ships also had put in there, only eleven days in their passage from *Marseilles*. In a letter received by Mr. *Beaumeister* from Mr. Consul *Drummond*, the consul advised, that he designs being at *Latichea* in the beginning of *October*, from whence he intends going on board Captain *Turner's* ship, and sailing in it under convoy to *England*. This circumstance gives me fresh hope of the plague having ceased, and of the speedy sailing of the *Preston* man of war. This evening at ten o'clock Mr. *Preston* set out for *Aleppo*. Mr. *Free* had sent a servant and horses for him, and Mr. *Jasper Cruter* the *Drogoman*, accompanied him. Monday,
Septemb. 18.

We took another ride to *Latichea*, where, to the surprize of the consul, he learnt, that his uncle Mr. *Purnel* (brother to the gentleman of that name at *Bassora*, and predecessor as consul and merchant to his nephew here) was just arrived from *England*, but last from *Leghorn*. He travelled through *France* and *Italy*. Septemb. 20.

We slept last night at *Latichea*, where I found the air much warmer than here at *Besnada*. Every body complained of it; but as it was not by any means to be compared with what I had lately felt, I was not in the least incommoded.

1758.

commoded.—The house, ever since Mr. *Purnel* arrived, hath been full of visitors, composed of the chief *Turks* of *Latichea*.

The following is part of a letter I received this morning from Mr. *Drummond*.

“I wish your brother travellers a happy voyage, but am extremely sorry you was not able to go with them. A *Swede*, now lying at *Scanderoon*, may possibly get some goods for *Leghorn*. If that should be the case, I would advise you by all means to go in her.

“At *Cyprus* you lie in the way of all that offers; and were I there with my business finished, I should certainly move off with the first vessel; for God knows whether we may see a convoy sooner than the end of *November*.

“At present my affairs are so uncertain, that I dare not think of forming any scheme one way or the other. I have been acquainted with *German* roads in winter, but I was then young. In any shape, your company would be a pleasure to me; but I carry no servant farther than *Cyprus*, for they can be of no use to a traveller. Were I to go by *Leghorn*, I should chuse the *Swiss* road, but all at present, with me, is building castles in the air.

“I know you have many reasons for wishing yourself at home; I therefore hope you will meet with some good opportunity, without a thought of me, who seem in no shape my own master.—Nothing promises more to make you easy, than the *Swede* I have before-mentioned.”

As Mess. *Drummond* and *Purnel* are both of opinion, that *Leghorn* is the place I ought to go to; and since the convoy probably will not be ready till the end of *November*, and both myself and servant are now in tolerable health, I resolved to set out for *Cyprus* as soon as possible; hoping we shall be better able to encounter the cold of the *Alps* in the winter, than we were the excessive heats of *Turky* last summer.

Septemb. 26. Yesterday I rode out in the evening with Mess. *Purnel* and *Beaumeister*. To-day I wrote a letter of compliments and thanks in my own and fellow-travellers names, to *Emanuel*, bishop of *Babylon*; and another to Mr. *Shaw* at *Bassora*; putting them under the care of Consul *Drummond*.

Septemb. 27. A *Legborne* being bound to *Cyprus*, I agreed to take my passage in her to that island, and sent on board my baggage. Mr. *Beaumeister* was so obliging as to accept of the two horses, which Baron *Kniphausen* made us a present of. In the evening I wrote a letter, and sent it in a boat to *Cyprus*.

prus, to Mr. Turner, begging the favour of him to secure me a passage in the *Swede* bound to *Leghorn*. 1758.

A *Mess*, just now arrived from Mr. *Jasper Cruter* at *Aleppo*, brings the Septemb. 29. melancholy news of the death of the Rev. Mr. *Holloway*, and of the very dangerous state of Mr. Consul *Browne*, just returned thither from *Scanderoon*, where he caught the infection. Mr. *Cruter* in his letter informs us also, that the plague ceased at *Smyrna* the 20th of *August*, but that the *Preston* is blocked up there by three *French* ships of war. That Captain *Gwyn* is ordered to sail to her assistance, but as his ship the *Ambuscade* is gone to the westward, those orders probably will never reach him.

The wind hath been, and still continues foul for *Cyprus*; which circum- Septemb. 30. stance, (as I have some return of my bilious complaints) is not unlucky; and I am told, that the *Swede* will not sail for *Leghorn* in less than three weeks.

The wind is now fair for our sailing, and I am in all respects ready to October 1. embark; but the vessel has not taken in her water, and the *Italians* will do no work on a *Sunday*.

By the consul's boat, which arrived this day from *Cyprus*, I had the satis- Monday, faction to receive the two following letters. October 2.

Cyprus, 12th of *September*.

“ FOUR days after we left you, my dear *Ned*, we arrived at this place.
 “ The news we first learnt here, was, that the ships were admitted to
 “ prattique at *Smyrna*, and that the *Preston* was gone thither from *Scio*, in
 “ consequence of it. About three hours after she got in, three *French*
 “ ships of war arrived, who had been lying in wait for her. One of
 “ them carried 64 guns, the other two were frigates. This news came by
 “ letter from *Smyrna*, and Mr. *Turner* assures me, it may be depended on;
 “ so that in all probability, the *Preston* will be blocked up till a reinforce-
 “ ment comes from the fleet; and that will not be, perhaps, till we carry
 “ this news to the admiral. But the captains of two privateers who
 “ came in yesterday, give us hopes that the *Preston* will sail very soon, for
 “ they spoke with a boat in their passage hither, who told them, the cap-
 “ tain of the *Preston* had sent to *Scio* for a pilot to carry him out of *Smyrna*,
 “ and that the *French* ships were certainly gone off the station: If this latter
 “ account should prove true, it will not be long I hope before you hear of the
 “ *Preston*'s being at *Scanderoon*. If however you do not hear of her soon,
 “ there will be an opportunity of going down in the *Swede*, which is now at
 “ *Scanderoon*; she will stop here, and proceed from hence to *Leghorn*, where
 “ I hear you may be certain of meeting some of our cruizers, as that is
 “ the port our fleet in common victual at. I have desired Mr. *Turner* to

“ send

1758.

“ send you word as soon as the *Swede* arrives, by a boat on purpose, if no
 “ other opportunity should offer at the time: this appears to me the only
 “ chance you have to get home this year. Pray God your health may
 “ enable you to embrace it! As for our state and condition, it stands
 “ thus. — has a voracious appetite, but nothing agrees with him; every
 “ thing turns sour in his stomach, and yet he is too wise to take a vomit.
 “ — by his own idleness in lying upon the deck one night, brought on his
 “ ague and fever. — is as usual, neither sick nor sorry. And as for my
 “ part, I am not sick enough to complain, nor well enough to be jolly.
 “ I have had an ugly pain in my right side, so very acute at nights, that
 “ I can’t lie on my left: this sounds very odd, but it is even so; however,
 “ as I have no symptom of a fever, I hope it does not proceed from an *
 “ *inflammation of the liver*: tar water and moderation, I hope will relieve
 “ me, and carry me home at last safe and sound. Pray don’t you ne-
 “ glect to drink it; depend upon it, ’twill be of benefit to you.

“ If you should go home in the *Swede*, you need not be afraid of spending a
 “ little time here; you will find the air agreeable, and the gentle exercise
 “ of an one-horse chaise will do you good, which will be entirely at your
 “ command, every morning and evening: you will find Mr. *Turner* a very
 “ honest, good-natured young gentleman, who will cheerfully do every
 “ thing in his power to oblige you. Should you have any opinion of this
 “ *Swede*, I would advise you to send a messenger to *Scanderoon*, on pur-
 “ pose, to know if she touches at *Cyprus*, and when she will be here; by
 “ this you will be better able to take your measures, than by waiting for
 “ a boat of advice from hence, as her passage may be uncertain.

“ I was in hopes we should have been able to have left this island
 “ to-morrow, but now am afraid it will not be ’till the day after. Our
 “ captain appears to be a good-natured fellow, we do just as we please:
 “ I wish to God! it had been right and fit for you to have been with us;
 “ however, when you do embark, I hope you will have, in every respect,
 “ an agreeable passage, and that it will not be long before we meet again
 “ in dear *Old England*! from whence I hope neither of us will ever depart
 “ again.

“ All our party desire their kindest compliments to you. Mr. *Turner*
 “ begs you will accept his; and as my friend, he hopes you will without
 “ ceremony, make his house your own, while you continue at *Cyprus*.
 “ Pray remember us all most heartily to Mr. *Beaumeister*, *Jasper Cruter*, and
 “ the Doctor; and be assured yourself, my dear friend, nobody loves and
 “ esteems you more than

“ Your truly faithful

“ and affectionate

H. DODGE.”

* The most alarming and a common disorder of the *East Indies*.

“ *Alms*

1758.

" *Alms* has left his great broad sword behind him, which he desires you will enquire about, and take care of: pray tell Mr. *Beaumeſter*, that the *Turkiſh* custom-house officer, who took my piſtols out of my cheſt, has not returned them; I beg he will enquire into it; and I think 'twould be but juſtice if ſuch a rascal could be made an example of, and puniſhed for the robbery.

" Mr. *Turner* deſires, when you arrive in the road, you'll ſend him a note, he then will be ready at the landing place to receive you in his chaiſe; don't neglect doing this, as his houſe is half a mile from the water-ſide, and you'll find it diſagreeable walking.

" Once more, adieu.

" H. D."

" SIR,

Cyprus, 15 September, 1758.

" I TAKE this opportunity to ſend you the incloſed letter from our friend Mr. *Doidge*, who ſailed, with all his company, laſt night, with a fair wind; I take the liberty to offer you my houſe, wherein you will meet an hearty welcome. When you arrive in port, pleaſe to ſtay on board the ſhip or boat which brings you, until you ſend me a note, that my chaiſe may be at the marine to receive you. I hear that there is a *Swede* now at *Scanderoon* taking in part of her loading for *Leghorn*, and to fill up here. I believe it would be proper to diſpatch a meſſenger to *Scanderoon* to know the truth of this report, by which you may take your meaſures: but I think at all events, your being here as ſoon as poſſible would be beſt, for this port is more in the track for ſhips for *Europe*, than *Latichea*. I have the honour to be,

" Sir,

" Your devoted humble ſervant,

TIMO. TURNER."

" Mr. *Doidge's* exerciſe twice a day in the chaiſe, relieved him greatly of his pain in the ſide; a few days more he imagined would have perfected his cure."

The piſtols, mentioned in Mr. *Doidge's* letter, as taken out of his trunk by the *Turkiſh* custom-house officer, were returned to me by the conſul, who complained of it to the governor; but as almoſt all the *Turks* in office, from the higheſt to the loweſt, are reputed to be rogues (and with too much juſtice) probably this pilfering *Aga* will ſuffer no other puniſhment, but the mortification he has already experienced, of being obliged to part with what, for a few days, he looked upon as his own property, however unjuſtly acquired.

D d d

This

1758.

This evening, about ten o'clock, I bid adieu to my good friends, the consul, and his uncle Mr. *Purnel*. I am beyond measure obliged to both for the great civilities they have conferred upon me during my stay at *Besnada* and *Latichea*, but more particularly to the consul, for having provided me with many necessaries for my voyage, and encumbered himself and his house with taylors, &c. for my service.

At eleven I embarked on board the *Elena Fortunata* brig, *Giovanni Taddei* master. Mr. *Nun*, an *Irish* gentleman is the mate, and *Monf. Rey*, a *Frenchman* the pilot. The brig carries eight hands, and two guns, half-pounders. At twelve we set sail for *Cyprus*, with a fair breeze from the east. At sunset the next day, twelve minutes before six, the island of *Cyprus* was seen by our people; and at twelve at night the day after, we came to an anchor in *Saline's-bay*.

October 5.

About eight in the morning, I went on shore at *Larnica*, and found Mr. *Turner* with his chaise at the water's side, waiting to conduct me to his house. I was soon visited by *Monf. Cruter* (father to *Jasper Cruter Dragoman* at *Latichea*) and by many other gentlemen, and some few ladies.— This evening came in the *Swede* from *Scanderoon* bound to *Leghorn*; a few hours however too late, for the *Italian* hath been before-hand with her, and engaged the whole of her intended freight.

This island of *Cyprus* is situate between 33 and 36 degrees of east longitude, and 34 and 36 degrees of north latitude, opposite the shores of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. It extends in length from east to west 220 miles, and is in circuit about 550. The air is so pleasant, the soil so fruitful, and the hills so abounding with metals, that the ancients called it *Macaria*, the *Happy Island*; and the inhabitants thereof being a lewd, lascivious people, it was thence consecrated to *Venus*, who is frequently stiled *Venus Cypria* and *Dea Cypri*. The first inhabitants were *Cicilians*, who yielded to the *Phenicians*, as they did to the *Greeks*. *Ptolemy* the last king of this island, knowing that *Cato* was sent against him by the *Romans*, put an end to his own life. It continued in the hands of the *Greek* emperors till 656, when it was conquered by the *Saracens*. In 807, the *Greeks* recovered it; but *Richard 1st*, King of *England*, going to the holy war in 1191, and being ill treated by the inhabitants, conquered it, and gave it to *Guy Lusignan*, whose successors were dispossessed by the *Templars* in 1306. In 1472, the *Venetians* possessed themselves of it; and in 1560, *Selim* the *Grand Seignior* took it, whose successors have enjoyed it to the present time.

October 6.

This evening I took a ride with Mr. *Turner*, to the *Salines*, or natural *Salterns*; an accurate description of which Mr. *Drummond* hath already given

October 7.

to the public.—To-day we went together to the *Basha's* garden, and took a view of the aqueduct, by which *Larnica* is supplied with water from a spring at the foot of a mountain, six miles off.

Mr.

Mr. *Turner* and I dined this day with our consul, and rode out as usual in the evening. We visited a small village called *Cbitty*, supposed to be built on the same spot as the *Citium* of the ancients. The mornings and evenings are sharp, but the middle of the day is yet warm.

1758.
October 10.

A boat just now arrived from *Latichea*, with a letter from *Jasper Cruter*, who is returned from *Aleppo*; which gives me the painful account of my friend Mr. *Baron*, and his servant *Astoore*, being nigh death in a fever of the malignant kind, which attacked them soon after their arrival at *Scanderoon*. Captain *Turner* continues also very weak and low from a disorder he caught there; and of which his nephew, and another young gentleman, besides many of his people, died. There also, three officers of the *Ambuscade* got the sickness which occasioned their deaths: and thither our little party had certainly gone from *Aleppo*, had not providence kindly interposed, and carried us to *Latichea*. Mr. *Cruter's* letter also advised, that Consul *Browne* cannot live long; and that Mr. *Drummond* is expected to arrive at *Latichea* as this evening, or to-morrow morning. He designs coming to this island, in order to take his passage with me to *Leghorn*, there being at present no hope of the convoy's sailing, as the *French* ships continue to cruize for them off *Smyrna*.

October 13.

At five this morning, I set out on horseback for the top of Mount *Croce* or *St. Crux*, in company with Mr. *Turner*, and his clerk Mr. *Michael Clamson*, *Alexander McIntosh*, and two other servants. We rode about W. by S. for an hour and half through a plain, having passed in our way the last set of stone arches belonging to the aqueduct, and which consists of 31 to the best of my remembrance. At six we left the village *Vastrio* on our right, and in half an hour, *Vudia*. We then began to ascend a rising ground, and after riding two or three points to the northward of the west, we got at half past seven, to a small *Greek* church and convent dedicated to *St. Athanasius*, situated between two hills; where, in the rainy season and for some months after, is a great run of water from the mountains (called by Mr. *Drummond*, the river *Tatius*) but the bed of it is at present dry. On the sides of both those hills, are the ruins of many buildings, in appearance very ancient. Some of them are of brick, others of stone, and they are several miles in extent. We also passed by some ruins of a more modern date, seated on another hill to our right. The inhabitants frequently dig up stones, marble, &c. among the ruins.

October 18.

We continued riding on till half past eight, still ascending, and passing between mountains covered with the pine, oak, olive, locust (or *Carubee*) and walnut-tree. Here were also the hawthorn, myrtle, blackberry, vine, oleander, and other bushes and shrubs in great plenty. From half past eight till a quarter after nine, we continued to ascend *Monte Croce*; then we came to another convent, where we dismounted to rest our horses. In this convent we found two or three *Papas* or priests, one of whom was making

1758.

a pair of shoes. They readily gave us all the assistance in their power, nor did they think it beneath them to take care of our beasts; such was the real, or at least seeming humility of these holy men. We made free with the *Papas* kitchen utensils to dress the victuals we had brought with us.

At eleven, leaving our horses behind for greater safety, we mounted on mules to visit the *Holy Cross*, a church placed on the very summit of the mountain, and reached it in about half an hour's riding. We found there another *Papa*, and a little boy. The church is small, and its walls are built of an iron-stone found in the neighbourhood. Tradition says, that this edifice was erected at the expence of St. *Helena* the mother of *Constantine*, 1400 years ago; though it plainly appears to have been rebuilt since that time, for not a third part of the ancient wall now remains. They shew you a large cross, before which a silk curtain is drawn; and if you will believe the priests, it is inlaid with a part of that very cross on which our Saviour was crucified. Devotees never fail coming here once a year, to offer up their devotions at the *Holy Cross*. From the top of this mountain we had a most delightful and extensive prospect over the greatest part of the whole island. We clearly saw the following places.

				Hours.
<i>Corno</i>	—	—	distant	1 and $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Isba</i> or <i>Isiab</i>	—	—	—	3
<i>Dali</i> (the antient <i>Idalium</i>)	—	—	—	5
<i>Nicosia</i>	—	—	—	7
<i>Famagusta</i>	—	—	—	11
<i>Livadia</i>	—	—	—	5
<i>Larnica</i>	—	—	—	5
<i>Cbitty</i>	—	—	—	3
<i>Aspera</i>	—	—	—	3

About one o'clock we quitted the top of the mountain, and in half an hour got to the lowest convent; where we alighted, refreshed ourselves, and at half past three set out for *Larnica*, which is about 15 miles from the summit of the mountain, where we arrived a little after seven, very much fatigued.

Both in going and returning, Mr. *Turner* and I thought it necessary to dismount and walk over some particular places, the road being narrow, and the precipices dangerous. We made the *Papas* at both convents a small present, with which they appeared very well pleased. He, who resided in the last convent, took our *Douceur* so kindly, that, mounting his ass, he gratefully accompanied us for a considerable way, and shewed us the best turnings in the road.

October 20. A letter received this day by Mr. Consul *Boddington*, brings the melancholy news of the Consuls *Browne* and *Baron* being both dead. Advices from *Latichea* mention, that Mr. *Drummond* in consequence of the above unfortunate event, and to gratify the factory at *Aleppo*, had determined to
continue

continue there a few months longer.—The same advices add, that there are now five *English* gentlemen at *Aleppo*, travellers from *India*, who are daily expected at *Latichea* in their way to *England*. 1758.

I closed to-day with the captain of the *Elena Fortunata* for my own and my servant's passage to *Leghorn*. He is to yield me the sole use of the great cabin, and no passenger is to be admitted into it without my consent. He is to find me also in fire and water, and to give me such other assistance as shall lie in his power to make the passage agreeable. On my part, I am to pay him fifty *Leghorn* sequins in hand, and provided I shall be thoroughly satisfied with my treatment, ten more, on my landing at *Leghorn*. October 21.

The marriage ceremony was this day performed between two young persons, who were *Christians*. It was intended to have been a public affair, but afterwards changed to a private one, as the point of precedence could not be settled between the *British* and *French* consuls. October 22.

Mr. *Turner* was so obliging as to trouble himself about my sea-stock, and procured me an hoghead of old *Cyprus* wine. All the wines almost of this island, have in them a peculiar taste of tar; this is owing to the vineyards lying on the sides, or at the foot of the mountains which are covered with pine trees, whose juices washed down by the rains, impart this flavour to the grapes.

The wind blew this morning from the N. E. which brought the coldest weather I have known for some years, and obliged me to have a fire. October 24.

This afternoon, four of the *English* gentlemen from *India*, Messrs. *Gregory*, *Tottingham*, *Bailey*, and *Pasley* arrived here, having left one of their party behind at *Aleppo*; and at five o'clock they paid me a visit. October 26.

I returned their visit this morning, and made them an offer of the use of the great cabin with me, provided they were inclinable to go in the *Leghornese* vessel. They expressed themselves greatly obliged to me, and agreed with the captain for a passage for themselves and servants. They left *Bengal* in *February* last; touched at *Karee* and *Bassora*, and brought a letter from *Baron Kniphausen* addressed to Mr. *Doidge* and me, which I esteem so great an addition to his former favours, that I cannot help transcribing it. October 27.

“ MESSIEURS,

Karreck, le 10 *Juillet*, 1758.

“ J'ai été charmé d'apprendre votre heureuse et prompte arrivée a *Bassora*;
 “ quant aux remerciements que vous voulez bien me faire au sujet des petits
 “ services que j'ai eu le bonheur de vous rendre ici, je les attribue a votre
 “ politesse, et vous prie de croire que je souhaiterois pouvoir vous en rendre
 “ de plus essentiels. Le pauvre Matelot a qui vous destiniez le present
 “ de

1758. “ de deux cent roupies est mort a *Bassora*, peu de tems après votre départ,
 “ de sorte que je n’ai pu mettre en œuvre, votre generosité a son egard.

“ Je finis Messieurs en vous souhaitant beaucoup de santé, et de contentement, pour la continuation de votre voyage dont je serai charmé
 “ d’apprendre l’heureuse issue, etant avec une consideration des plus distinguées,

“ Messieurs,

“ Votre tres humble et

“ tres obeissant serviteur,

“ KNIPHAUSEN.”

P. S. “ Je ne doute pas que Mr. *Pye* ne s’ennuye beaucoup de la longueur
 “ du voyage, je me recommande à son souvenir de meme qu’a celui
 “ de Mr. *Alms*.

“ Aux Messieurs Doidge et Ives.”

In *English* thus:

“ GENTLEMEN,

Kareck, 10th of *July*, 1758.

“ I was extremely glad to hear of your safe and quick arrival at *Bassora*.
 “ I attribute wholly to your politeness the thanks you are pleased to give
 “ me, for the trifling services which I had the happiness of rendering you,
 “ and beg you to believe, that I wished for an opportunity of serving you
 “ in a more essential manner.

“ The poor sailor *, for whom you had designed the present of two
 “ hundred rupees, died at *Bassora* a little after your departure, so that I cannot
 “ carry into execution your generosity respecting him.

“ I conclude, gentlemen, in wishing you much health and happiness,
 “ during the remaining part of your journey. It will give me great pleasure
 “ to hear of its being happily ended; and am, with the most perfect
 “ esteem,

“ Gentlemen,

“ Your most humble, and

“ very obedient servant,

“ KNIPHAUSEN.”

P. S. “ I doubt not but Mr. *Pye* is much fatigued by the length of
 “ the journey: I beg to be remembered to him, and Mr. *Alms*.

“ To Messieurs Doidge and Ives.”

The four gentlemen, (my future fellow travellers) encouraged by our example, left *Bengal* last *February*; staid a month at *Bassora* on account of

* This man belonged to the *Dutch Felucca* which carried us from *Karec* to *Bassora*, and had the misfortune to have his hand torn to pieces by the explosion of one of her cannon.

the excessive heat: passed from thence to *Baghdad*, by the *Euphrates*, and then over the great *Desert* to *Aleppo*, under the management of *Cojee Raphael*, who served them also a very dirty trick.

They informed me, that they left matters at *Bengal* in a pretty good state; and that my worthy friend Captain *Henry Smith* had at last been obliged, on account of his ill state of health, to follow the advice I had long before given him, of quitting his ship, and had sailed for *Europe* in the same vessel with Captain *Speke*.—I fear too nice a sense of honour, which poor Captain *Smith* carried to excess, has been the means of keeping him too long in that unwholesome climate *! These gentlemen also advised me, that Colonel *Ford* was at *Bengal*, and that my good friend Major *Carnac* was with him; that Colonel *Clive* was soon to leave the province; that all the lands agreed on by treaty with the *Nabob*, were delivered into our hands; that since our departure, the late *Meer Jaffier*, now *Soubahdar*, had made another payment of the money stipulated to the company, and other persons concerned; and that he had been confirmed in the three provinces by a commission from the great *Mogul*, who likewise had conferred a very high title on Colonel *Clive*, and another, though less military, yet very honourable, on Mr. *Watts*. They concluded with telling me, that Lieutenant *Cormick* of the *Tyger*, and Captain *Young* of the army, were dead; but that all my other particular friends, except Captain *Smith*, were in good health.

In the evening we rode out, and visited those other remains of antiquity, mentioned in Mr. *Drummond's* travels, p. 251. We went also to the marine town, and saw the church of *St. Lazarus*. The *Papas* told us, it is now 1722 years since he was buried here. This saint is he, whom our Saviour raised from the dead. They shewed us the end of his coffin under ground, and desired us to take notice of some scraps of rags and ends of thread brought hither by those who have been favoured with the assistance of the saint. The end of what they call the coffin, has been pitched or besmeared with some bitumenous substance, designed to impose upon the ignorant and credulous, as moisture issuing from the saint's body. The church belongs to the *Greeks*; but the *Romans* on *St. Lazarus's* day, never fail to perform divine service at one of the altars.

Thank God! I am now in perfect health, which is more than I have been able to say for ten months past. I spent some hours this day in taking leave of the several families I am acquainted with. I met by accident with the *French* consul, went with him to his house, and for the little time I tarried, was entertained very politely.

We agreed with a cook to go with us to *Leghorn*, and to continue in our service during the quarantine we shall be obliged to perform there. The terms are 50 dollars, and ten or twelve more to be paid him by way of *Buxie*

Monday.
October 30.

* He died before the ship left the country.

1758.

(or present) on his good behaviour. This last sum is meant to defray his expences back.

October 31.

To-day the cook sent us word, that his wife will not let him go: however we soon hired another, who is to have 60 *Cyprus* dollars, and *Buxie* on the same footing as was agreed on with the first.

We paid our farewell compliments to the consul in the morning, who with his *Chancellor*, returned the visit a few minutes afterwards; and we went on board.

LEGHORN.

Monday,
December 4.

My very worthy and obliging friend Mr. *Turner* made us a visit on board the *Elena Brig*, and finding the captain not inclined for sailing, insisted on taking us ashore again. We yielded, and in our way paid our respects to the consul, but spent the day with Mr. *Turner*, who at our request, procured for us two hogheads of water, some charcoal, and other culinary necessities, which we on examination thought the vessel wanted, though the captain and pilot both insisted on the contrary. Mr. *Turner* accompanied us on board in the evening, and after supping with us, left the ship about nine; when we weighed anchor, took leave of the island of *Cyprus*, and put to sea, steering the proper course for the port of *Leghorn* in *Italy*.—As the dull detail of a sea-journal can afford but little entertainment; it will be sufficient to observe in general, that after the most distressful and alarming voyage I ever made; (owing chiefly to the inexperience of our young commander, who had been bred a clerk in a merchant's office) we happily came to an anchor in *Leghorn* road on the 4th of *December*. In our way we touched at *Messina* in *Sicily*, an island which affords the most fertile plains, and one of the most beautiful prospects in the whole world, but where, though they furnished us with plenty of fresh provisions, we could not get leave to perform quarantine; so cautious are the magistrates there on this head, ever since the great plague which raged in the year 1744, and carried off two thirds of the inhabitants*.

* The following accurate account of the dreadful havoc made by the plague at *Messina* in the year 1744, extracted by an *Abbe* from the registers of that city, will sufficiently account for the extreme caution used by that government to guard against it.

Names of Parishes.	Number of people before the plague.	Number that died of the plague.	Remained alive after the plague.
<i>St. Giacom</i> —	1465	1124	351
<i>St. Lorenzo</i> —	1555	1012	543
<i>St. Leo</i> —	4548	3068	1480
<i>St. Luca</i> —	1398	999	399
<i>St. Malleo</i> —	5470	4370	1100
<i>St. Leonard</i> —	10378	8302	2076
<i>St. Pietro</i> —	2210	1560	650
<i>St. Antonio</i> —	10699	7309	3390
<i>St. Nichola</i> —	4114	2901	1213
<i>St. Guiliano</i> —	1512	972	540
Total —	43359	31617	11742

C H A P.

C H A P. VIII.

The author is obliged to perform quarantine in the Lazaretto at Leghorn.—
Receives a letter from Mr. Doidge, giving an account of his party's proceed-
ings.—Occurrences and observations at Leghorn.—Journey to Pisa, Lucca,
Borgiana, and Florence.—Description of this last place; of the Great Duke's
palace of Pitti; of the famous gallery of the old palace, and the several cham-
bers of curiosities; of the chapel of St. Laurence, baptistry, library, &c. &c.
—Journey to Bologna, Ferrara, Padua and Venice.

WE had no sooner come to an anchor in the road of *Leghorn*, but we wrote to the *British* consul, who soon favoured us with the following obliging answer.

1758.

“ GENTLEMEN, *Tuesday morning.*

“ I have received the letter which you were pleased to honour me with,
 “ and immediately sent to the chancellor of health for an order to the
 “ captain of the Lazaretto to receive you, and your servants; which is made
 “ out, so that you may go there whenever you please. The accommoda-
 “ tions will be very indifferent; however, I will send to the captain of the
 “ Lazaretto, and beg of him to render you all the services in his power.
 “ And as to myself, you have only to command me, and make me as
 “ useful to you as possible.

“ When you arrive at the Lazaretto, I will take care to send a man to
 “ you, and you may give him your orders from time to time, to buy you
 “ such necessaries as you may want. You will find him very faithful, and
 “ may give him what you please for his trouble.

“ The gentlemen you enquire after*, have not passed this way, nor have
 “ I heard any thing of them.

“ I am sorry I cannot send you any *English* papers; the officers of the
 “ navy have carried them all away, but the bearer brings you some *French*

* Mr. Doidge and his party.

1758.

" *Leyden gazettes.* Admiral Broderick sailed hence with the fleet the 12th of November.

" It is with concern I acquaint you, that your quarantine cannot be less than thirty days. I have only to reiterate to you the offers of my best services, and to assure you, that I will with pleasure receive and execute any commands you may have for me. I am,

" Gentlemen,
 " *To Messrs. Ives, Tottingham,* " Your most obedient
 " *Palley, Bailey, and Gre-* " humble servant,
 " *gory; on board the Elena* JOHN DICK."
 " *Fortunata, in the road of*
 " *Leghorn.*"

The next morning the following letter was brought to us in the Lazaretto from Mr. *Becher*, to whom I had been recommended by his brother at *Bengal*.

" GENTLEMEN,

Livorno, 6 December, 1758.

" THIS being a post day, together with the tempestuous weather, will prevent my paying you my personal respects till to-morrow; but being impatient in the mean while to see my brother's letters, I beg the favour of you to deliver them to the bearer.

" I congratulate you, gentlemen, on your setting foot again on a *Christian* shore; and as I fear you will find the accommodations at the Lazaretto very indifferent, I beg you will make me acquainted with whatever you may want either for your use or comfort during your confinement; for every thing in my power, such as money, &c. you may command.

" The bearer is my boatman, who will wait on you daily to know, and to supply your wants. He is a very honest, good man. I send you by him two *London* Magazines for your perusal, in an idle hour; to-morrow I will convey to you some *English* news-papers. I am, with respect,

" Gentlemen,

" *To the British gentle-*
 " *men at the Laza-*
 " *retto.*"

" Your most obedient,
 " and most humble servant,
 JOHN BECHER."

December 7.

Mr. *Becher*, accompanied by his partner Mr. *Askew*, and another gentleman named *Forbes*, came to pay us a visit. The first repeated his kind offers of service. This day our quarantine begins, and not before, as our baggage unluckily was not brought ashore with us yesterday.

December 8.

The consul, (in his coach) accompanied by Mr. *Askew*, and two gentlemen of the ships of war, came to see us. I had not the pleasure personally to

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to thank them for their civilities, having been the last two days greatly distressed in my bowels, from a cold caught on board the vessel, and renewed the day we came to the Lazaretto.

It has blown very hard all the last night, with thunder, lightning, and great hail-stones. The air so piercingly cold, it is with difficulty I can keep myself from shivering at the fire-side. The pain of my bowels is somewhat abated, but I have no appetite. December 9.

The blustering weather is over; and a clear sky and keen air succeeded. —Mr. *Pantam*, and another gentleman visited us; but I was not well enough to see them. December 10.

I wrote a letter to Mr. *Becher*, relative to Mr. *Doidge* and his company. He answered me, that “he could not learn any thing of them, but promised, agreeable to my desire, to write to *Venice*.”—The consul by a note, assures me, that neither he, nor the admiral, knew any thing of them. Monday, December 11.

I grow better daily, though some pain in the right side still continues. This has been a short, yet one of the most threatening attacks I ever had in my bowels; owing to my close confinement, the cold wet weather, and the want of every conveniency when on ship-board. To these may be added, the heavy rains to which we were exposed on coming ashore, and the extreme cold and damp air of the Lazaretto, whose rooms have been untenanted, and without a fire for 18 or 20 days past. December 12.

The consul repeated his visit with Mr. *Askerw*, this evening. This was the first time I had an opportunity of paying him my personal respects. He gave us great spirits, by assuring us, that our quarantine would be but of thirty days continuance; and he added, that of those thirty, he believed he should be able to get off five, provided we could resolve to leave all our wearing apparel behind us. With pleasure we accepted of the proposal, and gave our orders to taylor, shoe-makers, &c. to accommodate us with every thing new; for, as *Addison* observes,

“A day, an hour of precious liberty,
“Is worth a whole eternity in bondage.”

I thank God, I am once more happily restored to health.—Our little community assembled this morning, and read the prayers of the church, offering up our most devout thanks to heaven for its kind protection hitherto. December 17.

Mr. and Mrs. *Livet*, to whom Mr. *Pasley* had been recommended, have been very civil and complaisant, in sending us several things from their own kitchen.—The consul too has been exceedingly kind, sending us rum

Monday,
December 18.

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and beer; and we are under a thousand obligations of this kind to Messrs. *Becher* and *Askeu*.—A most melancholy piece of news reached us this morning; that a *Ragusan* vessel from *Tunis*, with the *French* consul and his family on board, had been wrecked on the island of *Corfica*, and the whole crew except six men, perished. Had not Messrs. *Bailey* and *Gregory* one night of our passage, designedly raised a false alarm of seeing land, we should certainly have met with the same fate as this *Ragusan* vessel. These gentlemen not satisfied with the course we were steering, intreated the captain to haul up two or three points more to the northward, which he, by the advice of his pilot, refused to do; but was at last brought to it by Mr. *Gregory*'s calling aloud "*Land!*" which, though not at that time seen, yet by the bearings of *Corfica* from us the next morning, it plainly appeared that had we continued our first course, we must inevitably have been upon the rocks before break of day. We have had dreadful accounts lately of shipwrecks in the gulph of *Venice*.—God grant that my friends are well!

December 21. Heaven be praised!—This evening Mr. *Becher* sent me a letter he had received from *Venice*; which says, that "some gentlemen from *India*, who embarked at *Cyprus* in the *St. Blaisse* of *Ragusa* for *Malta*; are, and have been some time in the Lazaretto, and will be at liberty by about the time the *Leghorn* post shall return thither."—I immediately dispatched a letter to Mr. *Doidge* at *Venice*.

December 23. Messrs. *Becher*, *Askeu*, and the Rev. Mr. *Hutchinson* chaplain to the factory, visited us. In the course of our conversation some doubts arose respecting the length of our quarantine, whether it will continue 30 or 40 days; we hope for the best. Many *French* gentlemen are in this Lazaretto, from whom we found that things are in a very bad situation in *France*, and that nothing but murmurings are to be heard among the people. On my observing, that there were new squadrons fitting out in the ports of *Brest* and *Toulon*, one of them, shrugging up his shoulders, answered, "To what end, unless to be carried into your harbours!"

December 28. This day the consul and Mr. *Askeu* came to pay us a visit, and brought with them the doleful tidings of our being obliged to perform a forty days quarantine. However, the consul gave us some little comfort, by re-assuring us that the five days grace would be allowed, by a change of clothes. We told him we were prepared for that, and should rejoice at even but five hours addition to our liberty. We begged his pardon, if he discovered any degree of impatience in our answer, assuring him, we were perfectly sensible of his friendly endeavours and wishes to serve us.—He was so obliging as to place all we said to its proper account. I could not but observe, that three *Cyprian* birds were suffered to be taken out of the Lazaretto to-day for the governor's own use. Surely our naked bodies cannot be supposed to retain more infection, than the feathers of these animals.

This

This evening we received a letter from the consul, as follows: "He is
 " sorry to acquaint us, of his being informed by the chancellor of health,
 " that the magistrates of *Florence* having received late accounts of the plague
 " breaking out at *Salonica* and the neighbouring places, have directed that
 " the grace of five days shall not be allowed us: but yet that the chancellor
 " has advised him to apply to the governor for our being permitted to take
 " the advantage of them, promising to back his request:" adding, he
 " thinks it very probable he shall succeed.

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 December 29.

The captain of the Lazaretto, whose behaviour to us has been exceedingly
 polite, having applied to the chancellor and governor, to indulge us with
 the five days grace, this morning received for answer, that "the quarantine
 " is an affair determined upon at *Florence*, from which the magistracy of
 " *Leghorn* cannot deviate."

1759.
 Monday,
 January 1.

This morning, I received with a pleasure not to be expressed, a long
 letter from my faithful and valuable friend Mr. *Doidge*. I shall transcribe so
 much of it; as will serve to give the reader a proper idea of what he and
 his party underwent after their parting with me at *Latichea*.

"My dear Friend, Venice, 29 December; 1758.

"I really do not know how to go about to tell you, the surprize, the joy,
 " the concern, I felt all together, at the receipt of your letter of the 22d
 " instant, which was brought to me last night. Had the post returned
 " immediately, it must have gone without my answer, such was the hurry
 " and perturbation of my spirits! but I am made happy in having this
 " whole morning to write to you, for I have a thousand things to say.

"In the first place, I most sincerely thank God that you are safely
 " landed at *Leghorn*, and hope by the route you propose to take, you will
 " have a pleasant and entertaining journey home; where I shall not expect
 " to see you till the latter end of *March*, or beginning of *April*.

"You might well be surprized at hearing of our being here, but you
 " know, my dear Ned, there is no contending with fate; we endeavoured
 " to get to *Malta*, but it was impossible; and I assure you we are all very
 " thankful for our being safely landed here, it being more than we expected.
 " To give you any tolerable idea of our voyage, I must carry you back to
 " *Cyprus*, from whence we sailed the 14th of *September*. We had nothing
 " but contrary winds and bad weather all the way to *Rhodes*, where we
 " arrived the 6th of *October*. Upon examining into our stock of provisions,
 " we found that by being so long out, it became necessary to get a recruit,
 " as well as to fill our casks with water: this we had been obliged to do
 " once before, between *Cyprus*, and that isle; the rascal of a captain having
 " most villainously deceived us in this article, by the account given in,
 " before we sailed. The 9th of *October* we left *Rhodes*, and carried with
 " us our old luck, nothing but contrary winds, till we got the length of

"*Modon*

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“ *Modon*, in the *Morea*, when a gale sprung up from the south, and blew hard; we intended to have stopped at *Modon* to complete our water, being reduced to the last cask, but our captain informed us it was impossible to lie in *Modon* road, with that wind, and that he could carry us to another place more safe and convenient; at the same time hinting, that he could not think of going to sea (though the wind was tolerably fair) until the weather became more moderate. He often talked of *Venice*, and of the wind being fair for that port. We perceiving his drift, consulted together, as to what was best to be done, and at last agreed to take advantage of the southerly wind, and make a push for *Venice*, without stopping any where till we should be forced to do so for water. Accordingly we bore away, and steered our course for this place; but, before we arrived, which was not till the 8th of last month, many were the difficulties and dangers we had to encounter. I often rejoiced you was not with us, hoping, my dear *Ned*, that you was at your ease on board the *Preston*; for I could not be sure of your being in the *Swede*. Indeed, had I the least thought of your getting into *Leghorn*, you know I would not have omitted writing to you. However, I must again thank providence we are both in the land of the living; and I hope by and by, the recounting of these difficulties and disappointments will afford us much pleasure.

“ You may suppose I was not long here, before I wrote to all my friends in *England*; among the rest, you will be sure I did not neglect our friend Captain *Speke*, from whom I have received an answer, the copy of which I inclose you for your information. Besides the business it speaks of, it will shew the high regard which that great and good man has for us both. He has set my heart at ease, for I was fearful of being censured for having idled away my time.

“ As soon as we arrived here, I wrote a letter to Mr. *Murray* the *English* minister, to acquaint him with our situation, and the public dispatches we had in our custody. He very genteely sent his secretary to us, to inform us of every thing we wanted to know. I shall leave a letter with this last gentleman, to be delivered to you, when you get here. His name is *Ducket*; you will find him a very sensible and friendly man.

“ Soon after we got into the Lazaretto, I recollected that our friend *Baron* had told me of an intimacy that subsisted between him and a General *G—e* of this place, and of his wanting an opportunity to send him a cask of *Cyprus* wine. Now, as I had laid in a stock at *Cyprus*, I wrote a letter to the general, acquainting him with Mr. *Baron*’s intentions; and as I was under great obligations to that young gentleman, I begged the general to give me an opportunity of anticipating his friend’s design, by sending him a cask from my own store, which I desired him to look upon as coming from Mr. *Baron*. The general returned me his thanks in the politest terms, and very obligingly came to the Lazaretto to

“ pay us a visit. He brought with him a Colonel *H*——, who is another
 “ officer in the service of this republic. By this means I have made a very
 “ good acquaintance with the general and the colonel. I shall take care to
 “ make them acquainted with your name, and dare say you will pass your
 “ time here very agreeable, as you’ll be sure to meet with several *English*
 “ ladies and gentlemen.

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“ We have lost no time in preparing every thing for our journey. I shall
 “ leave you a copy of the route we intend to take. We have been obliged
 “ to buy two carriages, but as you will not go post, perhaps you will not
 “ be under that necessity. Mr. *Ducket* is the best able to inform you of
 “ that, and every thing else you want to know.

“ Farewel, my dear *Ned*, and believe me unalterably,

Your affectionate

and faithful friend,

HENRY DOIDGE.”

P. S. “ I had almost forgotten to advise you upon your arrival here, to
 “ enquire for *Seignior Sebastian Battagio*, who will procure you the lodgings
 “ we are now in, and if you want cash, will supply you with any sum.”

The consul favoured us this morning with a very polite letter, touching January 5.
 our disappointment of the five days grace. He said, he had set forth our
 hardship in the strongest terms to Sir *Horace Man*, the resident at *Florence*.
 We returned the consul our best acknowledgments in a joint letter.

Mr. *Asker* was with us, and confirmed the account of the consul’s carry- Sunday,
 ing his complaint to *Florence*, and of his having particularly mentioned the January 7,
 taking out of the birds which came from *Cyprus* in our vessel for the use
 of the governor, at the end of 20 days.—An opera is to be performed
 this night.

The following lines are cut on one of the window-shutters of our room,
 which I here insert not for the goodness of the poetry, but because they
 sensibly struck me, as exactly corresponding with my own melancholy
 situation.

“ Ut nox longa mihi visa est, cum *Delia* mendax—

“ Pollicita est, curis præmia magna meis,

“ Cum sero ad limen, frigidique sub ætheris axe,

“ Cantarem querulis, furda puella, tibi;

“ Miratusque suam vim tanto vincier igne

“ Trux boreas glomerat dum super ora nives.

“ Sic mihi (nam de me fateor) dulcem inter amorem

“ Telluris patriæ, tempora tarda fluunt:

“ Tempora

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"Tempora tarda fluunt, quæ tot labentibus annis

"Me visu prohibent cara tuo genetrix!

"Ter denos, quatuorque dies sol aureus orbe

"Complevit totos, alter et hic super est,

"Ex quo me sanum, me quovis nomine pestis

"Jam dudum immunem, carcer iniquus habet.

"Sum passus graviora; dabit Deus his quoque finem

"Ut Phoebi terris crastina lux fuerit.

"Tædia sic parvo solebar carmine; & idem

"Hospes! quisquis eris, sit tibi perfugium!

"Duodecimo Calendas Martii, 1758.

"GULIELMUS O'CARROL, Hibernus."

January 11.

We were favoured with a visit from the consul and his lady: Messrs. *Askew* and *Rutherford* accompanied them. In the afternoon, the captain of the Lazaretto sent in his compliments, desiring the favour to speak with us; on which we began to assume new hopes of the five days grace being granted. But it turned out nothing more, than delivering a compliment from the governor, who had come to the Lazaretto in the morning, intending to tell us in person how sorry he was that the five days grace could not be allowed us, though he had used his utmost endeavours with the government at *Florence* for that purpose. As we were engaged with the consul and his lady at the time the governor came, he would not come in, but went away, desiring that his compliments might be made to us. Sir *Horace Man* also wrote, that his solicitations in our affair had been unsuccessful.

Monday,

January 15.

This evening we were visited by the physician of the place, who, with great solemnity, pronounced that we were *uninfected*.

January 16.

We breakfasted with the captain of the Lazaretto, and immediately afterwards, in a transport of joy, left the place of our long confinement.

The first persons we paid our respects to, were our particular friends Messrs. *Becher* and *Askew*. The latter was so obliging as to attend us in the visits we made the same morning to the *English* consul, to the governor, and to Mr. and Mrs. *Levet*. After these were over, we walked round the mole and arsenal, dined with Mr. *Becher*'s family, and in the evening went to the opera. The theatre here is small, but neat; it will hold about 700 people, and is the property of private persons, who let the boxes out to hire for the season. But exclusive of the seat, you pay for the performance also; and this, by persons of fashion, is either done by the quarter, or more commonly by the whole season. People in the pit pay three pells (about eighteen pence) for each night, and three or four scratches more to the owner of the seat. The manager receives the whole money, and out of it defrays all expences, contracting with each actor and musician

musician for the season. The band consists of 25 hands, among whom are some of the best performers in *Italy*. The opera-dresses are made up in a good taste, and very droll.

The governor, consul, and Mr. *Levet*, returned our visits. As soon as they were gone, we went to take a view of *Donatello's* famous statue of the grand duke in marble, and the four *Turkish* slaves in bronze, which is a piece of exquisite workmanship. The grand duke is standing on a pedestal, with the father and his three sons so chained, that at its four corners from the proper point of view, all their faces are at once beheld. The bagnio likewise is a very noble sight, and well deserving a traveller's attention.

We breakfasted with Mr. *Hutchinson*, who afterwards, with Mr. *Levet*, January 18. walked round the walls of the garrison with us. It is a neat, compact fortification, with a wet ditch, redoubts, glacis, &c.: from the walls, we had a most beautiful land and sea prospect. We were afterwards conducted to several handsome churches. One belonged to the *Greeks* of the *Roman* persuasion, and another to the *Armenians*. We saw a pretty collection of paintings at Mr. *Hutchinson's*: Among others, were some very striking likenesses of the gentlemen of the factory, done by our countryman Mr. *Dance*, who bids fair to be at the top of his profession. At this gentleman's lodgings, we heard the famous *Seignior Giardini* play upon the violin; he was a pupil of *Cartoni's*, and is looked upon as the first fiddle now in *Italy*.

In our walk this morning, I could not but take particular notice of a January 19. great number of horses, which were led about dressed with ribbons and other ornaments. Upon my enquiring into the reason of this piece of pageantry, a *French* gentleman who came with us from *Cyprus*, and now happened to be upon the parade, shook his head, and said, he was ashamed to inform me, but the fact was, that the too credulous people, conformable to an annual custom, were leading those creatures to a certain church, in order to their being *blessed*, which was done by the prayers and laying on of hands of a priest, who for his good offices received a pecuniary satisfaction; and without this benediction, the owners never expect any good services from their cattle for the ensuing year.

This day Messrs. *Becher*, *Askew*, *Levet*, *Hutchinson*, *Dance*, and Dr. *Gar-* January 20. *den* (uncle to our good friend at *Baghdad*, and whom I made very happy in my account of his nephew) gave Mr. *Gregory* and me the pleasure of their company at dinner.

Many gentlemen and ladies of the factory, and our whole party dined January 21. with the governor to day. He is called *Seignior Bourbon*, *Marquis de Monte*. His salary is 1000 *l. per annum*, exclusive of his house, firing, wines, and

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many other articles, which are provided for him gratis. He has likewise an annual present from the *Jews*, who carry on a great trade here. Captains of ships also, and their owners, are not unmindful of paying him tribute. He presides over the inquisition and other courts; and has an unlimited power to reprieve or pardon.

Leghorn is situated on what they call an island, made so by an artificial canal which runs round the walls, and at length communicates with the river *Arno*. There are said to be 50,000 inhabitants in this place, of whom they reckon 14,000 are *Jews*: these live in a part of the town by themselves. Some of them are rich, and keep their carriages; but what is very remarkable, they are never suffered to be driven by a coachman sitting on a box, but by a postilion only. The trade of *Leghorn* is still very great, though of late years it has been much lessened by *Genoa*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Ancona*, and *Naples*, being declared free-ports.*

January 23.

At nine this morning, a letter was put into my hands from a friend in *England*, dated the 28th of *December* last, bringing the most melancholy tidings of the death of my dear and only surviving parent, whose face above all things I once more desired to see. The good natured reader will easily conceive what I thought, and felt, on this afflicting occasion, and spare me the trouble of describing it. During the whole time I had been separated from her, I had formed to myself the exquisite sensation of comforting her in the decline of life, and had often sighed out in the ardour of my heart, and in the spirit of poetry, and of *Pope*,

“ Me let the tender office long engage

“ To rock the cradle of reposing age!

“ With lenient arts extend a mother’s breath,

“ Make languor smile, and smooth the bed of death!”

“ Explore the thought, explain the asking eye;

“ And keep awhile one parent from the sky!”

But heaven thought not proper to indulge me in this perhaps my too passionate request; and to its decrees, how rigorous soever, I am taught to submit.

In the evening we took leave of all those whose station, friendship, or acquaintance made it necessary.

* Mr. *Addison*, who was here in the year 1699, speaks of the great duke being then under apprehensions of the *Pope*’s making *Civita Vecchia* a free port, as it might in time prove very prejudicial to *Leghorn*. *ADDISON’S travels*, page 228.

At ten o'clock this morning, Messrs. *Gregory*, *Bailey*, and myself, with our servants, in three post chaises left *Leghorn* for *Pisa*, accompanied by our obliging friends Messrs. *Becher* and *Hutchinson*. The road between these two places runs partly through a very pleasant wood, and partly through the most delightful valley that possibly can be conceived. The prospect to our right, was that of an unbounded plain; while that to our left, was terminated by the *Apennine* mountains, many of whose tops were covered with snow.* After we had left the wood, we entred upon the plain, and got to *Pisa*, by dinner-time.

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January 24.

Leghorn has almost depopulated the city of *Pisa*, which if compared with its former flourishing state, may be now truly said, to be without inhabitants. We did not omit to visit the much talked of leaning or hanging tower, whose inclination has been at length determined by judicious artists, to be entirely owing to the foundation's giving way. This tower serves as a belfry to the cathedral, and stands but at a little distance from it. The cathedral is a large, noble, gothic pile of building, and its baptistry or dome, and three brazen doors done by *John of Bologna*, can never be sufficiently admired. *St. Stephen's* hospital, and the beggar's church, are likewise worth seeing.

Pisa.

We dined at a public house here; and at three o'clock parted with our two friends Messrs. *Becher* and *Hutchinson*, who returned to *Leghorn*, while we went on for *Lucca*; where we arrived just before the shutting of the gates, having travelled over the finest vale, and the best cultivated fields and vineyards, that imagination itself can possibly conceive. *Lucca* is a well built city, and though the streets are narrow, they are well paved. Its situation is delightful.

LUCCA.

We left *Lucca* at half past seven, for *Borgiana*, which is a journey of two posts. We got to it at half past nine, having still the same delightful country to pass over, diversified by many a pleasant villa and little town. Among the last were *Manze* and *Lontina* on our left, and *Saint Mariana-Cote*, to our right.

January 25.

BORGIANA.

Borgiana is a neat country town; we took horses there for *Pistoria* or *Pistoria*. *Pistoria*, and reached it about one in the afternoon. This is a walled city, and famous for the battle fought near it, between *Anthony* and *Catiline*, in

* Horrebat glacie saxa inter lubrica summo

Piniferum coelo miscens caput Apeninus:

Condiderat nix alta trabes, & vertice celfo

Canus apex stricta surgebat ad astra pruina.

SIL. Ital. lib. iv.

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FLORENCE.

January 26.

which the latter was defeated, and killed *; but we passed by without going into it, having changed our horses and postilions at an inn without the gates: we proceeded on for *Prata*, another walled city. The people of the country through which we travelled to-day look gay, and there appears a certain air of cheerfulness and content in all their countenances. The women are handsome, and at the same time industrious: we saw none of them but were busily employed, either in the work of the fields, or spinning and knitting in their houses. We arrived at *Florence* about half past seven in the evening.

We made it our first business this morning to wait upon Sir *Horace Mann*, the *British* envoy, who received us very politely. We afterwards visited the great duke's palace of *Pitti*. It consists of a body, and two wings, built of stone, with *Tuscan* pillars and rustic work. The wings contain chiefly bed-chambers, but the rooms in the center are filled with a variety of paintings, &c. done by the most celebrated masters.

I shall only mention those that struck me most sensibly.

Antiochus and *Stratonice*, by *Pietro de Cartona*. †

Four large pictures, representing death, purgatory, judgment, heaven and hell, by the Chevalier *Nascini* of *Sienna*.

A *Judith*, with *Holifernes's* head in her hand.

The Saviour of the world, by *Marroche*.

A *Mars* going to war, by *Rubens*.

The three Destinies, holding, spinning, and cutting the thread of life, by *Michael Angelo*.

A *Cleopatra* in Affliction, by *Guido*.

Our Saviour at supper with his twelve Apostles, by *Bonifacio*.

A *Virgin Mary* with a little *Jesus*, by *Fitian*.

Another fine picture of a *Madona*, and the infant *Jesus* in her arms, attended by two angels, who are reading a scroll.

The rape of the *Sylvan* nymphs by Satyrs; by *Rubens*.

Two pictures by *Salvator Rosa*. One of them represents a Sea-port crowded with ships and gallies. The other is also on a marine subject.

A portrait of Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, by *Vandyke*.

A fine picture of *St. Francis*. He is represented to be in a dark room, with a ray of light striking upon his hands and face. This circumstance has a wonderful effect.

* Reliquos *Catilina* per montes asperos, magnis itineribus, in agrum *Pistoriensem* abducit. *Sallustii Bellum Catalinarium*.

† The History of this picture is related at large in the 7th volume of *Rollin's* ancient history.—Also *Plutarch* in *Demetr.* p. 906, 907.

A *St. Sebastian*. The three arrows which killed him are represented as sticking in his flesh; the exquisite torture he is in, and indeed all the airs of this picture, are wonderfully expressed.

A fine *Magdalen*, by *Furino*.

A dead *Christ*, by *Gigoli*.

A *St. John*, *St. Mary*, with a little *Jesus* in her arms, and *St. Francis* standing by them; done in 1517, by *Andrea del Sarto*.

A *St. Ann*, teaching her daughter to read; by *Solomani* a *Neopolitan*, now living.

Four large Battle pieces, by *Bourgenini*.

Our Saviour, and four of the Apostles, by *Bartolomeo*.

Cain slaying *Abel*, by *Scavona*.

A *Luther*, *Calvin*, and *Calvin's* wife; this last is represented as a beautiful nun, with golden dishevelled hair, on whom *Calvin* is made to look very wishfully.—This picture was done by *Girgoni*.

But the most valuable piece in the whole palace, is the incomparable *Madona de la Segiola*, or the Virgin Mary in a chair, with *Jesus* in her arms. This is a small picture, but is esteemed by connoisseurs to be the best in the whole world; it was painted by *Raphael*. Forty thousand dollars, some say sequins, have been offered for it; but if they were dollars only, this picture must be worth about nine thousand pounds sterling.

There are also in this palace many pieces of exquisite workmanship in the other arts. Such in particular are four beautiful *Alto Reliefs* in ivory. The first represents the Rape of *Venus* by *Mars*. The subject of the second is the well-known story of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*. * The fable of *Ceres* looking after her daughter, is represented in the third. And in the fourth, *Silenus* is depicted as sitting drunk upon his ass. † Here are also four pieces of admired workmanship in bronze, done by *Faguri*. Their subjects are, our Saviour at the well with the *Samaritan* woman; the Prodigal Son returned to his father; the appearance of God unto *Moses* in the burning bush; and another piece of Scripture-history which I have now forgotten. These, and a thousand other things, perhaps still more curious, are to be found in the palace of *Pitti*.

We had the honour of a visit to-day from the Earl of *Northampton*, and another from Sir *Horace Man*. At night we went to the opera, where we were surprized to find the performers in every respect greatly inferior to those at *Leghorn*.

In the morning we visited the Earl of *Northampton*; and afterwards went to see the old palace, which is justly esteemed the greatest repository in the

* For this fable of *Ceres*, vide *Ovid. Fast. lib. 4.*

† *Venerat & pandò senior Silenus asello.*

Ovid. Fast.

1759.

world of both ancient and modern curiosities. I shall here, as in my description of the new or *Pitti* palace, only mention such pieces of sculpture or painting as, at the time I viewed them, made on my mind the strongest impressions.

Hercules lifting up *Antæus* from the earth.*

A *Roman* soldier carrying off a *Sabine* woman by force, and trampling the husband under his feet.†—These two, with another of *David*, stand in the court of the palace, and all three are larger than life.

On the floor of the gallery, on one side, are placed busts or statues of all the Emperors of *Rome*, standing on marble pedestals; and opposite to them are their Empresses or wives. The series begins with *Julius Cæsar* in bronze, and ends with *Constantine* in marble. They all deserve to be taken notice of, either as singular in their kind, or admirable for the excellence of their sculpture. In the same gallery, is a *Roman Censor* in his robes.

A *Morpheus* asleep in touch-stone. He lies on his back, has wings, and holds a bundle of poppy in his hand.

A *Vestal* virgin; her head and side of the face is hidden by a flowing veil. In her right hand she bears a torch (representing the holy fire) and in her left a cup.

A *Roman* Gladiator, admiring his lately gotten prize. This is a noble piece of sculpture.

A *Seneca*.

Jupiter and *Ganymede*. ‡

Jupiter and *Leda*. §

The nine *Muses*.

Calliope, the Goddess of Music.

Urania, the Goddess of Astronomy.

A *Chimæra* in brass.—It has a Lion's head, a Goat's back, the hinder parts are those of a Dragon, and on its feet are Eagle's claws.

* *Propertius* has taken notice of this very statue.

—————luctantum in pulvere signa
Herculis Antæique.

Lib. iii. Eleg. xxii.

† —————et raptas sine more Sabinas
Concessu caveæ, magnis Circensibus actis,
Addiderat.

VIRG. *Æneid*. lib. viii.

‡ Intexusque puer frondosâ regius Idâ
Velocis jaculo cervos cursuque fatigat
Acer, anhelanti similis; quem prapès ab Idâ
Sublimem pedibus rapuit Jovis armiger uncis.

VIRG. *Æneid*. lib. v.

§ Dat mihi Leda Jovem cyeno-decepta parentem,
Quæ falsam gremio credula fovit avem.

OID. *Epist.* xvii.

Castor

Castor and Pollux. They are joined at their breasts, denoting the brotherly love that was between them.

A *Laocöon* and his two Sons.—This is in bronze; a very large and fine piece of sculpture, and copied from the original statue that stands in the *Belvidera* at *Rome*. *

Apollo slaying *Marsias*, who is tied by his hands to a tree, for pretending to rival the God in Music. †

The famous wild Boar.

The God *Pan*, in porphyry. ‡

A *Narcissus*, admiring his own shadow. §

An *Æsculapius*—pointing with the fore-finger of one hand, and holding a bundle of herbs in the other.

Venus, with *Cupid* in her lap.

A statue of an *Etruscan* Nobleman, commonly mistaken for *Scipio*. It is in bronze, and has some characters that speak it to be *Tuscan*.

Annius Verus, the Son of *Marcus Aurelius*. He died at six years of age.

A *Mars*.—A *Mercury*.—A *Bacchus*.

* ————— immensis orbibus angues
Incumbunt pelago, pariterque at littora tendunt.
Laocoonta petunt : & primum parva duorum
Corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
Implicat, & miseros morsu depascitur artus.
Post ipsum, auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem
Corripiunt, spirisque ligant ingentibus : & jam
Bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum
Terga dati, superant capite & cervicibus altis.
Ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos,
Perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno :
Clamores simul horrendos ad fidera tollit.

VIRG. Æneid. lib. ii.

† Quem Tritoniacâ latoüs arundine victum

Affecit penâ. ———

Clamanti cutis est summos derepta per artus :

Nec quicquam, nisi vulnus, erat. Cruor undique manat,

Detectique patent nervi ; trepidæque sine ullâ

Pelle micant venæ.

OVID. Metam. lib. vi.

‡ Pana Deum pecoris veteres coluisse feruntur

Arcades. Arcadiis plurimus ille jugis.

OVID. Fast. lib. ii.

§ ————— visæ correptus imagine formæ,

Rem sine corpore amat. ———

Adstupet ipse sibi : vultuque immotus eodem

Hæret. ———

Spestat inexploto mendacem lumine formam :

Perque oculos perit ipse suos.

OVID. Metam. lib. iii.

An

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An *Alexander*, looking upwards, with an air of grief or pain in his countenance. Mr. *Addison* supposes, that the sculptor had in his thoughts the conqueror's weeping for new worlds; but others think, that he is here represented as recovering from a grievous blow which he had just before received.

The Judgment of *Paris*.—The statues of *Juno*, *Venus*, and *Pallas*, are placed near him, and are so disposed, that *Paris* who has the apple in his hand, is made to give the preference to *Venus*, by fixing his eyes upon her*.

A *Minerva*.—A *Flora*.

An *Apollo*, with a bow on his shoulders†.

A *Prometheus*‡.

An *Endymion*, gazing attentively on the moon§.

A drunken *Bacchus*, with a cup in his hand, done by *Michael Angelo*. This is the only finished piece of his in the whole gallery; and here he exerted all his powers, to convince the world that the abilities of men in his age, fell not short of those of the ancients. We were desired to observe, that one of the arms of this statue was joined by a cement to the trunk; and were told, that *Angelo* himself had purposely broken it off, as soon as he had finished his work, and after secretly burying the remaining part of the statue under ground, where he suffered it to lie for some time, he then caused it to be dug up as though by accident, and sent it to the pope's court, where it met with universal admiration, as a most finished piece of antiquity. *Angelo* was soon afterwards sent for to *Rome*, to partake of the general satisfaction which this new discovery had created, and after he had sufficiently diverted himself with the ignorance of these pretended antiquarians, he at length thought fit to clear up the whole affair, by producing the arm. Other writers have indeed related the same story concerning a *Cupid*.

* At Venus hoc pacta est: & in altæ vallibus idæ
Tres tibi se nudas exhibuere Deæ:
Unaque cum regnum, belli daret altera laudem;
Tyndaridos conjux, tertia dixit eris.

OVID. Epist. xvii.

† Nunquam humeris positurus arcum
Delius & Patareus Apollo.

HORAT. Carm. iv. lib. iii.

‡ — per tota novem cui jugera corpus
Porrigitur, rostroque immanis vultur obunco
Immortale jecur tondens, secundaque pœnis
Viscera, rimaturque epulis, habitatque sub alto
Pectore: nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.

VIRG. Æneid. lib. vi.

§ Latmius Endymion non est tibi, Luna, rubori.

OVID. Artis Amat. lib. iii.

Here

Here are several other statues begun by *Michael Angelo*, but never finished; particularly one of the younger *Brutus*, on which is inscribed a Latin verse, in excuse for the sculptor's not going through with his work. The reason assigned, is *Brutus's* crime in murdering his friend and benefactor *Julius Caesar*; but the true reason why this, and the several other statues by *Michael Angelo* were not finished, probably was, because he was called off from time to time by his masters, the popes, who set him about other performances. The last statue I shall take notice of in this gallery, is a very fine one of *Bernini's* mistress, done by himself; in which he has been so exact as to shew a small scar in her face, occasioned by a scratch he gave her at a game of romps. Two magnificent marble pillars stand at the end of the gallery, on which several *Roman* arms and implements of war are curiously wrought.

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At our return to our lodgings, we had the pleasure to find *Mr. Tottingham* there, who was just arrived from *Leghorn*.

This morning we made a second visit to the old palace, and were shewn the several chambers of curiosities, that stand on the side of it. The first chamber, which is about forty feet square, and of a good height, has its walls decorated with portraits of the great masters in painting, each of whom drew his own picture, and sent it to this collection. The second, is almost full of fine old china, and has a large touchstone table, curiously inlaid with oriental stones of different kinds and colours. The third is made up of different relicks of antiquity, dug out of the ruins of *Rome*. In the fourth, you are shewn a *corona muralis*, and a *corona radialis* with only eight spikes. *Mr. Addison* very justly observes, that the usual number was twelve, and quotes the following lines from *Virgil* to prove it:

January 28.

———— ingenti mole Latinus
 Quadrijugo vehitur curru; cui tempora circum
 Aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt.

Here also I had the pleasure of seeing an ancient *Ægyptian Sistrum**.— This, and the two foregoing articles are of brass. The fifth chamber, is an octagon; where I could not but take particular notice of two young *Morpheus's* in white marble, as it serves to invalidate an observation of *Mr. Addison's*, who seems to intimate that the God of sleep was never represented

* Regina in mediis patrio vocat Agmina Sistro.

VIRG. *Æneid.* lib. ix.

———— quid nunc *Ægyptia* profunt
 Sistra? ———

OVID. *Amorum*, lib. iii.

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by any of the ancient sculptors, but in black marble. Here was also the famous statue of the *Roman* slave, listning, and whetting his knife, which is held in high estimation.

Apollo and five other deities in bronze, by *John* of *Bologna*.

A *Venus* in porphyry.

A large fawn in marble.

Another fine marble statue of what is called the "two wrestlers."

An *Hermaphrodite* lying asleep on its side, but in such a manner as to partly discover the male parts. The large breasts and hips declare also its feminine participation.—This statue was made after that celebrated one in the *Villa Borgese*.

A *Priapus*; four feet in length, and three feet one inch in circumference. Around this strange and obscene figure, the twelve constellations are represented.

A *Roman* consul sitting. — This is the statue taken notice of by *Mr. Addison*, as having the large ring upon his finger; which, he tells you, reminded him of *Juvenal's* expression "majoris pondera gemmæ."

A *Jupiter tonans*.

A bust of *Euripides*, the famous *Greek* tragic poet.

Three marble busts of *Homer*, found in *Leghorn* road.

A satyr, by *Michael Angelo*, not quite finished.

Three pretty babes asleep, and resting their heads upon one another.

Over the door is a most excellent bust of *Oliver Cromwell*, in plaister of *Paris*; from which many copies have been taken.

Another very remarkable statue in this collection, is the justly celebrated *Venus* of *Medicis*, so called from its being in the possession of that family, of whose incomparable beauty of shape, air, and posture, so much has been said by all travellers. She is here stiled "*Venus Viatrix*," to distinguish her from two other *Venus's* which stand near her. One of these is called "*Venus marina*," the other "*Venus cœlestis*;" and both have a covering round the waist: the first is quite naked.

In this room you are also shewn a great variety of excellent paintings: such as *John* the *Baptist*, by *Raphael*; he has a tyger's skin about the waist, and is supposed to be in the wilderness; he is painted very young, not more than sixteen or seventeen years of age.—*Lord Southwell*, and *Martin Luther*, by *Holbein*.

Two much admired paintings by *Titian*. One of them is a portrait of his own wife, whom he has drawn at full length, lying on a bed, and as naked as she came into the world. The other, is of a most beautiful girl, a favourite mistress of a great duke, who is also painted quite naked. The portrait of *Titian's* wife seems to be alive, and is as finished a piece of the painter's art, as the *Venus* of *Medicis* is of the sculptor's.—Many copies both

of

of the statue and picture are to be seen in private families, especially in those apartments where company is generally entertained.

Three excellent night-pieces by *Schalkin*: and a fourth by *Francis Douven* a *Palatine*.—A nurse teaching a child to read by candle-light, a friar stands behind them, warming his hands at the fire: the light of the fire striking upon the person of the friar, is admirably well executed, as is also that of the candle on the nurse and child.

The last curiosity that was shewn us in this octagon room, was Cardinal *Leopold's* cabinet of female beauties in miniature, done by the best painters of the age he lived in. The cabinet has sixty drawers, with seven hundred pictures in each, all set in silver.

There are three or four other large chambers which are adorned with cabinets, tables and other pieces, inlaid with ebony, ivory, wax, lapis lazuli, amber, agate, and precious stones, but as all voyage writers and authors of travels are full of these, I shall pass them by, taking notice only of four or five paintings which are exquisitely fine.

John Baptist's head in a charger, by *Caracci*.

Mars and Venus, by *Rubens*.

Charles the fifth, emperor of *Germany*, and an *Italian* lady, by *Vandyke*.

Adam and Eve, by *Albert Durer*.

Over the door of one of these chambers, are the portraits of the great Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Rupert*, and Lord *Offory*, done by our country man Sir *Peter Lilly*.

In the afternoon we went to the baptistry, which is an octagon, and was once a temple dedicated to the god *Mars*. It has three brass gates; one of them was the work of *Ghiberti*, a *Florentine*, with many scripture stories in *Basso Relievo*. The famous *Michael Angelo*, was so struck with its beauties, that he pronounced it worthy of being one of the gates of *Heaven*. The other two are also very handsome, but greatly inferior to the former.—We then drove to the *Doma* church, which is a large *Gothic* cathedral. The *Rotunda* was the first of its kind, and so much admired by *Michael Angelo*, that he in part took from it the model of *St. Peter's* at *Rome*. In this church, a *Johannes Acutus* (as he is called) is painted in *Fresco*, on horseback. He was an *Englishman* in the *Florentine* service, and behaved very bravely. His proper name according to some was *Hacluit*, by others, *Sharp*, which the *Italians* rendered into *Latin* by the word *Acutus*.

We next visited the *Annunciata*, a very neat church, with a gilded roof, and many fine paintings. The *Madona del Sacca* here is much admired. We then repaired to *St. Croce*, a *Gothic* pile of building; the most remarkable things in it, are two superb monuments; one of them was erected to

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the memory of *Michael Angelo*; and has three ornamental statues about it, done by three of his scholars, representing painting, sculpture, and architecture. The other is opposite to it, and was designed for *Galileo* the famous geometrician and philosopher.

Monday,
January 29.

We went this morning to the famous chapel of *St. Laurence*, which was begun an hundred and fifty years ago, and yet remains unfinished; nor is it probable that it ever will be compleated. This is the burial-place of the great dukes of the family of *Medicis*. Adjoining, is a prodigious large octagon building, with an high dome, which is looked upon as the greatest design now in the world. Each side of the octagon has a most magnificent tomb or monument, with pilasters of the *Corinthian* and composite orders, and ornamented in the most elegant manner with the arms of the family, curiously wrought in a great variety of marbles; whose fine colours, exquisite polishings, and nice dispositions, intermixed with oriental stones and ores, would make one suspect the whole to be the work of some great master in painting. This building is finished from the ground to the upper part of the octagon, and beginning of the dome; the scaffolding is still standing, but no workmen have been employed for thirteen years.

We were then shewn the library, so much celebrated for its large and valuable collection of manuscripts, in the *Greek*, *Latin*, and other dead languages. There is one of *Virgil*, written in the fourth century; in the whole, there are at least three thousand volumes all written on vellum, and in the most elegant characters.

Our party had this day the honour of dining with Sir *Horace Man*; and were so fortunate as to meet there, the Earl of *Northampton*, and his governor, with Mr. *Anderson*, Mr. *Wyte*, and Mr. *Henry*, all *English* gentlemen on their travels.—Our conversation turned chiefly on the glorious and uninterrupted series of success, which had lately attended the *British* arms in all parts of the world. A theme of this kind could not fail of affording a peculiar satisfaction to a company of *Englishmen*, thus accidentally met together in a foreign land; but more particularly to me, who after so long and painful an absence, was once more going to be made happy in a sight of my native country, and at a time too when her reputation was about to be raised higher, than ever before, in the annals of *Great-Britain*.

January 30.

Mr. *Tottingham* being obliged to set out from hence this day on his return to *England*, I resolved to accompany him; and about eleven o'clock in the morning, (having previously taken leave of all our countrymen in general, and of our friends Messrs. *Gregory* and *Bayley* in particular) we left *Florence*, and after a very troublesome and dangerous journey of two days over the *Apennine* mountains, we arrived at the gates of *Bologna*. The

extreme ruggedness and difficulty of the roads, often put us in mind of the following lines in *Silius Italicus*; 1759.

“ Quoque magis subiere jugo, atque evadere nisi

“ Erexere gradum, crescit labor, ardua suprâ

“ Sese aperit fessis, & nascitur altera moles.”

The city of *Bologna*, for extent, and the number of inhabitants, and the importance of its trade, is the principal next to *Rome*, in all the ecclesiastical state. It abounds in magnificent buildings, and is likewise famous for the numerous collection of excellent paintings, master pieces of art, which are to be seen in it; but the emotions which were then felt by my companion and me for speedily getting home, were so powerful, that we were obliged to deny ourselves the satisfaction and pleasure of feasting our eyes with them. BOLOGNA.

The *Bolognese* women of fashion wear a veil or mantle of black silk over their heads and shoulders, which comes down before as low as their waist. They make use also of a black silk apron, a petticoat of the same colour, and a jacket of cloth, with open sleeves, which are turned back on the arm, and laced. They wear no caps, their hair is braided, and being circularly placed on the crown of the head, is fastened with long needles or pins studded with gold. But the most prevailing fashion among them is the wearing gold ear-rings; and in the winter months they never fail to preserve their hands from the cold by a little muff. The country girls are not so fair here, or so prettily featured as those of *Tuscany*, though their dress appeared to be much the same. They have a bodice, and over it a short jacket either of coarse stuff or cloth. A white handkerchief covers the breasts, and another is pinned close on the top of the head, and loosely under the chin. Some of them wear shoes, others none; the few that do have a pair of red or green worsted stockings, and one and all ape their superiors in wearing either gold or brass ear-rings. To their honour however be it spoken, the same spirit of industry prevails among these, as does among the pretty female peasants in *Tuscany*.

We left *Bologna* at half past seven this morning, and went on through *Pavia*, which is a handsome country town, with houses built on wooden pillars or arches. The roads hereabouts are very bad for travellers, running through a fat and dirty soil. The country however is very pleasant, cultivated to the best advantage, and extremely well laid out in vineyards. The vines here, as in *Tuscany*, are supported from tree to tree *, and both the standards and vines are nicely trimmed, and uniformly planted, for many miles together. February 1. PAVIA.

* ———— adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos.

HORAT. Epodon. lib. ode 2d.

The

1759.

The lumber carriages in this country are drawn by three, four, and sometimes five pair of yoke oxen. An iron ring or two loosely hung to a pillar of the same metal, which stands on the pole between each yoke, serves all the purposes of bells; for these rings, by the motion of the carriage, are made to fall on and off the pillars, whereby a sound, somewhat resembling that of a bell, is happily produced.

ST. CARLO.

At a quarter past three in the afternoon, we arrived at *St. Carlo*, having gone over an ugly, long causeway, by the side of the little *Rhine**, which river loses itself in a marsh near *St. Carlo*. The edges of the marsh are full of willow-trees and shrubs, and according to the best intelligence we could pick up, these swamps continue quite to the sea, by *Ravenna*. The banks of this river are every where pleasantly shaded with the willow, and other trees; but so narrow, that we were several times apprehensive of falling into the river.

FERRARA.

At half after five we reached the gates of *Ferrara*: a city but poorly walled, and at present in almost a defenceless state. The ramparts indeed are so extensive, that even in its best estate, it must have required a whole army to defend it. The streets are regular, and the houses so handsome, that they may with great propriety be stiled palaces, being built of marble, and in an elegant taste. The convents and churches are also very magnificent. We were obliged to put up at the post-house, where we had the worst attendance in the world, but were made to pay most extravagantly for every thing we called for. The servants here, and in almost every other public house between this and *Pisa*, are down-right thieves; we have been pillaged by them already no less than four times, though we always endeavoured to keep a good look out.

February 2.

At a quarter past seven this morning, we left *Ferrara*, and presently after, the horses that drew my chaise (which was built on purpose for me at *Leghorn*, strong and well fitted for the *Italian* and *German* roads) fell down in a boggy road, and in my endeavouring to get clear of the carriage and slough, I had the misfortune to sprain my back. A full hour passed away before the horses and chaise could be gotten out again.—We afterwards went by a town, called *Ponte de la Scurò*. The famous river *Po*, or *Eridanus*, runs by it, and is here about half a mile broad†.

PONTE DE LA
SCURÒ.

I observed

* ———Parvique Bononia Rhemi. SILIUS ITAL. lib. 8.

† The ancient poets are full of descriptions of this river. *Virgil* in his first *Georgic*, stiles it "*Fluviorum Rex Eridanus*;" and in his fourth, he speaks thus of its importance:

"Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia culta
In mare purpureum violentior affluit amnis."

Ovid too has made it famous by throwing his *Phaeton* into it.

"Quem procul a patria diverso maximus orbe
Excipit Eridanus, spumantiaque abluit ora."

And

I observed many wooden mills upon this river, raised on boats, which are tied to each other, and fastened to stakes, near the shore. We often saw three, four, and five in a row together. They are worked by the stream of the *Po*, which here runs at the rate of four miles an hour, and is navigable from *Ponte de la Scuro* quite to *Venice*. We travelled several miles to-day on its high artificial banks, which on both sides of the river are raised twenty or thirty feet above the level of the country, and were intended to be broad enough for two carriages to pass each other.

At ten o'clock we crossed a branch of the *Po* in a ferry-boat, and in about two hours after, arrived at another branch of it called *Canale Bianco*, over which we passed also in the same manner. About two miles on the other side of this river, the ecclesiastical territories end, and those of the *Venetian* state begin. At five we arrived at *Rouvigo*, having travelled only twenty-five miles the whole day, owing to the deep and swampy roads we went through. We here met with a clean house, and a very neat and obliging hostess.

We left *Rouvigo* a little before seven in the morning, and were obliged to make use of four horses to each chaise, and likewise to pay for a post extraordinary, on account of the common road being at present overflown. For several miles we met with a great deal of trouble, being obliged frequently to get out of our carriages, to prevent our being fast in the mire. At eight we reached a ferry on the river *Adige*, which is navigable up to *Verona* †; and by ten had almost got clear of the overflown, marshy country, which had occasioned us so much fatigue.

In going through one of the grape plantations, I observed an image of the *Virgin Mary* fixed in a box, and nailed to one of the trees that supported the vines. She is looked upon it seems as the protectress of vineyards, and is therefore always honoured with a salute by every devout *Roman Catholic* traveller.

And *Claudian* has given the following pompous description of this river.

“ ——— Ille caput placidis sublime fluentis

“ Extulit, et totis lucem spargentia ripis

“ Aurea roranti micuerunt cornua vultu.

“ Non illi madidum vulgaris arundine crinem.

“ Velat honos; rami caput umbravere virentes.

“ Heliadum, totisque fluunt electra capillis.

“ Palla tegit latos humeros, curruque paterno.

“ Intexus Phaeton glaucos incendit amictus:

“ Fultaque sub gremio cœlatis nobilis astris

“ Ætherium probat urna decus,” &c. &c. &c.

CLAUDIAN de sexto Cons. Honorii.

† ——— Verona Athesi circumflua.

SILIUS ITALICUS, lib. 8.

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Pisano village.

At eleven we passed over the little river *Cordon*, by the help of a wooden bridge, built on piles; and in a quarter of an hour after, we reached *Pisano*, having but six miles to *Montselice*. A little before one o'clock we reached *Montselice*, which is situated at the foot of a mountain, has an old wall, a gateway, and a worn-out wooden gate. On the top of the mountain, an ancient fort once stood, but it is now converted into a church. Opposite to this there is another hill still higher, called *Monte Rocca*, which has a convent upon it.

MONTSE-
LICE.

Great part of the road between *Montselice* and *Padua* runs along a narrow, artificial causeway, and so nigh to the river *Brent* or *Brenta*, that we chose rather to quit our carriages, and walk several miles on foot, than run the risk of being overturned in so dangerous a place. As we drew near to *Padua*, we met a great number of country-people returning from the market of that city. We observed that their oxen were dressed out with ribbons, bells, &c.—They had also sheep, hogs, and poultry in great abundance with them.

The *Venetian* country women wear their hair plaited, and in general have nothing upon their heads but a straw-hat, with the edge turned a little up: with this hat they salute after the manner of men. The women in the towns, dress much in the same way as those at *Bologna*. There is a particularity in this country, which I never observed any where else, every post-chaise driver has always a dog to attend him. These little animals are of great use to their owners, as they never fail, at the proper signals being made, to bark at the horses, and by that means to push them forwards, as effectually, as if the rider had given them the spur.

PADUA.

We reached *Padua* before the gates were shut, and entering the city at that part of it called the *Holy Cross*, passed by the church of *St. Justina*, which at a distance makes a most noble appearance, but upon coming near, you presently discover that the original stone-work has been patched with rough brick, which gives a shocking deformity to the whole building. This edifice is remarkable for having six rotundas or cupolas, and is built in the form of a latin cross: it was designed by *Palladio*, and is universally held in great esteem as a master-piece of art. Like all other *Papish* churches, it is adorned with a variety of pictures; but the chief ornament of this kind, is the martyrdom of the saint, which was done by *Paul Veronese*, and is hung up over the high altar. *Padua*, though a famous city and university, is neither so well built nor paved as that of *Bologna*. The houses in general are old-fashioned, and the stones used in the pavements are much too large. The walls also are built of brick, which gives them an odd appearance. *

This

* Mr. Addison says, that in the town-hall of *Padua*, there stands a stone superscribed, "*Lapis Vituperii*." Any debtor that will swear himself not worth five pounds, and is set by the

This morning we hired a boat for two sequins and an half (about 25 shillings) to carry us down the *Brent* to *Venice*. If we approve of it, he is to continue at *Venice*, and bring us back to *Padua*, for an equal sum. The boat is called a *Centaur*, has a very commodious and large cabbin, and is drawn by a horse on the bank. We got to *Venice* at five o'clock in the evening, and went in masques to the opera.

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February 4.

VENICE.

the bailiffs thrice with his bare buttocks on this stone in a full hall, clears himself of any farther prosecution from his creditors. Addison's *Travels*, page 55.—This custom has been discontinued however many years.

C H A P. IX.

Description of Venice.—Journey from thence to Vicenza, Verona, Borgetto, Trent and Inspruck.—Description of the city of Inspruck.—Occurrences from thence to Augsburgh and Franckfort.—Passage down the Rhine to Cologne.—Journey from that city to Cleves and Nimeguen; and passage afterwards to Rotterdam and Helvoetsluys.—Arrival in England.

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Monday,
February 5.

THIS morning we waited upon Mr. Murray the *English* resident, and Mr. Smith the consul. We afterwards went to see the famous bridge of the *Rialto*, and St. Mark's square and church. In the evening we visited another church called St. George the major, wherein is a much admired picture of the wedding feast, by *Paul Veronese*.

“*Venice* (according to Mr. *Addison*) has several particulars, which are not to be found in other cities, and is therefore very entertaining to a traveller. It looks, at a distance, like a great town half floated by a deluge. There are canals every where crossing it, so that one may go to most houses either by land or water. The streets are generally paved with brick or freestone, and always kept very clean, for there is no carriage, so much as a chair that passes through them. There is an innumerable multitude of bridges, all of a single arch, and many noble palaces. Their furniture is not commonly very rich, if we except the pictures, which are here in greater plenty than in any other place in *Europe*, from the hands of the best masters of the *Lombard* school, as *Titian*, *Paul Veronese*, and *Tintoret*. The rooms are generally hung with gilt leather, which they cover on extraordinary occasions with tapisstry, and hangings of greater value. The flooring is a kind of red plaister, made of brick ground to powder, and afterwards worked into mortar. It is rubbed with oil, and makes a smooth, shining, and beautiful surface. The particular palaces, churches, and pictures of *Venice*, are enumerated in several little books that may be bought in the place, and have been faithfully transcribed by many voyage writers.”*

* *Addison's Travels*, page 59.

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February 6.

We were employed this morning in taking a view of the arsenal, which has a line drawn round it of about three miles. Three thousand artificers and labourers in the several naval branches, are constantly employed here. The expence to the state, upon this account, amounts to about six thousand ducats weekly. It is upon the whole, a neat and compact dock-yard, the whole navy of the republic, consisting of twenty-four ships of the first rate, which carry eighty guns each, and twenty-five galleasses, being kept herein. They all lie under cover, are finished to the upper deck; and we were told, that in the space of two years, they could be all fitted out, and sent to sea. The mast-yard, rope-walk, sail-lofts, smith-shops, founderies, and magazines of every kind are upon this spot; and as far as we could observe, every thing seemed to be ready at hand, and in exact order. We walked through that part of the arsenal where the small arms are laid, and saw the complete suits of armour which the greatest captains belonging to the republic formerly wore. These are hung up as precious reliques; and are held in great veneration by the present race of *Venetians*.

We were afterwards shewn the famous *Bucentaur Galley*, which has two decks, and is truly a fine sight. It is decorated with a great variety of curious carved work, representing the different seasons, the arts and sciences, justice, charity, prudence, patience, and other virtues. The bare gilding of this vessel cost 12000 ducats of gold, which in our money amount to near six thousand pounds. The *Bucentaur* is kept merely for shew, being seldom if ever used, but on the day of our Lord's Ascension, the anniversary of the *Doge's* marriage with the sea.

After taking our leave of the arsenal, we went to see the church belonging to the bare-footed *Carmelites*, which is a gay, handsome structure, and has an altar-piece truly majestic. This church was designed by the same artist who built that belonging to the *Jesuits*; and what is very remarkable in a place so confined as *Venice*, has a good and spacious garden adjoining to it. One of the brethren who shewed us the church, refused to take the money we offered him for his trouble.—A very extraordinary circumstance this, and worthy to be noted!

We had the honour to dine this day with Lady *Wentworth* and her husband; Mr. *Murray*, Mr. *Bridges* an *English* gentleman on his travels, and Mr. *Ducket* secretary to Mr. *Murray*, made up the rest of the company. We had before been favoured with complimentary cards from Lord *Bru-denel* son of the earl of *Cardigan*, Mr. Consul *Smith*, Messrs. *Lyte*, *Frazier*, *Udney*, and *Seignior Sebastian Battagio*. This last gentleman is the same person who was mentioned in my friend Mr. *Doidge's* letter. He tendered his best services, and told me, that he had received a private letter of recommendation from Mr. *Smith* of *Aleppo* in favour of Mr. *Doidge* and me, with credit for whatever cash we might stand in need of. This was the more

H h h 2 kind

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kind in Mr. *Smith*, as he had done it without giving us the least intimation of his friendly intentions,

In the evening we went in masques to the *Ridotto*, or public gaming-house, which is here established by authority. In it are several apartments; and in each apartment gaming-tables, loaded with either gold or silver. At each bank sits a *Venetian* senator unmasked, and arrayed in his scarlet robes. To him the adventurer repairs, tries his fortune at the game of *Basset*, and very often, in a few minutes is totally ruined. There is something truly diabolical in these scenes. The masques are commonly dressed in black; the rooms though large, are but dimly lighted; some people you see pensively sitting, others gravely strolling along, or desperately gaming. And all the while so profound a silence is kept, that scarce a sigh or whisper is ever to be heard. I left this place with abhorrence, being sensibly struck with the prostitution of magistracy, the encouragement of vice, and the ruin of families!

From hence we went to the *Buffo*, or comic opera, and were drolly entertained: then we adjourned to a grand *Festino* or ball, given by a *Venetian* nobleman of the *Veniero* family, in his own palace, upon his being lately elected *Procurator*. This festival continues three days and three nights. The magnificence and brilliancy of the present, is said to equal any that has ever preceded it. Every apartment in the palace, intended for the reception of company, is illuminated with a vast number of wax-candles, placed in silver-branches, or glass-girandoles, finely cut; and has a band of musick in it, consisting of at least twenty hands. Only the native nobility, and gentlemen-foreigners of different nations who happen to be at *Venice*, are ever admitted to these festivals; for which purpose a detachment of soldiers is placed at the entrance of each passage to the several apartments, to prevent any improper person from going in. All who pass by the soldiers are obliged to unmask, unless it be those who are accompanied by some foreign minister, or by one of his household. This happened to be our case; Mr. *Ducket* having been so obliging as to take us with him. He therefore, of our whole company, was the only person who found it necessary to unmask, and acquaint the guard, that we were "*English Gentlemen*."

In the several chambers of this palace, the greatest profusion of costly jewels were displayed by the noble *Venetian* ladies; they were all dressed either in black silks, or black velvet, except the lately elected *Procurator's* wife, who upon this particular occasion, is allowed to appear in colours, with the foreign princesses, the nieces or other near relations of the *Pope*, and the ladies of public ministers. Every woman's hair was extremely powdered, and dressed either in the *French* or *English* taste, and besides the abundance of costly brilliants, rubies, &c. with which every part of their dress was ornamented, there was scarce a finger upon either of their hands

hands but what was loaded with rings of immense value. Dancing and cards made up the principal entertainment of the company, though many of both sexes also seemed to be happily employed in chit-chat conversation. In some of the rooms, the several parties were regaled with tea, coffee, chocolate, sherbet, wines, &c.; and in other rooms, were tables covered with the nicest cold-meats of various sorts, such as poultry, wild-fowl, pasties, custards, sweet-meats, syllabubs, snow-balls, jellies, &c.

The *Pope's Nuncio*, the *English* resident, the *French* Ambassador, and the rest of the foreign ministers and their families, and all the people of the first rank in *Venice*, were at this *Festino*: and the whole was so truly splendid, so politely, and so regularly conducted, that I never went away from any entertainment so thoroughly delighted. It may not be improper to add, that the laws of *Venice* strictly forbid any of their nobility holding the least conversation with the foreign ministers but upon these public occasions, or when national affairs are to be agitated between them. A detection of a breach of these laws, is sure to be punished with great rigour and severity.

Mr. *Murray* the *English* resident, is a polite, well-bred, sensible man. Mr. Consul *Smith* has behaved with great good-nature towards us, and Mr. *Ducket* has fully answered the very amiable character given of him by Mr. *Doidge*. In a word, we have experienced at *Venice* every civility, which travellers could possibly wish for. At *Leghorn* we got letters of credit and recommendation to the several places we were to pass through in *Italy* and *Germany*; but Mr. *Udney* of this place has been so obliging as to give us another on Mr. *Aman* of *Augsburgh*.

Both the resident and consul advise us not to be afraid of passing through *Franckfort* on the *Maine*, though it be now in possession of the *French*. They seem sorry that my friend *Doidge* and his party have taken another route from *Augsburgh*, as hereby their expences and difficulties will be considerably increased.*

By the advice of the same gentlemen, we supplied ourselves with a pass-port from the *Austrian* Ambassador residing here, as it was apprehended by them, that the *French* would pay but little regard to the one we had before gotten from the regency of *Florence*. This pass-port from the *Austrian* Ambassador, cost us four sequins, which was a great imposition in his secretary, who was mean enough to declare to our servants, that we should not have it for less money, because we were *Englishmen*, and consequently

* Mr. *Doidge's* party, intimidated by *Franckfort's* being in possession of the *French*, quitted their intended route, and passed through *Germany* by way of *Nuremberg*, *Bamberg*, *Coberg*, *Munungen*, *Cassel*, *Munster*, &c.

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were real, though not open and declared enemies of his mistress the Queen of Hungary.

February 7.
PADUA.

We embarked about nine this morning for *Padua*, having previously taken leave of all our friends at *Venice*. We got to *Padua* in nine hours, having hired a horse extraordinary to draw our boat, that we might arrive there before the gates were shut.

February 8.

This morning early, while our carriages were getting ready, we paid a visit to the church of St. *Anthony*, the titular saint of this city. It is a very large, and magnificent pile of building, but in the gothic taste. The outside of it has rather a heavy appearance; within, it is richly adorned with grand marble altar-pieces, branches of massy silver, and many excellent paintings. The church, which was once dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*, besides the tomb of Saint *Anthony*, has also an abundance of other elegant marble monuments, and several *Alto Relievo's*, expressive of the miracles wrought by the saint; of *David's* playing and dancing before the ark; of *Solomon's* temple, &c. Here also the whole history of *Sampson* is to be seen in brass, *Basso Relievo*, finely executed. The pavement of the church is all of marble, of different colours, well polished and cubically formed.

VICENZA.

We left *Padua* about nine o'clock, and passing through the town of *Mestrey*, got to *Sesica* by eleven. We crossed here the river *Tesin*, formerly the *Ticinus**, by a small bridge, and at one o'clock reached *Vicenza*. We found the streets of this city narrow, the houses irregularly built, and in an old-fashioned taste. A very few indeed which are modern, have a handsome appearance.

MONTE-
BELLO.

We took fresh horses at *Vicenza* for *Montebello*, where we arrived at a quarter past three o'clock, having had a good road all the way. At a quarter after five, we again changed our horses at a place called *Caldier*, and set out for the city of *Verona*, which we reached about six in the evening.

VERONA.

* *Silius Italicus* has given the following beautiful description of this river.

“ *Ceruleas Ticinus aquas et stagna vadosa*

“ *Perspicuus servat, turbari nescia, fundo:*

“ *Ac nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem;*

“ *Vix credas labi, ripis tamen mitis opacis*

“ *Argutos inter (volucrum certamina) cantus*

“ *Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.*”

How shall we be able to reconcile the above description of this river, with the account given us by Dr. *Burnet*, Mr. *Addison*, and others of our modern travellers, who have all represented it as running with an astonishing rapidity? The learned bishop in particular says, that he was carried down this river at the rate of thirty miles an hour, by the help of a single rower.

Very early this morning, we quitted our beds, and accompanied by Count *Lodovico Lazise*, a decayed man of quality, but a celebrated antiquarian, went in a hackney-coach to view the ruins of a *Roman* triumphal arch; before which, stands another of a more modern date, of the doric order, done by *Michael San Miccheli*. The pillars of this last, are without either pedestal or base, and are made to rest upon rude, large stones only. You see some symbolical figures on the gate, which I could make nothing of, but a swan and a boar's head are very discernible. We afterwards went to see St. *Bernard's* church, and its beautiful rotunda chapel, designed by the same *San Miccheli*. Its pillars are of the finest marble, of the Corinthian order, and held in the highest estimation. Some of them are fluted, others spirally worked, and others beautifully cut into foliages. We next took a view of a brick bridge of three arches, which is built over the river *Adige*. The first of these arches measures 142 *Italian* feet at the base; the second 82, and the third 70. This bridge, and an old castle that stands near it, were both built in the year 1354. The principal arch is reputed to be the widest in the known world, that of the *Rialto* at *Venice* making only a span of 86 feet.

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We were then shewn the ruins of the *Arca Gavia* built by *Vitruvius*, A. D. 145. This (according to the accounts given us) was the entrance to the sepulchre of the *Gavian* family. We were afterwards led to the hospital *di Misericordia*, to see a much admired piece of painting of a Saviour just taken down from the cross, done by *Alexandrino Veronese*. The blessed virgin, wringing her hands, and in an agony of grief, stands looking on the bloody corpse, which is supported by *Nicodemus*. Our Saviour is represented of a shorter stature in this picture, than in any other painting I ever saw of him.—The last piece of antiquity we took a view of at *Verona*, was the famous *Roman* amphitheatre, the inside of which is still complete, but the outside-work has suffered so much from time and weather, that a very small part of the old, original wall, is now remaining. There are in all three walls, beginning from the street, and ending at the centre or area for the sports. Within these walls, are stages of seats for four different ranks of people, and sixty portals for their entrance, it being customary among the *Romans* for each order or tribe to go up by its own respective stair-case. The *Patricians* sat on the first row of seats from the area or field of combat, and the *Plebeians* on the highest of all. There are forty-five of these seats, ranged circularly one above another, and will hold 22184 persons. In the second wall from the street, are several distinct apartments for keeping the wild beasts, and in the third, or inner wall, are twenty eight prisons, four of which are entirely dark. Here the malefactors were confined, who were sentenced to give diversion to the *Roman* citizens, by combating the beasts. Little channels of water run quite through the building, and were undoubtedly designed to carry off every kind of filth to the common-shore.

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At ten o'clock in the morning we left *Verona*, having hired what are here called *Veturine* horses for the city of *Trent*. At twelve we passed over the rapid river *Adige* in a ferry-boat, whose current runs at the rate of seven miles an hour*. The roads now begin to be stony and hilly: and that beautiful country which has been so distinguishable in our whole journey from *Leghorn*, is now putting on a different aspect, though even here, the vines hang like so many garlands, from tree to tree. We tasted some excellent white wine this day at a little obscure village, which was the more extraordinary, as good wines are very scarce all over *Lombardy*.

Chusa pass.

At three in the afternoon, we got to the remarkable pass of *Chusa*, where the road was so very steep, narrow, and rocky, that we were obliged to get out of our carriages, the horses not being able to draw them over it. At this pass are always kept some soldiers, whose assistance in dragging along the chaises, our postilions were obliged to purchase at the expence of ten pauls. The charge of our four horses, of the several turnpikes, and of getting through this pass, amounted in the whole to eleven sequins; five and a half of which we deposited before we left *Verona*, and agreed to pay the remainder on our arrival at *Trent*.

At half past six o'clock, we passed by the boundary stone, which divides the *Venetian* state from the bishopric of *Trent*. At eight in the evening, we reached *Borgetto*, which is one of the many little towns seated on this road among the *Alpine* mountains. Here we got a clean room, and some wholesome food; were well attended, and (what is still more extraordinary) our bill was very moderate.

BORGETTO. *Borgetto* lies about twenty miles from *Verona*; and through the whole journey, a traveller's mind is very differently amused and agitated. At one time, he is wonderfully struck, and pleased with the grand and romantic scenery that is every where about him. At another time, he is almost chilled with horror at the sight of huge precipices of naked rocks hanging perpendicular over his head, and seeming ready to fall upon him. To this may be added, the extreme narrowness of the road, and the horrid *Gulph* of some hundred yards depth, all along on his left, at the bottom of which he discovers the river *Adige* running with great rapidity, between a double range of sharp pointed rocks. It must not be understood however, that such frightful ideas as these attend the traveller during the whole of this distance; for sometimes the eye is entertained with a view of several ranges of mountains, covered with trees and pasturage, which form one of the most irregular, and at the same time one of the most pleasing scenes in the world.

February 10. We left *Borgetto* at seven o'clock in the morning, and having passed through *Ald* at eleven, and *Roverido* at three (two considerable post towns)

* *Claudian* calls this river, "Velox Atheis."

we got at fix in the evening safe to the city of *Trent*. The several post towns we passed through between *Verona* and this place were as follows.

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		Post.
Between these two is <i>Chusa</i> pass	<i>Valarnia</i>	— — — $1\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>Peri</i>	— — — 1
	<i>Ald</i>	— — — $1\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>Roverido</i>	— — — 1
	<i>Trent</i>	— — — $1\frac{1}{2}$
		6 $\frac{1}{2}$

This city, though not very large, is well built. It is situated in a pleasant plain, and the river *Adige* runs by it, over which is thrown a wooden bridge of eight arches. While our carriages were fitting at *Trent* with an additional pair of wheels, I took a coach and visited *St. Simon's* tomb, who lies buried in a church dedicated to him. I saw the reputed saint's corpse embalmed, lying on its back in a glass cabinet, that is lodged within the tomb. The room in which the remains are deposited, is hung with pictures, badly painted, representing the murder of the saint and his two sons*.

In another church, which we afterwards visited, we were shewn a very handsome altar-piece of four spiral marble pillars; the square they form is open at the top, and within it the altar is erected. We were told, that this altar-piece is done in imitation of one in *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, which is in high estimation. We now repaired to a third church, much talked of in these parts for the excellency of its organ. The priest, at the time we entered the church, was saying mass; and yet by virtue of a ducat seasonably presented to the organist, we were highly entertained by some mirthful tunes which he did not scruple to play at our request. The organ, is a very good one, and most elegantly ornamented with five well finished, gilded, pilasters, which stand projecting out of a handsome gallery, the front of which is embellished with some marble figures in *Basso Relievo*, done by *Vincent Vincenti*. In this church we were shewn a picture, representing the magistrates of *Trent* sitting in council; this picture they highly

* This *Simon* (who is here made a saint of) was, I apprehend, a sovereign prince of the *Jews*, and greatly distinguished himself in freeing his country from a foreign yoke. He and his two sons, *Judas* and *Mattathias*, were at last barbarously murdered by *Ptolemy* the son of *Abubus*, who having married one of *Simon's* daughters, and being appointed governor of *Jericho* under him, invited him to a castle he had built in the neighbourhood, to partake of an entertainment he had there provided. *Simon* and his sons suspecting no evil from so near a relation, accepted of the invitation, and went thither; but the perfidious wretch having laid a design for the usurping of the government of *Judea*, hid men in the castle where the entertainment was made, and when his guests had well drunk, he brought forth these murderers upon them, and assassinated all three as they were sitting at the banquet.

See *Prideaux's* Connection,
esteem,

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esteem, as they do another by *Paul Veronese*, the subject of which is, the blessed Virgin and her son *Jesus* attended by angels, who, on their coming down from Heaven, shout forth "*Ecce Agnus Dei.*"

The commanding officer of the troops in *Trent*, started many difficulties to us relative to our future journey through *Germany*; and carried them so far, as to give us great uneasiness. He even advised our returning back again to *Leghorn*, and taking our passage from thence in some ship bound to *England*. In spite however of every thing he alledged to the contrary, we resolved to pursue our plan, and agreeable thereto, this evening about five o'clock left *Trent*, in our way to *Inspruck*. Betwixt these two cities are the following posts.

	Post.	Hours.
From <i>Trent</i> to <i>St. Michael (Weltschmicht)</i>	— 1	of 2
<i>St. Michael</i> to <i>Neumark</i>	— 1	— 1 $\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Neumark</i> to <i>Brandsol</i>	— 1	— 2
<i>Brandsol</i> to <i>Bolsang</i>	— 1	— 2
<i>Bolsang</i> to <i>Teutschben</i>	— 1	— 2
<i>Teutschben</i> to <i>Colman</i> (a post royal)	— 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	— 3
<i>Colman</i> to <i>Brixen</i> (a city)	— 1	— 2
<i>Brixen</i> to <i>Mittlewald</i>	— 1	— 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Mittlewald</i> to <i>Stertzingen</i>	— 1	— 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Stertzingen</i> to <i>Brenner</i>	— 1	— 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Brenner</i> to <i>Stainach</i>	— 1	— 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Stainach</i> to <i>Schenberg</i>	— 1	— 3
<i>Schenberg</i> to <i>Inspruck</i>	— 1	— 3
Total of posts and hours	— 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	— 29 $\frac{3}{4}$

February 11. At *Neumark* we began to pay forty-five creutzers for each horse (sixty make a florin) the same price was continued all through the *Queen of Hungary's* dominions. On the other side of the city of *Trent*, we took notice, that both the men and women's dresses were made in the *Italian* fashion, but since we left *Trent*, the *German* mode has taken place. The male peasants all make use of gallowses to keep up their breeches, and the females wear a thick quilted worsted cap upon their heads. They are also remarkably large and indelicate.

Monday,
February 12.

We slept last night at *Bolsang*, (which for a *Tirolese* town, is a very good one) and this morning set out again on our way for *Inspruck*. In the road between *Brixen* and *Mittlewald*, we passed by an immense quantity of pine trees, many of which being felled, had impregnated the very air with their tarry smell. During this post too, we once more crossed the river *Adige*, by a large bridge. Between *Stertzingen* and *Brenner*, we passed by the highest of all the *Alpine* mountains we had yet seen in our whole journey; and

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* and at the foot of it, we lost sight of the river *Adige*, which rises in some other mountains, to the westward of our present road.

We reached *Innsbruck* about four o'clock in the morning; where we had the pleasure to rest ourselves in a bed, for the first time since our leaving *Trent*. February 13.

Innsbruck is the capital city of *Tirol*, and received its name from the river *Imn*, which runs near it. It has a noble castle or palace, formerly the place of residence of the dukes of the house of *Austria*, and a stately cathedral where they were buried. The houses, though built in the *German* taste, are rather handsome, and the streets though narrow, are remarkably well paved. For the defence of this city, the inhabitants can place but little confidence in the strength of its fortifications, which are very trifling; they seem rather to depend on the natural face and fastnesses of the country, which indeed form a barrier so perfectly inaccessible to any enemy, that even the great *Gustavus Adolphus*, after having over-run with his victorious arms the other parts of *Germany*, could never make any impression upon this part of the empire.

We had scarcely alighted out of our chaises here, before we were visited by the governor of two young *German* noblemen, who proposed to us an exchange of carriages; and the reason he gave for it, was, that their own were not so well fitted for the *Italian* roads, as were ours: we desired however to be excused from closing with this gentleman's proposal.

At half past nine, we left *Innsbruck* for *Augsburgh*, between which two cities are the following posts.

	Post.	Hours.
From <i>Innsbruck</i> to <i>Dorstenbach</i>	1	2½
<i>Dorstenbach</i> to <i>Payervois</i>	1	3
<i>Payervois</i> to <i>Nazareth</i>	1	4
<i>Nazareth</i> to <i>Heidervang</i>	1	3
<i>Heidervang</i> to <i>Fuessen</i>	1	5
<i>Fuessen</i> to <i>Saumester</i>	1	2¾
<i>Saumester</i> to <i>Bruck</i>	1	4
<i>Bruck</i> to <i>Dissen</i>	1	3¾
<i>Dissen</i> to <i>Hurlac</i>	1	2
<i>Hurlac</i> to <i>Augsburgh</i>	2	4
Total of post and hours	11	34

• So pleas'd at first the towering *Alps* we try,
Mount o'er the vales, and seem to touch the sky;
The eternal snows appear already past,
And the first clouds and mountains seem the last:
But those attain'd, we tremble to survey
The growing labours of the lengthen'd way;
Th' increasing prospect tires our wand'ring eyes,
Hills peep o'er hills, and *Alps* on *Alps* arise.

Pope's Essay on Criticism,
Between

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DORSTEN-
BACH.

Between *Innsbruck* and *Dorstenbach*, we found the road tolerably good, although the adjacent *Alps* were covered with snow, and the path in most places full of ice. We had fortunately taken care to have our horses shoes well turned up and frosted, which prevented their slipping, and made us pass over this otherwise troublesome road with little interruption. We had no great reason to find fault with the roads between *Dorstenbach* and *Payervis*; in both which places we observed, that the women wore the same frightful quilted cap, before noticed. Their petticoats were long before, but cut remarkably short behind. Their stockings are very thickly quilted, which occasions the small part of their legs to appear monstrously large and clumsy. These stockings reach no farther up than the calf of the leg; so that whenever the women have occasion to stoop forward, the naked thigh is almost entirely exposed to the view of any person who happens to stand behind them. We were obliged to wait at the obscure village of *Payervis*, full two hours, for a relief of horses; and arrived at *Nazareth* village at eight o'clock in the evening.

NAZARETH.

For the little time we stayed, we were agreeably entertained with a *Tirolese* dance, by the young people of the place. At the opera at *Venice* we had a specimen of this country manner of dancing, whose greatest peculiarity seems to consist in the noise made upon the floor with their wooden shoes. The figure is not much unlike that of our country dances in *England*. We might have had lodgings at the post-house in *Nazareth*, but chose to set out for *Heidervang*; where we arrived at three o'clock in the morning. We here found, that we were now gotten out of the *Tirolese*, and had entered *Swabia*. During this last post, our passport was twice examined, (at *Erenberg* and *Crinberg*) two very narrow passages between the mountains. We found it necessary to give the corporal or serjeant who was on guard, a little money to buy liquor for him and his party: and indeed we were obliged to do the same at all places we passed through in the night, otherwise the opening of the gates would have been attended with great loss of time, and other disagreeable circumstances.

HEIDER-
VANG.

February 14.

Heidervang is a large village, and can accommodate a traveller with a good bed. The road from this place to *Fuessen*, is a very good one, where we arrived about eight o'clock in the morning, having first crossed over the river *Lech*, which is here not very broad. *Fuessen* is a large town; we staid till nine at the post-office, and having refreshed ourselves, set off for *Saumester*, where we arrived at three quarters past eleven, over a very bad road. This village is an insignificant one, and affords but indifferent accommodations. The women here, and for several posts back, wear a long broad belt round their waists, with a strap suspended from it, which reaches almost down to the ground, and to this they tie their keys, knives, scissors, &c. The quilted, woollen cap, which has hitherto given us so much distaste, begins now to be no longer in fashion; but a double one made of linen.

FUESSSEN.

SAUMESTER.

linen has taken place, whose shape is so very extraordinary, that it is difficult to say which of these two head dresses is most unbecoming.

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We did not get to *Bruch* till four in the afternoon, the greatest part of the road being very bad, and extending itself through woods of pine trees. After waiting there an hour and quarter for fresh horses, we set out for *Dissen*, where we arrived at nine o'clock in the evening; and as the roads were too bad for travelling any farther in the night, we put up at the post-house, and were accommodated with some excellent veal-soup, and tolerable good beds.

BRUCH.

DISSEN.

The road from *Dissen* to *Hurlac*, which was our first stage this morning, February 15th is not bad; It lies partly over a plain or down, and partly through woods. We took fresh horses at *Hurlac*, and about four o'clock in the afternoon, got safe to *Augsburgh*.

HURLAC.

Augsburgh is a very large and handsome city, the metropolis of *Swabia*, and situated on that branch of the river *Lech*, which is called *Wertach*. It is a bishopric under the archbishop of *Mentz*, and was made a free imperial city in the ninth century. It has more than once felt the severe effects of war; but, like what is reported of the Phoenix, has as often risen fairer out of its ashes. The streets in general are wide and spacious, and one in particular is the broadest and best paved street I ever saw. The houses are built in the *German* fashion; their fronts are so narrow, that they all appear like the gable ends of buildings, and have such deep roofs, that two, three, four, and sometimes five stories of dormant windows are contained in them. The fronts of every house in the city belonging to people of fashion, are painted. A great number of artificers are employed here, whose curious workmanship in plate, ivory cabinets, watches, &c. is every where admired. An universal liberty of conscience is allowed and the Protestants and Papists have an equal share in the government of the city. It is famous also for the *Confession of faith* drawn up by *Melanchton* and other *Lutherans* and presented to the emperor *Charles V.* at a diet of the empire, hence called the *Augsburgh* confession; and for the *Confederate Treaty* against the growing power of *France* in 1683.

AUGS-
BURGH.

Our first step after our arrival, was to wait upon *Mynbeer Libert*, a *Dutch* merchant residing here, to whom our letters of credit were addressed. We afterwards paid our respects to *Mynbeer Aman*, another *Dutch* gentleman, to whose favours Mr. *Udny* of *Venice* had been so obliging as to recommend us. From both these gentlemen, we had the satisfaction to be assured, that we had nothing disagreeable to apprehend from the *French* forces quartered at *Frankfort*; as the prince de *Soubise*, upon being applied to by a friend of his at *Nuremberg* to grant a passport for Mr. *Doidge* and his party, had written word, (though his answer unfortunately did not arrive till after Mr. *Doidge* had left the place) that it was quite unnecessary, seeing they

they

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they were sufficiently protected from every insult by that which had already been given them by the Imperial ambassador at *Venice*. We have often in our present journey experienced the good effects of the unparalleled success attending the *British* arms this year in all parts of the world, having upon that account, been treated with the greatest deference and respect in the several countries through which we had passed.

Between *Augsburgh* and *Franckfort* on the *Maine*, are the following posts.

	Post.	Hours.
From <i>Augsburgh</i> to <i>Mittingen</i>	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ of 3
<i>Mittingen</i> to <i>Donawert</i>	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 4 $\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Donawert</i> to <i>Vendete</i>	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 4 $\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Vendete</i> to <i>Heyding</i>	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Heyding</i> to <i>Dinkefpukel</i>	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 3
<i>Dinkefpukel</i> to <i>Kreilsheim</i>	—	1 — 4
<i>Kreilsheim</i> to <i>Blaufelden</i>	—	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 5 $\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Blaufelden</i> to <i>Mergantheim</i>	—	1 — 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Mergantheim</i> to <i>Bickbastein</i>	—	1 — 3
<i>Bickbastein</i> to <i>Huntein</i>	—	1 — 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Huntein</i> to <i>Milttenbourg</i>	—	1 — 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Milttenbourg</i> to <i>Offenbourg</i>	—	1 — 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Offenbourg</i> to <i>Aschaffembourg</i>	—	1 — 2
<i>Aschaffembourg</i> to <i>Dettingen</i>	—	1 — 2
<i>Dettingen</i> to <i>Hanau</i>	—	1 — 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Hanau</i> to <i>Franckfort</i> on the <i>Maine</i>	—	1 — 1 $\frac{1}{4}$

Total of posts and hours — 19 55

February 16.

We left *Augsburgh* a little before eight this morning, and did not get to *Mittingen* till eleven, having had a deep and heavy road to pass over. The lands hereabouts are only in part cultivated, vast forests extending themselves on every side, more particularly to the eastward. Indeed we have had forests in our view, with very little interruption, ever since we left the *Alps*.

DONAWERT.

We reached *Donawert* * at half past three in the afternoon, and should have taken fresh horses for *Nordlingen*, and from thence to *Dinkefpukel* (which was our proper road) but our *Swiss* servant contenting himself with barely telling the post-master, that we were going to *Franckfort*, orders were given by him to the postilions to drive us to *Vendete*, which blunder was followed by great loss of time, and the unnecessary expence of a post extraordinary.

* A fortified town, and famous for two victories gained in its neighbourhood by the great duke of *Marlborough*. The first, was over the duke of *Barvaria*, who was intrenched at *Schellenberg* with sixteen thousand *French* and *Bavarians*. The second was at *Blenheim*, where a *French* army of sixty thousand men, under *Marshal Tallard*, was almost entirely destroyed.

The

The journey from *Donawert* to *Vendete*, took us up five hours and half. The first part of the road was hard and stony, the latter was deep, heavy, and sloughy, so that we did not get to our inn till twelve o'clock at night.

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VENDETE.

Between seven and eight this morning, we set off for *Heyding*, and reached it about ten. This is a large garrison town, and in coming to it, we passed over a river, which empties itself into the *Danube*. Without stopping long at *Heyding*, we drove on for *Dinkespukel*, and arrived there in about four hours. This is a considerable large town, and has a garrison constantly kept in it.

February 17.

HEYDINO.

DINKES-

PUKEL.

The men of the lower class here, and in many other towns of *Germany*, wear a coat made of a coarse green frieze cloth; while those of the better fort, make use of a superfine one of the same colour, and line it with furs. The first imitate the *Dutch* in the cut of their clothes, the last the *French*. On the several roads in *Germany* you are sure to find the image of a crucified Saviour nailed to a cross, accompanied by the two thieves, cut out in wood as large as life; in the same manner as you meet with a *Virgin Mary* in *Italy*, stuck up in a case with the infant *Jesus* in her arms.

We left *Dinkespukel* at a quarter after three in the afternoon, and got to *Kreilshheim* in four hours. This is a large town, and has two walls round it. We slept at the post-office, but met with very indifferent accommodations.

KREIL-
SHEIM.

At half past seven this morning, we left *Kreilshheim*, in our way for *Blaufelden*, which we reached at one o'clock in the afternoon. The first part of the road was good, the last scarcely passable. The post-master here was a very entertaining man, and gave us some excellent *Vine-rotii*. Between seven and eight in the evening, we got to *Mergantheim*. Our being so long in travelling this post, was owing to a great deal of snow having fallen last night, and to-day: *Mergantheim* is a fortified town, and has always a good garrison. The country round it is in general cultivated, but in a very slovenly manner.

February 18.

BLAUFEL-
DEN.MERGAN-
THEIM.

We left our beds at one o'clock this morning, and set off for *Bickhausen*, where we did not arrive till after six: the spring of my carriage unfortunately broke, by which accident more than an hour was lost before it could be properly secured with cords. As soon as we had changed our horses at *Bickhausen*, we went on for *Huntein*, and reached it about a quarter after nine o'clock. The road we travelled over, was composed of stone and sand, and in many places so rugged, as to be very trying to our carriages. During this post, we saw two or three flocks of sheep, a sight altogether new to us since we passed the *Alps*. In our whole journey hitherto through *Germany*, we have not been able to procure the least morsel of mutton at any of the public

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BICKHAS-
TEN.

HUNTEIN.

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public houses, veal being the only butcher's meat we have been served with. Forests are still about us, whose timber chiefly consists of oak and fir. The sides of the hills in this country are formed into regular stairs, and neatly disposed into vineyards, which is a piece of husbandry we have not before seen, since we left *Italy*.

The dress of the women's heads hereabouts, differs from that of the *Italians* and *Tirolese*. Their caps are of another make, and they keep their mouths muffled in the same manner, as the *Armenian* women do in *Asia*. The last adopt this custom through modesty, but probably the reason for the *German* females doing it at this time, is to defend their lips from the severity of the weather. The several apartments of the houses in *Germany*, are all made warm by close stoves. The fire is never seen in the rooms, neither have they any chimnies in them, but this occasions the air to be disagreeable and unwholesome.

MILTEN-
BOURG.OFFEN-
BOURG.

We got to *Milttenbourg* from *Huntein* a little after one o'clock in the afternoon; from whence we set out for *Offenbourg*, and arrived there at a quarter after two. *Offenbourg* is seated on the south side of the river *Maine*, a large, but old fashioned, ill-built town. The houses, like those of the other places I have seen in *Germany*, have too great a quantity of timber in them; so much, that should a fire at any time take place amongst them, the consequences must be dreadful! The country-houses belonging to the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood, are large, and heavily built; they have generally domes, and four towers around them.

At half after three o'clock in the afternoon, we left *Offenbourg*, and continued to travel on the left, or south side of the *Maine*, whose banks are here neatly cultivated, and formed into the same kind of vineyards, before noticed, with flights of steps, all faced with stone, and therefore in the summer season, must afford a very pleasing view from the river. On the lands adjacent, many flocks of sheep are now feeding, and various sorts of wild-fowl swimming in the stream.

ASCHAFFEN-
BOURG.

At half past five we reached *Aschaffembourg*, a well-fortified town belonging to the elector of *Mayence* or *Mentz*, who has a spacious, but inelegant palace here. The place stands partly on a hill, and partly in a bottom, and has a good stone bridge of twelve arches built over the *Maine*. Fifteen hundred *French* troops were in garrison, at the time of our arrival. We fell into conversation at the post-office with an obliging, sensible *Abbe* of that nation, who advised us not to entertain a thought of going farther than *Dettingen* for the night, as he was very confident that the gates of *Hanau* would not be opened for us until the morning. We left *Aschaffembourg* at six in the evening, and at eight reached the village of *Dettingen*.

This once obscure village was made famous by the victory gained here in the year 1743, by King *George* the second over the *French* army commanded by Marshal *Noailles*. The fellow, at whose wretched cottage we lay, seemed very fond of relating the several particulars of this engagement, and was especially solicitous to shew us a hole in one of the beams of his house, which, he said, was made by a ball from the *British* artillery. He dwelt particularly, and with an apparent pleasure, on the spirited attack of the *English*, and the confusion of the *French*, when they made their precipitate retreat over the *Maine*. My fellow-traveller Mr. *Tottingham*, and I, were obliged to put up with one bed in this miserable hovel; we lay with our clothes on, and our servants slept in the same room on straw. These were the best accommodations we could procure from our *Dettingen* host; and yet, the money we paid the next morning (to the value of three shillings) did not satisfy, the woman of the house telling us, that as we were *Englishmen*, we ought to have deposited a sequin at least (near ten shillings); and she insisted that her bed was the best in the whole village, and that a great man, a *German Baron*, having lately slept in it, pronounced it to be a very good one.

At six o'clock this morning, we left the village of *Dettingen*, and at half past seven reached *Hanau*, which is a well-fortified city, having a double wall, and two wet ditches. The *French* are at present in possession of it, and maintain a large garrison here. The streets are broad and well-paved, and the houses large and handsome. The country around is well cultivated, and the town is supplied with water from the *Maine* by artificial canals. On our entering the inner gate, we were conducted by the serjeant stationed there, to the *French* captain who commanded the main-guard. He looked at our passports, and civilly dismissed us.

The women in general here wear a quilted linnen cap, which coming a long way down the sides of the face, even below the chin, is then turned back, and pinned over the shoulders. They make use of a long cloak also, made of quilted linnen. The women of better fashion appeared to dress in the *English* and *French* manner.

At half past ten o'clock, we arrived at *Franckfort*; a free, imperial city, very large and populous; and the place where the Emperors of *Germany* were formerly always elected. It is well-fortified with a double ditch, bastions, redoubts, and ravelins. The streets are remarkably wide, and the houses handsomely built. By means of the navigable river which runs through it, this city has great conveniency for carrying on an extensive trade with the other parts of *Germany*, and the two fairs held here annually are very considerable. The suburbs are called *Saxenhausen*, and are joined to the city by a stone-bridge, built over the *Maine*. Our first intention was to have proceeded immediately on, without making any stay at *Franckfort*; but Mr. *Hope*, who keeps a house of public entertainment there, persuaded

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suaded us to put off our going till the next day, because it would take up some time to provide a proper boat, and to lay in such provisions as would be necessary in our passage down the *Rhine*. We begged also the favour of Mr. *Hope* to make an agreement for a boat, as the sum demanded of us, 130 florins, appeared to be very extravagant, for carrying us only as far as *Cologne*. Mr. *Hope* informed us, that although 15 ducats had been the customary price, yet considering the great change which had lately happened in the country by means of the *French* army, and the extraordinary expence which the boatmen were now at for horses to draw their boats back, he did not think we should be much imposed upon, if we could settle it at 18 or 19 ducats. We had no objection to his fixing the matter on this footing, but desired him, that he would take particular care in making the agreement, that the boatmen should not be allowed to encumber the boat with any kind of merchandise or goods. This, upon Mr. *Hope's* proposing it to them, they readily agreed to, and the terms were committed to writing.

February 21.

A little after eight o'clock in the morning, we embarked, and to our great surprize found the best of the three cabbins or rooms as they are called, filled with merchants goods. The boatman, without paying any regard to our remonstrances for the great injustice he had done us, very unconcernedly put off from the shore, and upon our giving him orders to land us, again, he refused to do it, and kept sailing down the river. We hailed some *French* officers, who were along-side of us in another boat, telling them how we had been treated, and desiring their advice and assistance in the affair; who replied, that they themselves were under much the same circumstances, but that at *Mentz*, or *Cologne*, justice would certainly be done us.

MAYENCE OR
MENTZ.

At half past three in the afternoon, we left the river *Maine*, and entered the *Rhine*, and by four, got to the city of *Mentz*, an archbishop's see, and the first of the electoral college. Its fortifications towards the river are inconsiderable, but we were told, that towards the land they are remarkably strong. It is a very large populous place, built much in the same taste as *Franckfort* and other *German* cities, and would have been esteemed handsome in *England*, an hundred and fifty years ago. The streets are narrow but well paved, and are all supplied with water from the river by means of artificial canals, which prevent any offensive smells arising from the common sewers.—A bridge of boats reaches from this city to the opposite shore of the *Rhine*.

In the way to our inn, from the river's side, we stept into two of the principal churches; they stand close to each other, are both built in the Gothic taste, and contain some altar-pieces and tombs which are well worth seeing. In the cathedral, we were shewn the monuments of many of the archbishops of *Mentz*, who were also electors of the empire. Over their

their tombs are several of their statues cut out in marble, with the coats of arms belonging to their respective families. In this cathedral the bones of St. *Alexander**, and two of his fellow-sufferers in martyrdom, lie deposited in three several caskets, which are always shewn to the strangers who visit it. They are kept in the middle of a square open *Mausoleum*, within the choir, which is ornamented with handsome marble pillars at its four angles, and a beautiful carved foliage is carried from the architrave of one pillar to that of another. Here is also a well-toned, handsome organ, with a canopy of gold and silver tissue, in which the miracle of our Saviour's raising *Lazarus* from the dead, is curiously worked. The pulpit too is elegantly finished, being set off with pillars and pilasters made of alabaster, on whose bases are some good *Basso* and *Alto Relievos*. We did not see either the archbishop's palace, or the arsenal, because the person whose business was to shew them, could not be found.

Mentz stands on the left hand, as you go down the *Rhine*, near the junction of that river with the *Maine*. Here our boatman disembarked the merchandise which had so justly given us offence. He would have left the city early in the morning, as soon at least as the gates had been opened, but was prevented by a very thick fog, which did not disperse till one o'clock in the afternoon, when we got on board again, but got no farther than *Bingen* that evening, our watermen refusing to proceed but by day-light. *Bingen* is a considerable town, situate at the mouth of the river *Nabe*, which here empties itself into the *Rhine*. It is distant about 16 *English* miles from *Mentz*.

We left *Bingen* this morning, and had a thick, small rain for the whole day. I mention this, because it is the first rain we have met with, since our leaving the *Lazaretto* at *Leghorn*. We were almost continually passing by towns and villages on both sides of the river. Vineyards also are all around us on the hills, and bear the appearance of hanging gardens even at this season of the year; they form a most romantic and delightful prospect. This day we sailed by the famous island of rats, where *Hatto*, the wicked archbishop of *Mentz*, is said to have been devoured alive by those animals.

At six o'clock in the evening, we reached a small town, called *Loenstein*, from the river *Loen* which here falls into the *Rhine*, and continued there for the night.

* I apprehend that the St. *Alexander* here mentioned, was *Alexander the first*, Pope of Rome; who ordered holy water in its benediction to be mingled with salt, and sprinkled in private houses, "*Ad demona morbosque fugandos*," to drive away devils and diseases; and water to be mingled with the wine, as a token of Christ's union with his church.—He was martyred in *Adrian's* time. See Abridgment of *MORERI's* Dictionary, published in 1703.

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February 24.
COBLENZ.

At seven this morning we put off our boats from *Loenstein*, the weather very foggy, and at half after two got to *Coblentz*. This city is very large and populous, and the metropolis of the electorate and archbishopric of *Treves*. It is pleasantly situated on a point of land, which is formed by the meeting of the *Moselle* and *Rhine*. Over the first of these rivers, is a large stone bridge of twelve arches, built for the convenience of the inhabitants of *Coblentz*, and the adjacent places. A ferry machine is constantly going from the city to the other side of the *Rhine*, where is a little town, and a very strong castle built on an eminence, stiled "The rock of honour;" in the *German* language, *Ehrenbriestein*. The ferry-machine is built on two boats in the form of a large square gallery, encompassed with balustrades, and carries a tall flag-staff, on which are displayed the arms of the electorate of *Treves*. This machine is put in motion, by the ferryman's pulling a rope, which is fixed to a standard on each side of the river. The castle appears to be almost inaccessible to an enemy, and entirely commands the city of *Coblentz*. The archbishop's palace stands at the foot of the same rock on which the castle is built, and the arsenal at a little distance from the palace.

ANDERNACH.

At three quarters after eleven at night, we got to *Andernach*; which is a fortified town, situate on the western side of the *Rhine*, and at the entrance of a fine open country, the mountains which hitherto had reached quite down to the river, ending just before we arrived at this place. Here our boatman paid a toll, as indeed he had done before at many other places in our passage down the river.

February 25.
BON.

At eight o'clock this morning we got to *Bon*, after having lain by, and slept all night in our boat. The city of *Bon* is the usual residence of the Elector of *Cologne*, whose castle and gardens are very curious. The fortifications of the city at this time are very considerable, and in the year 1703 this place cost the Duke of *Marlborough* twenty days open trenches before he took it.

COLOGNE.

At half past one o'clock, we arrived at *Cologne*, a rich and populous city, and said to be the largest in *Germany*. It is built in the form of a crescent, and by some called the *Holy City* from the great number of churches in it, which amount to some hundreds; among them you are shewn the reputed tombs of the three wise men, who visited our Saviour by the guidance of a star, commonly called the three Kings of *Cologne*. It is well fortified towards the land, and has a strong wall next the *Rhine*. Five regiments of *French* soldiers now make up the garrison. Immediately on our landing, we repaired to the *Hotel d'Holland*, and after refreshing ourselves, intended to have proceeded directly on our journey by land; but on sending our servants to the post-house for horses, we had the mortification to find, that there was no possibility of getting any till the next morning, every one belonging to the post-

post-master having been hired yesterday to carry people to *Bon*, where an *Italian* opera, and other diversions, are to be exhibited this night. 1759.

Horses were sent to us this morning earlier than we expected, and we set off from *Cologne* at half after nine o'clock, with three to each carriage, the number which is commonly made use of on the *German* roads. The posts from *Cologne* to *Cleves* and *Nimeguen*, are as follow, Monday, February 26.

	Posts.	Hours.
From <i>Cologne</i> to <i>Dormain</i> —	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Dormain</i> to <i>Nuys</i> —	1	2
<i>Nuys</i> to <i>Hochstrat</i> —	2	9
<i>Hochstrat</i> to <i>Santen</i> —	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Santen</i> to <i>Cleves</i> —	2	4
<i>Cleves</i> to <i>Nimeguen</i> —	2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total of posts and hours —	10	27 $\frac{3}{4}$

Nuys, *Hochstrat*, *Santen*, and *Cleves*, are *Prussian* posts, and not regulated by the *German* post-office. We pay by the stone, mile or hour, either of which is equal to about an *English* league.

We drove over a fine champain country, leaving the *Rhine* at a little distance on our right hand, and between eleven and twelve o'clock, got to *Dormain*; we staid only a quarter of an hour to change horses, and then set off for *Nuys*, where we arrived a little before two in the afternoon. *Nuys* is a considerable town, subject to the King of *Prussia*, but the *French* have made themselves masters thereof, and of the several other places belonging to that monarch in the low-countries. They have a regiment of cavalry quartered here at present, who, while we staid to refresh ourselves, very agreeably entertained us with several tunes on their *French* horns. We left *Nuys* between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and travelling over a most charming, and well-cultivated country, by eleven at night, we reached the small village of *Hochstrat*; and during the time that fresh horses were getting ready for us, we threw ourselves on some chairs, and took a little sleep.

Here we must bid adieu to the gay livery-dress of our postilions; and are now to be drove by plowmen both in dress and behaviour. In *Italy* the postilions wear a coat of blue cloth turned up with red, a laced hat, and carry a small *French*-horn across their shoulders, decked with tassels. In the southernmost parts of *Germany*, the postilion's livery is always of a red cloth. As you advance farther northward, it changes to a yellow faced with black, and the *French*-horn at every hundred miles distance, gradually increases in its size. Our present shabby postilions have the vanity also to carry a horn, and expect that the same respect shall be paid by all travellers to its sound,

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as has been done to the horns of their well-dressed brethren. The fellow who drove us to *Hochstrat*, did not ride one of the horses, but seated himself on a low box, and made use of a long whip.

February 27.
RHINEBERG.

At half past two this morning, we left *Hochstrat*, and at five got to the gates of *Rhineberg*. The *French* are also in possession of this place, and have a garrison quartered in it. The gates however were opened to us without a question being asked relative to our passports. This town is situated on the western side of the *Rhine*, and at about a mile and half distance from it. The country round this place is very pleasant, and well cultivated. Since we entered the *Prussian* territories, we have frequently met with direction posts on the road, which though of great assistance to a stranger, are not to be seen in countries more to the southward.

SANTEN.

At twenty minutes after eight o'clock, we got to a small eminence, and discovered the town of *Santen* lying at the foot of it. We had likewise in our view a most beautiful vale, very broad and extensive, with the river *Rhine* running through the midst of it. From this eminence, we could plainly discover several spires belonging to the churches in *Cleves*. We reached *Santen* at nine o'clock in the morning. This town also belongs to the King of *Prussia*, but is at present under the subjection of the *French*, who have raised enormous contributions here, to the impoverishment of the poor inhabitants.

CLEVES.

We left *Santen* at half past nine o'clock, and at two in the afternoon arrived at the post-office of *Cleves*, which stands just without the gates of the city. From hence we were obliged to send a servant with our passports to the officer commanding the *French* garrison, with a request that he would give an order to the post-master to supply us with six horses. The officer complied with our desires, but not before he had put several questions to the servant relating to our journey and characters, and expressed great surprise at our thus venturing to pass through the armies of the *Grand Monarch*.

Cleves is a considerable city, seated on an eminence, about four miles from the *Rhine*. We travelled towards it over a very sandy road, of a long but gradual ascent, having both on the right and left hand of us, a double row of fine elm-trees, which had a pretty effect, and greatly add to the agreeable situation of the place, and the beauties of its environs. We left *Cleves* at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at six arrived at *Nimeguen*.

NIMEGUEN.

This city is large, and strongly fortified, and the streets are well paved and regular. It is under the government of the *States General*. Our stay at *Nimeguen* was so short, that I will not pretend to give a particular description

scription of it. I was exceedingly struck however with the neatness and cleanliness of the houses, for which, here, and indeed throughout the whole of the United Provinces, the *Dutch* are so justly celebrated *. 1759.

Between ten and eleven o'clock this morning, we embarked in a boat February 28. we hired here to carry us to *Rotterdam*, for which we agreed to pay forty guilders; and at half after five in the afternoon, we got to a considerable town seated, as *Nimeguen* is, on the left-hand side of the river *Waal*, called *Bommel*. The wind not being fair for us, our skipper steered the boat to the right-hand side of the river, to lie by for the night: we therefore went ashore, and repaired to a small neat public-house, where we met with the best accommodations.

We re embarked this morning at seven o'clock, and at ten passed by *Lovef- tein* castle. In half an hour more we reached *Gorcum*, a considerable town, seated on the right-hand side of the river. The whole country about us is flat and low, but at the same time looks extremely rich. An infinite number of willows are regularly planted all along the banks of the river, which in the summer season must form one of the most delightful prospects in the world. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we got abreast of *Dort*, a large town, and very considerable port, famous for the Protestant synod held here in 1618. At half past six we arrived at *Rotterdam*, where we had the satisfaction to receive letters from our families and friends in *England*, agreeable to instructions we had given them from *Legborn*.

This is the richest town of the seven united provinces, except *Amsterdam*, with clean, regular streets, and canals so cut that the largest ships can come up to the very doors of the merchants. We visited their anatomical school, and were shewn the most curious preparations laid up there, but did not find them comparable to some we had before seen in *England*. This city being the birth-place of *Erasmus*, we had the curiosity to go and see his statue, which is well executed in bronze. We visited also the ex-

* "The extreme moisture of the air I take to be the occasion of the great neatness of their houses, and cleanliness of their towns. For without the help of those customs their country would not be habitable by such crowds of people, but the air would corrupt upon every hot season, and expose the inhabitants to general and infectious diseases, which they hardly escape three summers together, especially about *Leyden*, where the waters are not so easily renewed; and for this reason, I suppose it is, that *Leyden* is found to be the neatest and cleanest kept, of all their towns.

The same moisture of air makes all metals apt to rust, and wood to mould; which forces them, by continual pains of rubbing and scouring, to seek a prevention, or cure: this makes the brightness and cleanness that seems affected in their houses, and is called natural to them, by people who think no further. So the deepness of their soil, and wetness of seasons, which will render it unpassable, forces them, not only to exactness in paving their streets, but to the expence of so long causeways between many of their towns, and in their high-ways: as indeed, most national customs are the effect of some unseen, or unobserved natural causes or necessities."

Sir W. Temple's Observations on the United Provinces, vol. 1.

1759.

change for merchants, and the great church, whose foundation we were told gave way so much, soon after the edifice was finished, that it appeared to be in great danger of falling; by a proper and curious application however of the mechanical powers, the defect was perfectly remedied, and this building now stands as upright, as any other of the churches in the city.

At *Rotterdam* we intended to have disposed of our *Italian* chaises, which had cost us near forty pounds each, but not being able to get more than about eight sequins for them, we resolved to have them conveyed to *England*, in expectation that it would answer better to sell them there. And Mr. *Rose* (a *British* merchant who resided here) was so obliging as to agree with the master of a ship to land mine at *Portsmouth*, for three pounds ten shillings. We had been told at *Leghorn*, that we should be able to sell our carriages at *Rotterdam* for two-thirds at least of what they cost us; but we experienced quite the contrary, and the reason is, because our *English* gentlemen, who used to be travelling abroad, are by the present war confined at home; consequently these foreign carriages are now of little use or value.

March 3.
HELVOETS-
LUYS.

At nine o'clock in the evening, we embarked in a ketch for *Helvoetsluys*, and by three quarters after nine in the morning, arrived there, disembarked, and put up at a public house kept by Mr. *Fell* an *Englishman*. *Helvoetsluys* is a clean, little sea-port town, where the packet-boats, which pass between *England* and *Holland*, are always stationed. At the upper end of the town, is a large basin, in which lie three or four *Dutch* ships of war, in ordinary.

March 4.

At eight this morning, we went on board the packet-boat, and made sail for *England*; but at five in the afternoon, the wind coming from the west, we were obliged to put back, and in a few hours got again to *Helvoetsluys*.

Monday,
March 5.

This morning at eleven o'clock, we once more put to sea, and in a few hours discovered a sail, bearing down towards us, whom we suspected to be an enemy. The master of a *Dutch* vessel assured us, that the ship in sight was a *French* privateer, upon which we altered our course, and pretended as if we were putting back to *Helvoetsluys*; but at six in the evening, when it became dark, the master put the packet about, and stood for the northward, by which means we had the good luck to escape the enemy, and at half past eleven the next morning, had the unspeakable joy of entering the long wished-for port of *Harwich*.

HARWICH.

Thus after an irksome absence of more than five years, and a journey attended with such a series of disappointment, difficulty, and illness, I once more safely landed on my native shore; and in thirty-six hours afterwards, was made

1759.

TITCH-
FIELD.

completely happy in the sight and embraces of my family and friends at *Titchfield in Hampshire*. On such an occasion, could I help adopting the sentiment and expressions of the Psalmist? "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits. I will publish with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of all his wonderful works. For he hath defended me from the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and from the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. He has given his angels charge over me, and at length brought me to the desired habitation."

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

MEDICAL AND CHIRURGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

TO avoid interruptions in the narrative, I omitted to enlarge on the several diseases with which the squadron was afflicted. I shall now treat of that subject more distinctly, as forming a part of the history of the expedition, and I have to offer what I have to offer will be of some service to the general interests of the navy.

On this occasion I beg leave to carry the reader as far back as the 1st of March 1784, when Mr. Weston left Plymouth with all his ships, and arrived in perfect health. In the months of May and June following several disorders took place in the squadron, and in spite of the united efforts of all our officers, who ordered the decks to be constantly swept and scraped, and the ventilators to be daily used, by the 9th of July, when we arrived at Madagascar, they had increased to great a degree, that the ship alone had buried twelve men, besides a large number who were reduced to such an extremity, that they must have died, had we continued only a few days more at sea.

The disorders under which the King's people laboured at this time, were principally Putrid Fevers, and Putrid Fluxes, which though common to hot climates, were, I believe, considerably increased by the great quantities of stork-fish and other provisions stowed in the ship-room and between the guns of the lower deck; the fish becoming putrid by the heat of the weather, and by their long continuance there, emitted such a noxious vapour, as made the air in every part of the ship below, unfit for respiration. Besides, by this time the sea water had unavoidably made its way through the chinks of the ports and hawse-holes, and by its stinking effluvia had greatly added to the contagion.

A P P E N D I X.

Nº. I.

MEDICAL and CHIRURGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

TO avoid interruptions in the narrative, I omitted to enlarge on the several diseases with which the squadron was afflicted. I shall now treat of that subject more distinctly, as something of this kind will certainly be expected from a person of my profession; and I flatter myself, that, although I mean to be concise, yet, what I have to offer will be of some service to the general interests of the navy.

On this occasion I beg leave to carry the reader as far back as the 9th of *March* 1754, when Mr. *Watson* left *Plymouth* with all his ships companies in perfect health. In the months of *May* and *June* following, several disorders took place in the squadron, and in spite of the united efforts of all our officers, who ordered the decks to be constantly swept and scraped, and the ventilators to be daily used, by the 9th of *July*, when we arrived at *Madagascar*, they had increased to so great a degree, that the *Kent* alone had buried twelve men, besides a large number who were reduced to such an extremity, that they must have died, had we continued only a few days more at sea.

The disorders under which the *Kent's* people laboured at this time, were principally *Putrid Fevers*, and *Putrid Fluxes*; which though common to hot climates, were, I believe, considerably increased by the great quantities of stock-fish and other provisions stowed in the fish-room and between the guns of the lower deck: the fish becoming putrid by the heat of the weather, and by their long continuance there, emitted such a noxious smell, as made the air, in every part of the ship below, unfit for respiration. Besides, by this time the sea water had unavoidably made its way through the chinks of the ports and hawse-holes, and by its stinking effluvia had greatly added to the contagion.

It would be almost needless, to describe the particular manner in which I treated those patients, while they lay on board, as there was nothing uncommon in my practice; it will be sufficient to observe, that I made it my principal care, to keep them as clean in their persons and births as possible; to purify the air around them as much as lay in my power; and not only antiseptic medicines were administered, but wines, punch, and culinary assistances were daily sent them from the admiral's, captain's, and lieutenants stores. Indeed, it is to these acts of humanity in the officers, and to the unwearied diligence of the surgeon's mates in seeing these supplies properly applied, that the preservation of many of their lives must be attributed. I have observed in the voyage, that at our landing on the island of *Madagascar*, where we met with a variety of fresh provisions and vegetables, especially those of the acid kind, our sick people were restored to their health and strength in a very short time; and only four of those who were put on shore from on board the *Kent*, died. The Squadron left that island on the seventh of *August*, and arrived at *Fort St. David* on the 10th of *September* following, in a condition as to health, that was by no means to be called bad; but we thought it prudent, (notwithstanding we were so soon to sail for *Bombay*) to send on shore to the hospital 78 of the most sickly of our ships crews, most of whom were labouring either under scorbutic or bilious complaints; for bilious disorders begun to make their appearance among us soon after our getting to *India*. The scurvy however was now become the most predominant distemper, which was undoubtedly owing to our sea passage from *Madagascar* to *Fort St. David*.

Between the 14th of *November* 1754 and the 14th of *February* in the following year, 104 patients were sent from two ships to the hospital at *Bombay*, who chiefly laboured under scurvies and fluxes. There were some also very ill in bilious fevers; the fluxes were either of the scorbutic or bilious sort. At this period likewise, the scurvy appears to have been the most prevailing distemper, which perhaps was in a great measure owing to its being the winter season.

On the *Coromandel* coast, between the 24th of *January* 1755, and the 24th of *October* following, we received at the hospitals, from the *Kent*, *Cumberland*, *Tyger*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater*, and *King's-fisher*, 1214* patients, of whom 168 only were in scurvies; the much greater part of the rest were down in bilious fevers, bilious fluxes, or some other disorder that discovered an overflowing of the bile in the constitution. As this was the summer

* The reader is not to suppose by 1214 patients, that so many distinct persons were sent sick from the ships; for the compliment of the whole Squadron at any one time did not exceed 1800; he is to be apprised, that the same man may have been sent to the hospital, and after being cured, discharged; then sent again on account of a relapse, or his being seized with another disorder, within the time mentioned in this account.—This observation is to be applied on every future occasion.

season, it will sufficiently account for the number of my scorbutic patients being very trifling, in comparison of those who were afflicted with bilious complaints.

At *Bombay*, between the 10th of *November* 1755, and the 27th of *April* 1756, we received into the hospital from the whole squadron 1334 patients, of whom 514 were in scurvies, and scorbutic fluxes. The rest were diseased with various hepatic complaints, common disorders, or cases of surgery. Here it is worthy of remark, that this was the winter season, when the scurvy again became the predominant distemper among us.

On the *Coromandel* coast, between *April* 1756, and the 12th of *October* following, we received into the hospital from all the ships 847 patients, of whom 132 were in scurvies, 108 in bilious fevers, 163 in bilious fluxes, and 223 in bilious obstructions. The remaining 221 were down in various disorders, but even in most of these, the bile was predominant. A very few chirurgical and venereal complaints are to be excepted.—This again was the summer season, and we see plainly, that bilious disorders were by much the most prevalent during this period.

On board the *Protector* an occasional hospital ship in *Bengal* river, and at the hospital at *Calcutta*, between the 25th of *December* 1756, and the 8th of *February* 1757, we received 455 patients from the king's ships, of whom 72 were in the worst stage of the scurvy, 27 in convulsions of the bowels from a scorbutic case, co-operating probably with the muddy water of the river; 12 in putrid fevers, and the remaining 104 were ill of various disorders, all of which, except a few cases of surgery, partook of the scurvy. Out of the whole number received into the hospital here, I find, that at the close of the first quarterly account, we buried 27 men: a particular mention of the number of the dead, may be proper to exhibit a comparative view of the mortality attending the diseases of the squadron in *Bengal*, and our other settlements in *India*. Here my former observation respecting the difference of seasons, once more holds good, for these being the winter months, the scorbutic disorders greatly increased, while those of the bilious kind decreased in the same proportion. I must add, that the squadron just before had a long and fatiguing passage of seven weeks from the *Coromandel* coast to the river of *Bengal*; which doubtless was an additional reason why the scurvy so greatly prevailed at this time.

At *Calcutta*, between the 8th of *February* 1757 and the 7th of *August* following, we received into the hospital 1140 patients, of whom 54 were ill in scurvies, 302 in bilious fevers, 109 in intermittents, 16 in measles, 32 in bilious and bloody fluxes, 56 in bilious cholics, 21 in venereal complaints; and 155 were chirurgical cases. Out of the whole number we buried 52 men. It is necessary here to observe, that much the greater part of this time, the weather was exceedingly hot and dry; consequently, during

during that season, bilious diseases were most predominant: afterwards, when the rains had set in, the intermittents began to make their appearance.

At the same place, between the 7th of *August* 1757, and the 7th of *November* following, (during the greater part of which period, the weather being sultry and rainy), we received into the hospital 717 fresh patients, besides 430 who were there before; so that in the whole we had in this interval 1147 on shore. Among the 717 which were taken in last, there were 20 only in scurvies, 147 in putrid fevers, 304 in intermitting fevers, 19 in putrid bloody fluxes, 155 in putrid fluxes; 10 in bilious obstructions, 6 in inflammations of the bowels; 6 in consumptions, and 19 cases of surgery. The 41 unaccounted for, were made up of men labouring under various disorders, but such as in general discovered a putrescent disposition in the constitution. Out of the whole number that were in the hospital at this time, we buried 101, which added to those we had before lost in the *Protektor*, and in the hospital, since our arrival in the river, (which took in no more than 10 months and 13 days) make our whole loss to amount to 180. And this is exclusive of such as had been slain in battle, or who had died on board their respective ships before a provision had been made for their reception in the *Protektor*, or on shore. So that (as will soon be shewn) the number of men buried in *Bengal*, amounted to more than half of all who died in the several hospitals in *India*, during the whole time of Admiral *Watson's* command, and for some short time after his death, including a period of three years, one month, and 14 days.

Thus far it is evident, that in the *winter season*, and during a long continuance at sea, the *scurvy* is the disease to which sailors are most subject in hot climates; that in the *summer months*, when the weather is hot and dry, *bilious fevers* and *fluxes* are the prevailing distempers; and that *putrid fluxes* and *intermittents* are particularly incidental to *European* sailors in the sultry and rainy seasons at *Bengal*.

I shall now produce as exact an account as our hospital books will admit, of every patient received at different times into the several hospitals in *India*, from the 13th of *September* 1754, to the 7th of *November* 1757, which includes the whole of the time they were under my care; and to each particular disease, I shall put the number of those who died in it. The whole number received into the hospitals, amounted to 6062. Among these, there were ill in

Fluxes under different names 1819, of whom died 97.

Scurvies 1103, died 11.

Fevers of different sorts 900, died 42.

Intermittents 547, died 17.

Bilious obstructions 536, died 10.

Rheumatisms 103, died 2.

Inflammations

Inflammations of the bowels 83, died 5.
 Consumptions 47, died 3.
 Bilious colics 62. Measles 16. Inflammation of the eyes 24. Coughs 24.
 Spittings of blood 7. Pleurifies 28. Died 11.
 Asthmas 14, died 1.
 Quinsies 8. Convulsive fits 5. Suppressions of urine 3. Cutaneous
 eruptions 6. Palsey 1. Hæmorrhoides 4. Itch 4. Worms 7. Dropsy 2.
 Gravel 33. Died 1.
 Weaknesses from various preceding diseases 57, died 1.
 Venereal cases 58, died 2.
 The following chirurgical cases must be added:
 Ruptures 18, died 1.
 Ulcers 166, died 2.
 Contusions and other common accidents 147, died 5.
 Dislocated and fractured bones 28, died 1.
 Gun-shot wounds 131, died 17.
 Stumps after limbs amputated 15, died 9.
 Blown up by gun-powder 13, died 3. Scalds 4.

By the foregoing account, the number of dead amounts to 241; but besides these, there were also 87 persons who died chiefly in fluxes, fevers, intermitting, or bilious disorders: but as at the time of their deaths they stand on the hospital books under the article of "sundry persons remaining for a considerable while in the hospital in various diseases;" so at this time it is not practicable to exactly ascertain what were their respective complaints, or to fix a name to those disorders that carried them off.

I once intended to have written very particularly of the several diseases to which *Europeans* are subject in the *East Indies*; but having again and again read over, and always with fresh delight, that excellent essay on this subject published by my ingenious and learned friend Dr. *Lind*, I am obliged to confess, that I find myself altogether at a loss for new matter. Instead therefore of offering any thing of my own on this head, I think it will answer a better purpose to make a few abstracts from the doctor's very valuable book, and for more particular information refer to the work itself.

* "Next to *Bencoolen*, of all the *English* factories, the climate of *Bengal* proves the most fatal to *Europeans*. The rainy season commences at *Bengal* in *June*, and continues till *October*; the remainder of the year is healthy and pleasant.

* Essay, p. 78.

“ During the rains, this rich and fertile country is quite covered by the *Ganges*, and converted as it were into a large pool of water. In the month of *October*, when the stagnated water begins to be exhaled by the heat of the sun, the air is then greatly polluted by the vapours from the slime and mud left by the *Ganges*, and by the corruption of dead fish and other animals. Diseases then rage, attacking chiefly such as are lately arrived. Here, as in all other places, sickness is more frequent and fatal in some years than others. The distempers are fevers, of the remitting or intermitting kind: for though sometimes they may continue several days, without any perceptible remission, yet they have in general a great tendency to it, and are commonly accompanied with violent fits of rigors and shiverings, and with discharges of bile upwards and downwards. If the season be very sickly, some are seized with a malignant fever, of which they soon die. The body is covered with blotches of a livid colour, and the corpse in a few hours turns quite black and corrupted. At this time fluxes prevail, which may be called bilious* or putrid, the better to distinguish them from others which are accompanied with an inflammation of the bowels. In all diseases at *Bengal*, the lancet is cautiously to be used.

“ But to quit *Bengal*, let us proceed to observe—That though the air in the *English* presidency of *Bombay* is not so pure as at *Madras*, yet it is much more wholesome than at *Bengal*; the coast of *Malabar* being pretty healthy, though inferior in this respect to the coast of *Coromandel*.

“ The island of *Bombay* has of late been rendered much more healthy than it was formerly, by a wall which is now built to prevent the incroachment of the sea, where is formed a salt marsh, and by an order that none of the natives should manure their cocoa-nut trees with putrid fish.

“ At *Surat* and *Tellicherry*, on the same coast, *Europeans* generally enjoy a good state of health.

“ *Madras* is esteemed the most healthy government belonging to the *English*: and indeed the air of the whole coast of *Coromandel* is in general pure and temperate, in respect of many other parts of *India*, not only *Madras*, but *St. David's*, *Cuddalore*, and *Negapatnam* the *Dutch* presidency on this coast.

“ Besides these malignant and remitting fevers, which rage during the wet season, and some time after it, in the unhealthy parts of the *East Indies*,

* In my hospital accounts there is a distinction made between the bilious and putrid flux. In the first sort there was always heat and some degree of inflammation in the constitution and bowels, accompanied with a full pulse. In the latter the patients had chills, their skins were clammy, and pulse feeble. And what was commonly understood to make the distinction, was, that in the bilious sort, the bile was not in a corrupted or putrid state, in the other it was.

Europeans,

Europeans, especially such as live intemperately, are also subject to fluxes, and to an inflammation or disease of the liver; which last is almost peculiar to *India*, and particularly to the *Coromandel* coast.

“ Fluxes are seldom here accompanied with inflammatory symptoms; the discharge being chiefly of a putrid or bilious nature, they are removed by administering first a vomit, then rhubarb, and lastly ipecacuanha in small doses. After the bile and other putrescent humours have been thus sufficiently evacuated, opiates, with a diet of rice, and such food as is antiseptic, must be prescribed.

“ The disease of the liver is generally preceded by a high fever, a difficulty of breathing, and a violent pain fixed in the right side upon the seat of the liver, to which the sick person often applies his hand, seeking for relief*. On its first attack the patient should lose blood, and the part ought to be bathed with a warm, relaxing and discutient fomentation; or a blister may be applied to it. When by bleeding, the fever is somewhat abated, a gentle purge or clyster being previously administered, immediate recourse must be had to mercury, as a specific for this disease. A gentle salivation of 15 or 20 days must be raised by means of the mercurial ointment rubbed upon or near the affected part, together with the use of mercurial pills of calomel taken occasionally.”

To these observations of Dr. *Lind*, I beg leave to add my own testimony, that I almost always found a salivation to be a specific in such complaints. Now and then it happened, that in the height of a ptyalism, the mercury turned on the bowels, and brought on a fatal bloody flux; but notwithstanding this, upon the whole I will venture to pronounce mercury to be the most efficacious of all medicines in such cases. I may add, that it is the only medicine yet known which gives a patient any chance for his life, since without his undergoing a salivation, an abscess of the liver is almost sure to take place, and which in the end proves fatal.

For instances of such abscesses, I must refer to two or three, which have been particularly stated, and with great care and judgment, by Mr. *John Bogue*, now surgeon of Admiral Sir *Robert Harland's* ship in the *East Indies*, and which are preserved in Dr. *Lind's* essay.

I cannot finish this subject without observing, that about the time Mr. *Watson's* squadron entered *Bengal* river, a most melancholy scene was exhibited by the scurvy: It raged with such violence, as to make great devastation among us. This malady (as before observed) was entirely owing to the very long passage we had in our voyage from the *Coromandel* coast to

* And he always complains of a pain in one or both of the shoulders.

Bengal, and in the *winter season*. The *Kent* it is true lost but few of her people in this disorder, but the other ships of the squadron buried a great many; which difference, I am persuaded, was occasioned by the large quantity of orange and lemon juices that I had preserved in a half hoghead during our stay at *Madagascar*, and which I now ordered to be daily given them in their common liquor.

At this time, not only most of the sad symptoms of the scurvy, which have been so accurately enumerated by Dr. *Lind*, made their appearance, but two others, not mentioned by him, were unfortunately superadded; viz. the *Scrotum* in many patients was swollen to an enormous size, equal to that of a globe of 12 inches diameter, and the contents of this swelling was *water*, as appeared upon our tapping the *Scrotum*. The other unusual effect was a convulsive spasm of the intestines, which suddenly carried off several men. Some who were thus attacked, recovered, but others remained in the most exquisite torture for twenty-four hours, and then expired.

From the foregoing observations, and from others taken notice of in the course of the narrative, these four general inferences are indisputably clear.

First, That ships bound to the *East Indies* should be as little incumbered with stores between decks, as possible.

Secondly, That dried stock-fish, which upon the account of having no salt used in the curing of them, are sometimes put on board our ships of war, to prevent the scurvy breaking the amongst our people, by their soon corrupting and growing putrid, are so far from answering the good intention, that on the contrary they are productive of much evil.

Thirdly, That as but few, if any, of the *Kent's* people died in the scurvy during our winter's passage to *Bengal*, whilst the other ships of the squadron buried many; so this difference can no other way be accounted for, but by the antiscorbutic quality of the orange and lemon juices. It therefore follows, that if government would be so far attentive to this subject, as to order all ships bound to the *East Indies* to stop at *Madagascar*, or any other proper place, and take in some pipes of these juices, which might be made up into punch, and served to the several crews instead of *grog*; they would certainly be the means of preserving many lives, and greatly redound to the emolument of the nation *.

* This observation will hold good in every other country that abounds with these fruits. See Dr. *Lind's* last edition of his *Treatise on the Scurvy*, p. 541, where my remarks on this interesting subject are more fully set forth.

Lastly,

Lastly, Since intermittents, and other putrid disorders, are found to be so prevalent in *Bengal*, ships destined to the *East Indies*, ought therefore to be supplied with a very large quantity of the *Peruvian bark* and *Ipecacuanha root*; and (as Dr. *Lind* has justly observed in respect to the first article) the surgeons of the navy should on that account be excused from taking with them other drugs, not wanted, or which may at a little expence be procured by themselves in the *East Indies*.

I think it my duty also to insert in this place such directions and observations, as my own experience and reflection have furnished me with during my long service in the navy, with respect to the most eligible method of managing the wounded in the time of action; a point of such importance as equally demands the attention both of the *surgeon* and the *commander*.

The first engagement I was in, was that between the late excellent and well known naval commander Commodore *Barnet* and the *Chevalier de Caylus* in the *Mediterranean*, in the year 1741, when several of our men were wounded by the shot of the enemy, and others blown up by some cartridges of gunpowder taking fire. At that time I too sensibly experienced the very great inconvenience of the surgeon's attending the wounded in the *Cockpit*, the place then, and in the late war, too commonly allotted for this important business.

At the very instant when I was amputating the limb of one of our wounded seamen, I met with an almost continual interruption from the rest of his companions, who were in the like distressful circumstances; some pouring forth the most piercing cries to be taken care of, while others seized my arm in their earnestness of being relieved, even at the time that I was passing the needle for securing the divided blood-vessels by a ligature.

Surely, at the time when such operations are in contemplation, the operator's mind as well as body ought to be as little agitated as possible; and the very shaking of the lower gun-deck, owing to the recoil of the large cannon which are placed just over his head, is of itself sufficient to incommode a surgeon, and in a considerable degree prevent the skilful performance of his duty.

I must add, that a place of *entire security* to the surgeon and his assistants in the time of an engagement, is an object of the greatest consequence, how much soever it may have been hitherto overlooked or disregarded. In the two last wars we met with several instances of surgeons or their mates being wounded in the *Cockpit* by cannon balls, which plainly

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evince that this cannot be a proper station for men, upon, whose personal security, the lives of so many brave seamen entirely depend. I would earnestly recommend it therefore to the *Commanders* of our ships of war, that the printed instructions of the navy, relative to the place in which the surgeon is to be stationed, during the time of action, be *literally* carried into execution: and that instead of the too common and absurd custom of confining him to the *Cockpit*, a platform be erected for his use in the *Hold*, where being as much as possible secured from all apprehension of danger, his mind will be quite calm and serene, and his judgment undisturbed; consequently he will be more capable of performing those difficult operations, which he is always sure to meet with in a severe engagement.

This point, it must be owned, is a very delicate one in respect to the surgeon, who, should he make an application to his commanding officer for this purpose, might subject himself to the jocular smiles of some of his shipmates, and to the unkind sarcasms of others, who would be rather apt to impute his solicitude on this head to the care he takes of his own person, than to any good consequences he thinks may hence arise to the public. This was exactly my case in the several ships I served on board of; and yet in spite of censure on one hand, and ridicule on the other, I had always resolution sufficient to declare my sentiments openly on this subject; and never once failed in the end to convince the commander, of the unspeakable advantages that necessarily must attend it.

As many able, but modest practitioners, however, may, through the fear of being thought over solicitous about their own safety, too timidly give up so important a point; I take the liberty in their behalf, of thus publicly addressing myself to the commanders of our navy in general, beseeching them, that for the sake of their own and their crew's lives, and for the sake of their country, they would take this matter into their most serious consideration, and in times of war order a proper platform to be laid in the *Hold* for the reception of the wounded, without waiting for any application from the surgeon of the ship.

As an inducement for their so doing, I beg leave to set before them the example of the late Admiral *Lestock* (who was universally allowed to be as good a sea-officer as any of the age) and who upon the prospect of his ship's coming into action in the year 1744 (though at that time he was laid up with a severe fit of the gout) caused himself to be carried into the *Neptune's Hold*, that he might be an eye-witness of the platform being properly constructed, which he had before particularly ordered for that place. And this able and judicious officer was often heard to declare, that in the course of his early services he had fully experienced the ill consequences of a contrary measure, and therefore always recommended this for which I

am pleading, to those gentlemen who served under him, as a matter of the highest importance.

The brave Captain *Speke* (a man as much distinguished by his prudence in advising, as by his activity in executing) did not scruple to own himself thoroughly convinced by my reasoning on this subject; and though much innocent pleasantry had occasionally fallen from him whenever this became the topic of our conversation, yet afterwards, at the attack of *Chandernagore*, when he himself was brought down wounded into the *Hold*, and there saw the necessity of the arrangement I have been recommending, he with great seriousness made the following declaration to me: "No surgeon, my friend, shall ever again be put to the pain of applying to me for a platform in the *Hold*; for I now too well perceive what distress and embarrassment must have attended both you and the wounded, had you been obliged to receive and dress them all indiscriminately in the *Cockpit*."

The method which was at that time taken, and which with submission, I think always should be taken, was, all the wounded were sent into the *Cockpit*, until that place could hold no more; afterwards a part of them were conveyed into the *Cable Tier*. Two of my mates were stationed there, to examine into the nature of their wounds. Such as were desperately hurt, and whose cases, in the opinion of those gentlemen, required an immediate operation, were brought by the assistants to me and my other mates, who were waiting for them on the platform in the *Hold*. Those who were less wounded, were dressed by my two mates in the *Cockpit*, and then placed on the sail, spread there for that purpose; or on a floor made of boards, and covered with canvas, in the *Cable Tier*.

I cannot conclude, without hinting to my brethren the surgeons of the navy, that had I in my earlier years known the consequences of a hot and bloody engagement, as well as I do now, I never would have embarked on board a large ship of war, without furnishing myself with six or more amputating knives instead of two or three; having learnt from experience, that the best of knives after an operation or two quite lose their keenness; and unfortunately, the exigency of the time is such, as will not admit of their being properly restored by the hone. The same reason holds good with respect to the number of saws, which in like manner ought to be increased, for to displace the old, and to put the spare saw to the frame, is equally inconvenient in the time of action. I would also advise every surgeon to furnish himself with a greater number of crooked needles than have been commonly thought sufficient; for unless he has experimentally known it, it is impossible for him to conceive, how many of these are either lost or mislaid during the noise and confusion of an engagement.

Having given the best directions in my power, for the better management of the wounded in a day of battle, with a few hints to the captains of our men of war; I could wish to ascend to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and other gentlemen to whom the conduct of our naval affairs is committed, and pray them to take into consideration the present discouraging situation of the surgeons of the royal navy.

It is universally allowed, that many of these gentlemen, are men of the greatest abilities in their profession; and the importance of their station, to a kingdom whose very existence depends on the welfare of its seamen, appears at first sight, without the trouble of entering into a long chain of reasoning. It is also as true, that the scanty provision at present made for the surgeons of *this* * service, when they are out of commission, gives but little encouragement, either for retaining those who are now on the list, or for the acquiring other able ones, should there be occasion by the breaking out of a new war; for only fifty of the seniors out of three hundred and upwards whose names are mentioned on the naval list, have any claim to half pay; while the others are put to the most wretched shifts to earn even a precarious subsistence. And what adds greatly to the hardship of their case, is, that a great majority of them are gentlemen, who have had the advantages of a good education, and been regularly brought up in their profession; who embarked in the service in their youth, or prime of life, have done their duty for several years with great credit, and at last after the war was ended, were left to the mercy of a wide world, as much, or more at a loss to get their daily bread, than they were the first day after their apprenticeship expired.

It must be confessed, that a few of them out of so large a number, by their own merit and assiduity, or by the deaths of old practitioners in the several places where they fixed themselves after the peace was made, have at this time the happiness to acquire a comfortable subsistence. But can it be imagined, that these men will ever engage in the navy again (tho' their inclinations may possibly lead them to do it) unless they could depend on a more certain provision being made for them after another war was ended? It cannot, it must not be expected from them.—And how much the public service will suffer in the want of such experienced surgeons, I need not mention. For though, upon the breaking out of a new war, there is no doubt but that many young men bred up to this profession, would offer themselves as candidates for a naval employ, yet being new to the sea, and quite unacquainted with practice, they cannot possibly be put in competition with those older surgeons, who have been long inured to the service, even on the supposition that their respective educations were exactly the same.

* Every surgeon of the army is intitled to half pay.

I intreat the liberty therefore, (after above 30 years service as a surgeon in the navy, and when no advantage can possibly arise from it to myself) to recommend it as an object worthy of the attention of government, that a greater number of *Naval* surgeons be put upon the half pay list. An effort of this kind, will not fail of proving highly honourable to its chief promoters; and as hereby a great many excellent practitioners will be secured in the service of the public, it is sufficiently evident, that in the end it must redound to the advantage of *Great Britain*.

A P P E N D I X,

N^o. II.

INDIAN TREES, SHRUBS, PLANTS, and MEDICINES.

COCOA-NUT TREE.

ALTHOUGH mention hath already been made of the Cocoa-nut tree, yet as its productions are of such great consequence to the natives of the *East Indies*, I cannot avoid presenting it a second time to the notice of the reader. It has neither bark nor branch, increases annually, and at length gets to a prodigious height. Some of the trees are of 50 years standing, and 60 feet high, but none are ever more than 18 inches diameter. The root is composed of a great number of black soft fibres, which are tough, 15 or 16 inches long, and of the thickness of a goose quill. The body, or stalk, is single, and full of tough, perpendicular, and oblique fibres. A bundle of leaves shoot out annually in a kind of spatha from the top of the stalk, and is concave towards the centre of the plant; when these leaves first shoot out and open fully, they are perpendicular, and then the leaves of the last year are gradually forced from them, and become horizontal. Those of the preceding year fall off, or are cut down by the *Toddy* gatherers. The old leaves are composed of a strong and large middle rib; which sometimes next to the body of the tree is as thick as a man's thigh, and 18 or 20 feet in length. From the bundle all around the tree, leaves of two feet or more in length soon grow, these are double at the base, affixed to the rib, and grow taper to a point at the end; these leaves stand very close together, and at the top of the tree form an almost perfect, and pretty looking circle. The flower comes out from the concave part of the leaves on the top of the tree; the footstalk of which is as thick as a large man's wrist, and nearly round; this divides and subdivides into many branches, among which are the flowers, and which in some sort resemble the seed-vessel of our common plantain.

When

When the flowers fall off, the fruit which is called the cocoa-nut, are in great numbers affixed to the same branches; they grow to the size of a boy's head, and are at first full of a fine pleasant limpid water, which gradually grows thicker, and at length hardens to a firm nut.

The *Indians* make boats, construct the frames of their houses, and make rafters, of the body of the tree; and by splitting the centre fibre of the leaf, and weaving the pinnæ together, they cover or thatch them also, by which they effectually keep out the wet, even in the rainy season. They likewise make mats and baskets of the leaves split lengthways. They cut off a branch, or two, of the flower-stalk, and hang to the stump of it an earthen pot, in which they collect every day, from half a pint to a quart of *Toddy*; this looks like clear whey, and when fresh, being sweet and gratefully acid, is extremely pleasant: if kept, it easily ferments, and then it is used by the baker in fermenting his dough for bread. Good *Arrac* is distilled from this fermenting juice, and also that fiery, single and simple distilled spirit, called *Fool*, with which our seamen were too frequently intoxicated.

The nut, when thoroughly ripe, is thin, and of a yellowish colour. The coat or husk of the shell, is composed of a large quantity of strong fibres folded from end to end, and is two or three inches thick. With these fibres, after soaking them some time in water, they make cables and cordage even for their largest ships; and yarns also, which are used in the construction of their ships, boats, houses, &c. these they call *Kiar-Yarns*, as the first is called *Kiar-Cables*. To attempt to enumerate all the several sorts of yarns, would be endless; it is sufficient to say, that nails are seldom made use of in any of the country people's buildings, and that in their stead ropes and yarns are substituted. The shells of the nut, serve for bottles, cups, glasses, lamps, &c. and at last they make of them lamp-black for painting.

The contents of the shell in its first stage is drank as a pleasant, cooling, refreshing beverage; in its riper state, it is used to fatten hogs, eaten as a part of the natives diet, and put as a thickner in all their curries: by heating it gently over the fire a large quantity of oil is also extracted, with which the natives rub their hair, and say that it makes it black, and sometimes they make use of it in their diet. This oil has no disagreeable smell or taste, and I do not doubt, but if procured by expression, it would be exceedingly good.

After breaking the shells and exposing the kernel for some time to the sun, they procure a still larger quantity of oil, but which is of a coarser kind than the former; this they use in lamps, and for their common services. When the tree is cut by accident, or blown down, the rudiments of the leaves which nature had in store for the ensuing year, are found to be of

a conic shape, and when cut transversely, appear like the folds in a hard cabbage, though not so thick; this is brought to the table in thin slices, and tastes like young almonds or filberds.

BRABB, so called at *Bombay*; PALMIRA, on the Coast; and TALL, at *Bengal*.

This grows much in the same manner as the cocoa-nut tree, though, I think, in general, somewhat taller. The vestigia of the leaves of former years remain longer on this than on the cocoa-nut tree, and when the tree is 18 or 20 feet high, make it look as if it was covered with scales. The fibres of the wood are rigid, as those of the cocoa-nut are tough; the stalks of the leaves grow out in the same manner, and are all as thick at the base, but they are naked six feet or more from the base. The leaf grows round its own end, like a fan from its centre, and being doubly inserted into the end of the footstalk, it appears open almost to a circle; the leaves grow together thus for two thirds of their length, then they separate, and each duplicate of the leaf goes gradually to a point, which makes each leaf appear like the rays painted round the sun, or the heads of *Romish* saints, spreading four feet in diameter: but the aggregate of leaves form a head on the tree, in the same manner as on the cocoa-nut. The flower stalk appears like that of the cocoa-nut, but is somewhat thicker. The fruit is as big as the fruit of that tree, but the husk is not so fibrous, and lightly divided into three lobes, in each of which is a single fruit, of an oval form, as big as an hen's egg, and when ripe as substantial as a chesnut; these are eaten by the poor, and the natives feed hogs with them, but, before they are in a state of maturity, there is, as I was told, a jelly-like substance round the kernel which is eaten particularly by the rich. The body of the tree is converted to the like uses as the cocoa-nut, and is of a stronger contexture, the *Palmira* rafters being esteemed sufficiently strong for the best houses on the *Coromandel* coast. The flower-stalk or stalks are cut for the extraction of *Toddy*, in the same manner as are those of the cocoa-nut tree; the *Toddy* of the *Palmira*, is held in still higher estimation, than that of the cocoa-nut tree, and from this extracted juice, a sugar is made, which is finer and better than that made from the juice of the sugar-cane.

DATE TREE.

This tree grows much in the same manner, though not so high, as the two former, only that the vestigia of the leaves of some former years remain longer on this, than on the other trees, and almost always give to the tree a scaly-like appearance: the leaves grow out of the head in the same manner as they do from the others. The main fibre is full as long as the cocoa-nut's, but much smaller, since it seldom exceeds two inches in diameter. The side pinnæ are not above four inches long, they are inserted doubly into the base,

base, where they touch each other, but are far asunder at their points, which are hard: the duplicate of the base of the leaves is continued along the main fibre, so that it appears somewhat alated. The flower is like the former, but more ramous: the fruit are very numerous, their shape almost every body is acquainted with, and it is well known that they make a great part of the diet of the inhabitants of *Arabia*, and part of *Persia*, but not to so great a degree as *Pomet* has related. The numerous fruit on the trees in the *Peninsula* of *India* are never perfectly ripe, although the trees are in great abundance there.

ARICA TREE.

This has been fully described in the 184th page of this work. I shall only add, that it is a fine slender tree, and grows in much the same manner as the date, &c.

BONANA and PLANTAIN TREES.

These grow so much alike, and the fruit only differing in size, that it is needless to make a distinction; they are also in many places commonly confounded one with the other. Generally the *Bonana* fruit is the smallest, and of a round form, whereas the *Plantain* is angular; there are of them from three inches in length, and one in diameter, to eight inches long, and two and a quarter diameter, but the larger sort are coarse. In general, when ripe, they are of a fine yellow colour; yet some are green, and others of a bright red, especially the *Tanjourine Plantains*, which are held in the highest estimation. The *Plantain* tree is not so tall as the cocoa-nut or *Brabb*, and thick pedicles surround each other at their base, and continue that appearance to the distance of six, eight, and ten feet, when they spread, but then the pedicle is contracted, and forms the middle rib of the leaf, which leaf is six or eight feet long, and 18 inches wide, of a beautiful green colour, and entire, but easily to be splitted crossways; the natives split them, in order to make of the leaf, dishes and plates for putting their boiled rice upon. (The leaf is also used for dressing blisters with, in the *West Indies*.) The flower grows out from the centre of the leaves on a very long stalk, which is as thick as a large man's wrist, of a deep purple colour, a conic shape, and about 10 inches in length; when this appears, you see the fruit surrounding the stalk in great numbers; 1500 of great and small fruit, have been seen on one stalk, but not more than 100 in general come to perfection.

BANIAN TREE.

Although this tree hath already been taken notice of in page 199, I shall here present to the reader, a more particular description of it.

This is the *Indian's* sacred tree, but they do not, as is commonly supposed, pay adoration to it: the root spreads a great way; the bark is a reddish brown; the wood is white and spongy; the tree grows to a prodigious height, and its branches spread a great way. The limbs drop down fibres, which take root, and become another tree, united by its branches to the first, and so continue to do until the many trees cover a great extent of ground: the arches which those different stocks make, are gothic, and as before observed, somewhat like those we see in *Westminster Abbey*; the stocks not being single, but appearing as if composed of many stocks, are of a great circumference. There is a certain solemnity accompanying those trees; nor do I remember that I was ever under the cover of any of them, but that my mind was at the time impressed with a reverential awe! The leaves are of a bright, shining green colour, fleshy, oval, and about six inches long. The fruit is a fig, but of what kind I cannot say; it was with difficulty I saw those which grow on that species of the *Banian*, called the little *Banian* tree, (mentioned in the marginal note, page 199, whose fibres had not entered the ground, and formed other trees) on account that the birds eat them almost as soon as they appear.

I know of no quality this tree has in medicine, but have been told, that the dropping shoots, when young and tender, and boiled in milk with the flower of the cocoa-nut tree, is a cure for a *Gonorrhœa*.

LITTLE BANIAN.

This is a very large spreading tree. I have seen them 20 feet round the stock, which carried the appearance of being many stocks closely united. The outer bark is of a whitish, the inner is spongy and of a reddish brown colour. Shoots drop from the branches, and look as if they were designed to touch the ground, and take root, in order to form another body, but I never saw that they did so. The leaf is of a deep shining green above, but very pale below, and highly ribbed on the upper side; it emits a milky juice. The flowers I could never find, but I imagine they are the same as those of the common fig. The fruit is a fig of the size of a small hazel nut, of a pale flesh colour, spotted with a deep purple. This tree grows all over *India*, and was cursorily mentioned in my note made at *Gombroon*.

POON TREE.

This tree grows very tall and strait; the bark is greyish; the wood light, but tolerably strong; it is frequently used for masts, but unless great care is taken to keep the wet from the ends of it, it soon rots. I measured one of those trees in *Maham* wood on the island of *Bombay*, which though but 14 inches in diameter near the ground, yet was full 50 feet high, and gradually taper. On and near the top, on the several branches,

grow the leaves, which are long and slender, seven on each petiole in a stellated form, and affixed by short pedicles. The flowers which this tree produces, I have not seen. The fruit is in a hard pod, opening in two of its convex sides, shaped like a pear, but only a little flattened; it is five inches long, of a fine crimson colour, containing two rows of circular flattened seeds, as big as a boy's marbles, and of a crimson colour.

RED WOOD TREE.

This grows to near 30 feet in height, it is full of short branches arising from the very root. The bark is red, and of an astringent taste; the leaves are shining, and thick like our bay, oval, and about three inches long. The flower has escaped my notice. The fruit is yellow, of the size and shape of a very small olive, pulpy, very sweet, and contains a milky juice. The stone is large for the size of the fruit, and of a deep brown colour; the kernel white, and tasting the smallest bit of it nauseates the stomach.

TULIP TREE, called BENDAR.

The branches of this tree may easily be cut into a fine thick, spreading head, and it naturally spreads a great deal. It is planted by the *European* gentlemen in *India*, for forming their shady walks. The bark of it is brown, the leaves are pretty large, and undulated, with a long slender point at the end. The flowers are like tulips in shape, though the corolla are not so fleshy as those of the tulip, and are often curled on their upper part: some are of a yellow, some of a red colour only, but most of them are variegated. The seed-vessel is a round pod, a little pointed, not very hard, and divided lightly into three lobes, which contain a small black seed of a cotton-like substance.

EUPHORBIA.

On the island of *Ceylon*, this tree grows to a tolerable size, and is to be found in great plenty. The bark is grey, wood white, and pretty firm; all the smaller limbs and branches, which are very numerous, are composed of triangular, fleshy, solid, deep green substances, each about three inches long, affixed to the ends of each other, where they are smaller than in the middle: at the joints, there come out opposite to each other, sometimes four very small fleshy leaves, and little red fibres, which are all the appearances of flower or fruit that I have ever seen. The joints near the stock of the tree, are much thicker and longer than the others, and sometimes near the extremity of the branches, they are a little flattened. The branches spread a great deal, and the whole and every part of the tree yield a large quantity of a caustic milky juice, which soon grows tough and ropy like bird-lime, clogging up the wound you made in the tree to let it out, and soon hardening to the *Gum-Euphorbia* of the shops. I could not find that any

of the trees yielded the *Euphorbium* spontaneously, and all the gum juice that at any time was found about the stem of the tree, might easily be traced as coming from a wound.

In all the other parts of *India* except *Ceylon*, I never saw any part of the tree that was woody, but the plant from the very ground was composed of those late mentioned joints. At *Bombay*, and some other places, there is a species of it, which the natives plant around their fields and gardens, and which grows three or four feet high; this is of a yellowish colour, and as thick as a large man's wrist, square, but as it were a little twisted; on the angles grow very numerous sharp spines, and round those spines very small leaves and flowers, such as are between the joints of the sort before described; the juice of this, is of the same kind as that of the other sort.

MILKY HEDGE.

This is rather a shrub, which they plant for hedges on the coast of *Coromandel*; the root of it grows in all directions, and is woody. In these hedges the stems are not to a great degree woody, but where they are so, then the bark is grey and cracked, the wood white, and pretty solid. The whole shrub grows very bushy, with numerous erect branches, which are composed of cylindrical joints, as thick as a tobacco pipe, of a green colour, and from three to six inches long; the joints are thicker than the other parts, but upon any accidental violence, the plant always breaks first at those joints, and then it yields an excessive caustic milk, which prevents any human being going through the hedge, for it blisters whatever part of the skin it touches, yet I have seen buffaloes and goats to eat of it. When the joints are broken off at each end, the tube then contains but very little of this milk, with which I once ventured to touch my tongue, and found it a little sweet. At *Bombay* it grows to the size of a small tree, and the wood is greatly valued there for burning to charcoal for the finest gunpowder. As to the great medicinal virtues which it is supposed to contain, it will be necessary, in order to convey an idea of them, to relate the story that gave rise to its fame.

There was in my time a poor *Portuguese* widow woman, who was the oldest female of her family, and had wrought surprising cures in the most inveterate venereal disorders, many of which had been pronounced by all other practitioners, even *European* physicians, as incurable; these notorious facts had induced the company's servants, and particularly their surgeons, to offer a very considerable premium to the woman, for a discovery of her medicine, but she always refused to comply, assigning for her reason, that while it was a secret, it was a certain provision for the maintenance of the family, as well in the present as in future generations. On account of this denial, our surgeons, when a particular case has been under her management, have been at the expence to have her motions with-

out

out doors carefully watched, and as they were not able to discover that she ever gathered of any other plant or tree but this, they conjecture that it is the juice thereof, with which she performs her extraordinary cures.

I interrogated several of the black doctors, who all agreed that it will cure the *Lues Venerea*, but differed as to the manner of administering it; some saying that a joint of it should be eaten every morning, others that the milk only should be dropped on sugar, and then put into milk, oil, &c. and given daily to the patient.

JALLAP PLANT.

The root grows perpendicularly, of the shape and size of a carrot, tough, black without, and white within. The plant is robust, and shrubby, and is planted in the *East Indian* gardens for borders to their partitions, and is cut like our box or quickset hedges. The flowers are the *Belle de nuit* of our gardens; they grow in great numbers on the plant, and are of various colours. The seed remain after the falling off of the flower, naked, single, and of the size, colour, shape, and structure of a large pepper corn. Twice the quantity given by us for a dose of our *Jallap*, is required in general of this, but as it grows wild in some parts of *India*, an equal quantity of that wild sort is sufficient.

DOLL.

The root is perpendicular and woody, throwing off some lateral fibres. The plant grows in height to eight feet, and is shrubby. The leaves are of a pale green, and somewhat woolly, but do not grow very thick on the plant. The flowers are yellow, and of the shape of our pea-blossoms: the pod and seed resemble our pea-pods and peas, and these seed are split, and used as pease, and next to rice, are the principal part of the *Indian* seamen's food.

MUNGOOSE PLANT, or CASSUNDA.

The root grows perpendicularly, and throws off some fibres; it is small and woody. The plant is erect, the lower part of it naked and woody; the upper part divides into many branches, in proportion to the goodness of the soil: it grows about two feet high, and spreads much, when in a rich soil. The flowers are yellow, and like the pea-flower, they grow on spikes, and at a distance make a showy appearance. The pods are very narrow, and about six inches long, containing several small seeds. The whole plant yields a nauseous disagreeable smell. The root, is what the *Mongoose* (a brown animal of the ferret kind, an enemy to snakes, rats, and mice) retires to when wounded by the *Cobra Capella*, which he digs for, and

and eats some of, and then returns to the fight, and generally kills his antagonist. These circumstances I cannot say I ever saw, but received the account from persons of undoubted credit.

MULBERRY TREE.

This tree resembles those of the same species in *England*, but the fruit is much smaller in *India*, than in *Europe*.

CONISSIE,

Is a shrub, which grows like a currant bush on *Malabar* hill, in *Bombay*. The roots run horizontal in the ground, and, if broken, emit a little milky juice: the bark of the root is a fine bitter, and somewhat of an aromatic taste. A decoction of it is given with success in fluxes. This bark is rougher, and not of so deep a brown colour, as that which is commonly called at *Bombay* the *Conissie*-bark, at *Tellicherry* the *Congerie*-bark, and by the late Mr. *Swan*, *Cort de palla*; which is a thin, dark brown bark, with a whitish moss on it, a scruple of which is given every evening as an excellent medicine in confirmed dysenteric fluxes, as well as in agues, and which is said to be taken from a large tree, the common supporter of the pepper about *Tellicherry*, as mentioned in page 191: the leaves of which tree are oval and indented, and the fruit are like an orange in shape and colour.

Doctor *Hill* mentions the *Malabar* ears as the fruit of the tree, from which he supposes the *Conissie*-bark to be taken; but the bark yielding those ears has little or no taste, as will hereafter appear; what it has, is nearest to that of the liquorice root.

After all, the indefatigable Mr. *Thomas* was of opinion, that the *Conissie*, which grows on *Malabar* hill at *Bombay*, is the very shrub from which that excellent bark, mentioned in the preceding part of this work, is taken, and he believed that *Don Diego* the *Portuguese* doctor at *Bombay* (by whom we used to be supplied with it, and as he pretended from *Tellicherry*) deceived us in the accounts he gave concerning it. Mr. *Thomas*'s words are: "It grows on *Malabar* hill, though *Diego* endeavoured as much as possible to hide it from you and me, but I once saw some of the branches of the shrub with the useful bark on it, by accident in his shop, and afterwards found the shrub on that hill, the whole of which affords a milky juice. *Diego* says, that he gives the *Congerie* or *Tellicherry* bark (he chose not to say the *Conissie*) in intermittents only, and that it answers as well as the *Jesuits* bark; but from experience you and I know that it answers also in old fluxes, and its virtues are well known to every practitioner in *India*, as well as to many in *Europe*."

CODAGI PALLI, called by Mr. Swan CORT DE PALLA.

This is a small tree, or very large shrub. The bark is of a dusky white without, and white with a greenish cast within, (it grows at St. Thomas's Mount near *Fort St. George*); the leaves present themselves on the branches in pairs, and are at the distance of four inches from each other; they grow with short pedicles, are of an oblong form, pointed, and of a fine grassy green colour. The flowers I never saw. The seed-vessels grow from a shallow cup, on a footstalk of three inches; they are double, 14 inches long, green, smooth, and as thick as a swan's quill: when ripe, they are black, and longitudinally furrowed, sometimes forming nearly a circle, sometimes an ellipsis, at other times they are nearly parallel, but always touching at their ends, and at their ends only. From their shape they are called *Malabar-ears*, on account of the resemblance they bear to the ears of the women on the *Malabar* coast, which from the large slit made in them, and the great weight of ornamental rings put into them, are rendered very large, and so long as that they sometimes touch the very shoulders. These vessels have brown seeds, of the shape of our oats, contained in a fine fibrous silky substance of a pale colour. I could not find that the bark is at all used, and what Dr. Hill, and the author, have before called *Codagi Pallis*, is the bark of a large timber-tree with indented leaves, on the *Malabar* coast, commonly named the *Congerie* bark. The seeds however are used as carminatives, and on the coast of *Malabar* are highly valued for their medicinal virtue in the cure of fluxes, for which end they chew a few of them morning and evening.

B E E T L E.

This is a volubilis, and is supported on sticks, like *French* beans, and runs 12 feet high; the leaf is fleshy, and of a pleasant green; its uses have been related in p. 184 and elsewhere.

TAMARIND.

This tree is very large, and has been well described by Dr. Hill.

MUSSENDELL.

The root is fibrous, perpendicular and woody. The stalks grow double from the root, are woody and tough, with a thin brown bark over the green: the leaves grow in pairs, are soft, of a bright green, whitish above, and hoary below: the flowers grow on umbels in the axæ of the leaves near the top of the branches.

TALMOOLIE.

The root is like a radish, but smaller; brown on the outside, and accompanied with many smaller roots, from which grow the leaves. I have never seen any flower or fruit on them.

AGNUS CASTUS.

This grows to a small tree, it is well described by Dr. Hill, its leaves are used in discutient fomentations.

CINNAMON TREE.

This grows only in *Ceylon*; it will increase to a very large tree, but when large, the bark is of no use (as it grows very thick and spongy) except when they distil it for its oil, or for cordial waters, of which last the *Dutch* have great variety, and very fine. The bark of the branches is the first year of an elegant green, and almost transparent. The second year it is brown; the third, they take it off for cinnamon. That the root of an old tree produces camphire, has already been noticed. The natives make an oil from the fruit, which fruit is hard, and has the appearance of old castile soap, and when scraped yields an agreeable fragrancy. The *Dutch* are very careful that no cinnamon or oil be carried from the island by foreigners, and cinhamon sells in any *Dutch* settlement in *India* for two dollars per lb.

GLANTIGURA OR GOCROW.

This is a handsome plant, grows 16 inches high, the root strikes perpendicular into the ground, is yellow, and throws off some loose fibres; the stalk is single, erect and succulent, but soon divides and subdivides into a number of branches which are also green and succulent. The leaves are of a pale but pleasant green, somewhat thick. The flowers are yellow, and campaniform; they grow in the axæ of the leaves, and at the division of the branches; the fruit is only a husk, which contains one stellated seed, whose points are very sharp, and when dry it falls into several pieces, each having two spines; the make of the husk is adapted to the shape of the seed. A small branch of this plant, when fresh, dipped two or three times into a basin of water, changes the water to the consistence of the white of an egg, changes milk to the thickness of rich cream, and gives to both a very agreeable smell and taste. Half a pint of this cream drank every morning, in the course of 10 days, as I, and Mr. Thomas too, experienced in our practice, often cured a *Gonorrhœa* without the aid of any other medicine; the first account we received of the virtues of this plant was from Dr. Diego, whose name has already occurred.

Mr. Thomas, in a letter he favoured me with soon after his arrival in England from *India*, wrote thus; "The mucilage plant, you well remember we successfully tryed in *Gonorrhœas*, dipped in milk agreeable to Diego's directions, as well as with some advantage for disorders in the breast. I must now inform you, that the *Indians* use it to purify their foul water. On the coast of *Coromandel*, where it grows in great abundance, they call it *Glantigugla* or *Grantigugra*. At *Bombay* Dr. Diego called the seeds *Roufette*, and said he gave a decoction of them to promote spitting in a salivation.

vation. The *Persees* and *Portuguese* women cultivate it in their gardens, call it *Gogruc*, or *Gocruc*, and give it infused in wine to their husbands, "*To make back strong*;" and as I thought this intention conveyed an idea of its possessing a styptic quality, I grew fearful of administering it in venereal disorders, but an incident soon happened to dissipate my fears, and to restore to my mind its former favourable impressions. A friend of yours and mine, under my care, who had been vexed with an obstinate indurated venereal *Bubo*, from which only a green fetid discharge could be procured, hearing of the virtues of this plant, and being struck with the simplicity of the promised cure, resolved, contrary to my advice, to make use of the mucilage plant in milk, and truth obliges me to say, that he had not taken it more than three days before the *Bubo* subsided, the matter became pure, and soon afterwards he was perfectly cured by this medicine only."

BURNO,

Is a large tree. The leaves grow in bunches on the top of the branches, three together, on a pedicle of 6 inches; they are soft to the touch, of a bright green, and which the natives give as a cooler in fevers.

WOGLAT CONGWILL.

This grows to a small tree; it is a kind of mallows.

NALOE USITICA,

Is a very small plant, does not grow erect; the natives make use of it as an astringent in fluxes.

JACKAILE.

This grows to 10 inches in height, and three or four stalks come from one root; they give the whole plant as a febrifuge.

SAMBRAMAC.

They give a draught of a decoction of this plant over night for a cathartic.

PALHAIR.

This has many sharp spinous seeds, and is given in a *Gonorrhœa*.

CHATRASS.

Dip this plant in boiling water and then rub it on the tongue, afterwards wash the mouth with the impregnated water, and it will cure excoriations from lime, pepper, &c.

DOUSRAC.

Is a volubilis with blue flowers, and five seeds in a bunch that are like the spice cloves. A decoction made of the plant, it is said, will cure a *Gonorrhœa*.

JUMMIE.

A decoction of this plant is given to cure agues, and fevers that are attended with shiverings.

HAVISAC.

This is a laxative, given in decoctions to remove the effects of a debauch.

CHADDOCK.

This is a tree which grows like the lemon-tree, the fruit is also of that kind, grows as large as a man's head, and is round; it is a fine pleasant fruit, is eaten at our tables, and reckoned as wholesome a fruit as any in *India*: there are plenty of them at *Ceylon* and other places, and they commonly are called pumple or pimple-noses.

COLOCYNTH.

This is well described by *Dr. Hill*. I have seen them at *Fort St. David* spread full twenty yards in diameter; they lie close to the ground, and generally fill the whole space of ground they run over, forming an almost perfect circle. The *Cathartic* quality of this plant is too well known to need a description.

BONNEE.

This is a robust shrubby plant, grows to two feet in height, and ramous. The root goes perpendicularly into the ground, and is as thick as a swan's quill, but divides below. The leaves on the branches are pretty numerous. The flowers are of a fine purple like our pea-flower. The root powdered and mixed with pepper, is given by way of snuff to clear the head when stuffed.

GOD'S PIPULL.

This is a shrub which grows four feet high; its root, which is an inch in diameter, is of the tap kind, of a reddish brown on the outside, and white within. The leaf is of a bright green. The root bruised, and applied as a cataplasm, the natives say, will cure pained limbs.

MACCUMSEEM.

The root, which grows like the liquorice, is as thick as a man's finger, fibrous, in colour somewhat grey, but tinged yellow. The stalk is round
and

and green. It grows to a considerable height, but the stalk is so slender that it is not able to support itself. The leaves grow three together on moderately long pedicles; they are of a deep green colour above, but paler below. The flowers I have not seen. The fruit is a pod, of the shape of that of the pea, about five inches long, and two wide. The seeds are enclosed in a double membrane, are of an oval shape, a little flattened, and half an inch long. The juice of the root is given in a drop.

RACALCURRY.

This has a tap root, which nevertheless throws off many fibres that are nearly as large as itself, but not much bigger than pack-thread. The stalk grows 18 inches high, but is procumbent; it has five deep furrows running along all its length; the stalk, which is of a green colour, throws out many branches. Leaves of different shapes, grow from the branches on pedicles of four inches. At every joint of the main stalk are two small cordated leaves surrounding it by their base, and, as the joints are near each other, these appear like squammæ. The flower is a small bilabated corolla; I could find no stamina: the style is pyramidal, with many fine fibres on the top of it. The fruit is a pod about three inches long, as thick as a crow's quill, and strait, containing about ten black seeds; three of these pods grow from the top of every branch. The juice of this plant given with honey, is esteemed to be a great cooler.

HARRIOSE.

The root is fibrous; the plant is composed of a number of square hollow joints four inches long and $\frac{2}{3}$ of an inch wide, of a deep green colour; it seeks support from bushes and trees, and grows pretty long, and is much divided. When near the ground it throws out roots at its joints, and emits a milky juice. At every joint is one leaf, (on short, succulent, and bright green petioles) and a flower. The flowers are red, and umbelliferous, but I have not seen them perfect. The whole plant is used as a repellent and dissolvent.

ACKNOK.

The root grows perpendicularly, and is of the thickness of a crow-quill. The plant is a creeper, which throws out roots at its joints, and runs up trees, &c. to the height of 12 or 14 feet. The leaves are of a deep green, grow regularly at four inches distance from one another. The juice of the plant is given with pepper for the cure of an anasarcaous swelling; one table spoonful and half is esteemed to be a sufficient quantity for a purging dose.

LAJUTEE.

This is a pretty little plant with a perpendicular root as thick as a small pack-thread, but which divides. The stalk is naked for about two inches, reddish

reddish at bottom, but woolly above, where it forms a kind of head, and throws out above twenty erect fibres four inches long, round, red, and woolly: on two thirds of the outer ones are the leaves, of a fine green colour. On the top of the remaining third part of the fibres are the flowers, five on each, the calyx is green, corolla yellow. The root is powdered and applied to wounds.

KAOON.

The root is tuberous and like ginger: the stalk grows upwards five feet, and is $\frac{2}{3}$ of an inch in diameter, of a brownish green colour, jointed regularly at the distance of three inches. The leaves grow near the top alternately, distant from each other three inches; they are soft, and surround the stalk at their base. The flower is composed of a few green-coloured squammæ on the top of the stalk. The fruit is a triangular pod, which contains numerous black angular seeds.

DUNQUEEN.

The root is as big as a goose-quill, goes down perpendicularly, sending off lateral shoots. The stalk is round, green, and of the thickness of the root, but soon divides into five or six branches. The leaves grow at the joints, at the distance of five inches from each other, upon a petiole of three inches; they are hairy and of a deep green colour; in the axæ of these grow the flowers. The juice of it allays thirst in fevers.

SOONRAGE.

The root is a bundle of thick short perpendicular fibres. The stalk is as thick as a man's finger, grows erect, and to the height of two feet, but naked $\frac{2}{3}$ of its length, jointed regularly at the distance of one inch. On the upper third joints, the pale green leaves alternately grow, and surround the stalk. The flowers grow in squamous heads on the top of every stalk. The juice is given in fevers; and the leaf and root when pounded is applied as a repellent to swellings in the groin.

CONIC CHAMPOW.

This grows to a tolerable large tree, and spreads very much; its leaves will discover it from every other tree; they are of a pale but shining green, and six of them grow round the end of every branch in a radiated manner. When the leaves fall off, the part they broke from becomes a separate branch, at the end of which, six other such leaves shoot out. In the center of those radii, another branch is produced with six more leaves, and were it not for accidents the tree would grow regularly tall. The flowers I have never seen. The fruit consists of many long slender pods, which are but very little

thicker than pack-thread, in length six inches; these are round, and contain oblong seeds, but opportunity did not offer for my seeing them when ripe. There are various sorts of this species of trees.

KOL MEG, in *Bengal*; CREAT, in *Bombay*:

The root is fibrous and contorted. The plant grows 15 inches high. The leaves feel very soft. It is excessively bitter, and given as a stomachic and vermifuge.

ESURMOOL.

The root is long, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in diameter, and without lessening its size runs like liquorice a good way into the ground, being brown on the outside, and yellow within: as the root is somewhat contorted, plants arise from different parts of it, and these grow so as to be 18 inches high, but as they are slender they require to be supported. The leaves are of a light green, fleshy, and grow but thinly on the plant. The root is powdered and used in foul ulcers; but its most excellent quality is, that if a piece of it is held in the hand, it will drive the covra capella snakes away from you in great haste, as they will not come near the place where the root is.

DURKA JOMP.

The root is black, small, contorted and tuberous, thickly set with numerous black rigid fibres. From each branch of the root grow single, hard, square, black shining stalks, naked about a foot from the ground, then at every three inches distance grow, in pairs, the leaves; it rises to two feet. The seeds, I think, are round the margin of the leaf.

DURKA JOMP, 2d.

The root consists of a number of very fine, small, black fibres; from these grow several fine black shining stalks, 10 or 12 inches high, as thick as a pack-thread at bottom, but gradually lessening upwards.

CALKA JOMP.

The root is composed of a number of small black rigid fibres from a kind of head, from which also grows the stalk; this stalk is perfectly round, woody and strait, and grows to 14 inches in height; on the top, it is divided into two branches, and those again into two others, on the top of which branches are the leaves, which are of a pleasant green colour. The three last plants are reckoned to be great pectorals.

SHAWLPON.

This grows from the ground three feet, but not quite erect. The root is small and fibrous yet perpendicular. The leaves grow alternately and are of

of a pale green. The flower I have not seen. The parts where the fruit are produced are above the leaves. This, and half a dozen more cooling plants are made into a decoction, and given in *India* as their greatest febrifuge.

SUTTA MULLIE.

The roots are very numerous; they hang from the base of the plant by thin fibres, which gradually enlarge to the size of a man's finger, then taper gradually to a point, they are about eight inches long, white and succulent, easily dividing lengthways. There is also amongst them, here and there, a small fibre which runs off to a considerable distance, and from this grow fresh bundles of roots which send up plants. The stalks are of the size of a swan's quill, woody and spinous, and some of them grow 12 feet high, then come branches which are very like the asparagus, but spinous, and are an inch asunder. Indeed the first shoots from the ground, which are also spinous, bear likewise some resemblance to the asparagus. The quantity of roots which was brought to me, and was the produce of one original plant, would more than fill a peck measure. The juice of the root is given in *Gonorrhœas*.

NAWPETKEE.

This is a beautiful little creeper, and spreads a good deal. The flower and fruit answer the character of Dr. Hill's *Cordiospermum*, only that the seed is a beautiful blue.

BALE TREE.

This grows to a large tree and is spinous: under each spine grow the leaves, which are of a pale green. It bears fruit, some of which are as big as a boy's head; when ripe they are of a greenish yellow; the skin is very thin, and smells like a citron, under which is a hard woody shell $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch thick, full of a fine pulp, of an high flavour, and which is esteemed to be very nutritive; in this are very bitter seeds covered with a fine balsamic substance, of the colour and consistence of *Venice* turpentine. The whole when dry is red and granulated, and given on the *Coromandel* coast in the last stage of a fever, and is called *Billapatree*.

DOOMAR.

This is a small tree, or rather shrub, growing in hedges, or out of walls; the bark is grey and rough. The leaves are of a pale green; the upper part of the leaf is paler than the under part, the latter is very harsh and rough. The fruit is a yellow fig of the size of our fig in *Europe*. It grows all over *India*, and on the coast of *Malabar* they use the leaf to polish their *Black-wood*.

SCAR-

SCARLET FIG.

This is a very spreading tree, the branches generally growing in a circular manner as if cut by art, the under part of the limbs making almost a plane at the distance of 10 or 12 feet from the ground, affording fine shelter for the cattle; the upper part is convex, and of a considerable height. The semidiameter of one near *Calcutta* in *Bengal* is full 20 yards. The bark is brown, the skin next it, and also the wood, is of a bright reddish brown. All the figs from their limbs drop shoots which take root. The leaf is of a fine deep shining green above, but somewhat paler below. It flowers as the other figs do; the fruit is a fine scarlet fig, whose diameter is an inch.

CODDAM.

This is a large timber-tree which grows to 40 feet in height; the root spreads much. The bark is grey, and much cracked; the wood is of a pale yellow, and close grained. The leaves are of a fine green colour and elegantly ribbed, they grow in pairs. The flower grows at the end of the branches, it is round and of the size of a tennis-ball, and almost as hard, excepting the style, which is much longer than the cup, and being perfectly white, standing out of it, makes it look as if it was larded: the surface of the ball is made up of fine yellow monopetalous cups, $\frac{1}{3}$ of an inch long, divided into five parts for a third of their length; and their five stamina are shorter than the cups. Stigma are oval; these are so very close together as to make it of the hardness above-mentioned; within this, of the same length, is another series of white flowers: the rest is a fibrous white stuff, without any appearance of seed; the flower is fixed to a long and slender peduncle. This tree is planted for ornament and shade, on the sides of the walks at *Bengal*.

SINGO, on the *Malabar* coast; MORUNGA, on the *Coromandel*.

This tree grows up to 20 feet, and spreads a great deal. The bark is nearly white, the skin that is next to it, reddish; the wood is whitish and spongy. The leaves are of a pale green, very tender, and pinnated farther than *Dr. Hill* describes them to be, but I think what he calls the ramose leaf of the *Ben*, comes nearest to a true description. The flowers are white, and grow on large spikes almost covering the tree, yielding a beautiful appearance. The fruit is a long triangular pod, which contains in its cavities hard, angular, alated nuts, and which I apprehend to be the *Ben* nuts. The root of this tree is used as horse-radish, and tastes very much like it. The leaves mixed with a little salt, and taken after a surfeit, vomit smartly. The fruit when green the *Indians* eat in their curries, and so they do the flowers. The tree affords a reddish gum, in shape and quality like gum *Tragacanth*. Query, if the wood be not the *Lignum Nephriticum*? It grows all over *India*.

JACK.

Is a large spreading tree; the bark is brown and rough, the wood of a fine bright yellow, and takes a good polish, the leaves are of a deep shining green. The flowers grow out of the stock and large branches on short foot-stalks; they are white, very fleshy, and shaped like a tulip. The fruit is large, rough, and of an oblong figure, containing three series of seeds, which are about the size of a bergamote pear; within these, is a large kernel which fills the Jack to within a third of an inch of its diameter; the coat of this is what is eaten, and which is extremely sweet and luscious; it feels in the mouth like preserved citron, though somewhat tougher and harder. Some of these capsules weigh more than 20 pounds. The tree grows in every country in *India*, but the *Dutch* are more fond of the fruit than any other of the *Europeans*.

CHULTA. An elegant flower tree. It grows near *Surman's* bridge in *Bengal*, and has been fully described in p. 184.

WHITE CHAMPOWE.

This is a small tree, but it spreads much; the flowers appear first round the ends of the branches, and are of the shape and smell of a jonquil, but of a white colour; after the flower, the leaves come out in the same manner round the ends of the branches, but no where else, so that on the outside, the tree looks well covered, but if you look from under, it is a shell: when the leaves are off it appears like a tree divested of all its small branches, there being none that are less than an inch in diameter, nor are there many of these. The wood is spungy; the bark smooth and brown, it smells very sweet. This tree grows all over *India*.

YELLOW CHAMPOWE.

This is the *Micibilia* of *Doctor Hill*, and by him has been well described. This is the finest sort of all, and its flowers perfume the woods.

MANGO, vide p. 184.

DOLCORUNDA OF CHETHA.

This grows to 12 and sometimes to 20 feet in height, and is in its growth, and the colour of its bark somewhat like our hazel; the leaves are of a dirty green above, and of a whitish colour below, highly ribbed, and to the touch are rough and harsh. I have never seen the flower, but the fruit is a long flat pod containing some seeds. In dry weather, the leaves double, when they appear oval with one side strait. The natives smoke the leaves over a lamp, and apply them to the eyes in order to remove a dulness of the sight occasioned by a fever, &c. They also rowl their *Charoots* in them (or *Segars* as they are called in the *West Indies*).

BEDAM.

BEDAM.

This grows in some places very tall even to 50 or 60 feet, and where it does not shoot high it spreads much. The branches are horizontal, and the leaves grow round their ends, and are of a bright green colour. The flowers are staminous, growing round the end of the branches among the leaves. The fruit are like almonds, and also are contained in husks, the inside of which are red, and of an acid taste. The kernel tastes like a young almond, and is composed of fine closely-compacted scales.

CUSTARD APPLE.

This grows as large as our apple tree. The bark is brown and smooth. The leaves are of a deep green colour, deeply furrowed, and highly ridged; they grow alternately on the branches. The flowers are monopetalous and cup-like, having many stamina. The fruit is like the cone of a pine, of a soft green colour, but white inside, having many oblong seeds intermixed with its pulp, the latter tasting very much like a rich custard. There is another sort of this kind of fruit which is somewhat sweeter than this, but grows altogether in the like manner.

ATLAS.

This is a very large and strong tree, with leaves considerably large, which are of a pale dirty green colour. The flowers grow on spikes greatly ramified, and look well on the tree; on each subdivision of the spike is a flower, whose calyx is simple and green; the corolla is a white monopetalous cup with four small hooked filaments. The fruit is a hard green ball, as large as a cricket ball, inclosing two hard seeds of the shape and size of nutmegs.

FIG.

This is a large tree, and drops fibrous shoots from its branches like the other fig or Banian trees. The bark is brown. The leaves are of a bright shining green. The fruit is round, an inch in diameter, and of a pale flesh colour.

TREPALTA or MORROOCK.

It grows to be about 16 feet high, the bark is whitish, armed with strong spines. The wood is soft, spongy, very light, and fit for being made into scabbards for sword blades. The leaves are of a pale green, and some of them have long pedicles hanging to their points like those on the little Banian tree. The flower (which commonly by us is called shoe-flower, because used to black our shoes,) is very large, of a deep but beautiful crimson colour: Corolla, of the shape of a pea-blossom, containing numerous stamina, which are also of a crimson colour. The fruit is a pod, about 7 inches long, near one in diameter, and which contains five or six red seeds of the shape of a kidney-bean.

OMRA.

This grows to a large tree, the bark is brown, and yields a gum which smells strongly of garlic. Before the tree vegetates the limbs look remarkably blunt; round their ends fibres of 10 inches long shoot out in all directions, these have knobs upon them in which the young fruit are enclosed, and soon after these appear, the leaves start out amidst the shoots, and are pinnated; on each pinna, which is in length 14 inches, there are four pair of leaves and an odd leaf. The fruit, when ripe, is of the shape and size of our muscle-plumb, but not eatable.

AARON at *Bombay*, BERINDA at *Bengal*, and ARMEDILLA at *Madras*, by some *Europeans* called GRANA REGIA.

This grows to be 12 or 14 feet high, and some get to the size of a middling tree; in the latter sort the bark is brown and smooth, but the wood is tender; the stalk is of a green colour, grows erect, but also tender. The leaves are small, of a bright green, growing on a single petiole longer or shorter in proportion to the size of the leaf. The flowers grow in pyramidal spikes on the top and large branches of the plant, and after they drop off the fruit remains, which are prickly green capsules divided into three lobes, each of which contains an oblong seed about half an inch in length; the husk is of a purple colour streaked with white. The kernel is white and oleous, and the *Indians* make use of its oil for burning in their lamps; they also give it to their children in the earliest state of infancy, looking upon it to be the most lenient and innocent of all other laxative medicines. The leaf pounded is often applied to the belly for the cure of worms. It grows all over *India*.

TATON, vide p. 185.

RUSSA, vide p. 185.

LAOOD, by the *Gentoos*: HERPAWL, *Moors*: CHERMELLE
Portuguese.

This grows to a tolerable large tree, and spreads much. The bark is whitish, and wood soft; the leaves, which are of a pale pleasant green, are pinnated, each pinna is about 14 or 15 inches long, growing very thick around the ends of the branches. The flowers grow in long spikes hanging down from the body or large branches of the tree, after which comes the fruit; this, when ripe, is of a pale greenish yellow, round, but divided down to the stone, (which is hard, and to which the flesh firmly adheres) in eight lobes, flattened at each end; these the *Europeans* at *Bengal* make tarts of, and call them gooseberry tarts, on account of their resemblance in taste to the gooseberry.

GUAVA.

GUAVA.

This tree grows to the size of our apple-tree. The bark is of a light brown: the leaves grow in pairs along the branches, are of a bright green, thick but soft, (not easily to be distinguished from the custard-apple otherwise than by their growing opposite to one another.) The flower is monopetalous, cup-like, white, and full of stamina. The fruit is of the size of a golden pippin, green at first, but when very ripe, yellow without, and generally red within: this is a pleasant but mealy pulp, containing a great number of small hard white seeds of the size of a large pin's head. The fruit, before it is quite ripe, is very astringent, if eaten with the skin. It is esteemed a good fruit, but the smell of it is not agreeable to every one.

BIER.

This grows to the size of our largest plum-tree, and is a good deal like it. The leaves are of a pale dirty green, almost white below, where it is also somewhat hairy. The tree has many spikes. The flowers are single. The fruit a plum of the size and shape of a yellow bullace, but eats more like an apple than like a plum. It grows in every part of *India*.

GUM ARABIC.

Some of these grow to large trees. The bark is brown without, but reddish within, and yields a great quantity of gum. There are three sorts of these trees, all of which are full of sharp spines, and the leaves are altogether alike, except that some may be a little longer than others. The flowers grow on foot-stalks from two to five inches long, are round, yellow, and of a fine smell, and resemble the tufts on the hangings of old-fashioned beds. The fruit are not all alike; the 1st sort, or those which grow on the shortest peduncles, are oblong, round, black pods of the shape of that of a pea, three inches long, and of the size of a man's little finger, each containing five or six round, dark brown seeds. 2d sort grows on somewhat longer peduncles from different parts of the branches like the former, and the fruit is an oblong flattened pod, in length three or four inches, and half as broad, containing five or six dark brown flattened seeds, with the impression of a heart, or rather of the letter V on each side of them. On the 3d sort, the flower grows on spikes at the end of the branches, and the fruit is a flat pod full 12 inches long, appearing like a string of buttons, and contains 10 or 12 round flattened seeds, convex on each side; the pods are of a whitish hoary green, very gummy, and hang on the spikes in clusters. With these pods, and the fruit they call *Packekaile*, the *Indians* tan and dye their leather.

LIEN CAUTA.

This is a moderately large spreading tree. The bark is of a bright brown, and smooth. The branches are full of short spines. The leaves a pale green.
Flowers,

Flowers, which are very small, grow on spikes like an amcutum or the hazel catkins, but longer: the calyx is green. Corolla white and monopetalous, containing a number of fine filaments a little longer than the corolla. The fruit I have not seen.

GE-IL.

This grows to be a pretty large tree, the leaves are of a bright green colour, but somewhat woolly. I know not of any use to which the two last described trees are converted.

COTTON.

This tree grows very large, and spreads much. The bark is whitish, and full of strong short spines. The wood is white and spongy; when the tree is young, it has a beautiful appearance, the limbs then growing horizontally, bow down, and around the body of the tree; at five feet above these, there is another circular row of branches of less extent, and in this manner they proceed on to the top, so that the tree appears at a distance like a pyramid. The campanulated flower however appears before the leaves, and is as large as a tulip: its calyx is single, green, and fleshy; corolla is composed of five oblong thick petals, which are of a deep crimson colour: the stamina are 15 subulated filaments, attached to each other in five bundles, and these again to the petals of the corolla. The fruit is a pod, of the shape of a short cucumber, divided in three several parts, containing some roundish black seeds, involved in a silky cotton-like matter. After these, come the leaves, which are of a pale green colour; by the time that these are all out, the pods split longitudinally in three places, and then the cotton soon escapes, and is carried to all places with the wind. Of that substance which adheres to the seeds, they make mattresses, pillows, &c. And a decoction of the leaves, will cure in the last stage of a dysenteric flux, attended with a *prolapsus ani*, and other fatal symptoms, as hath been experienced by Mr. Thomas, when deprived of all other hopes of saving the patient.

MERGOOSA, or NUN.

It grows to the size of our large apple trees. The bark is brown, and rough, yielding a gum of the flavour of garlic. The wood is brown. The pinnæ grow very thick about the limbs and branches, and because the trees make a good shade, they are planted in the streets and walks at Cuddalore and Madras, on the Coromandel coast. The leaves are of a deep green, the flowers grow on spikes, and are numerous. The fruit, when ripe, is yellow, half an inch long, and of the shape of an olive cut off at its end; these are very soft, and almost insipid: they grow in thick bunches, and contain a small oblong hard kernel, of which they make a very

very bitter oil, and give it to cure many disorders, particularly those of the venereal kind. They rub it also into the joints of people struck with the *Berbers*. They mix the pulp of the ripe fruit, as I have been informed, with their cream, in order to increase the quantity of their butter for the markets.

PHYSIC-NUT.

This grows eight or ten feet from the ground. The bark is brown. The wood spongy; when there are no leaves on it, the tree looks like several bundles of blunt sticks stuck into the ground, and I believe is what *Pomet* has taken his draught of the *Gamboge* plant from. The leaves grow thick on every part; they are undulated, and of a pale green. The flowers grow on spikes, on the top of the branches. The fruit is in bunches, of the size of apricots, and as it ripens looks like them; when quite ripe, it is a black roundish pod, dividing into three parts, and containing three oblong seeds, with a black husk. The kernel is white, and divides like an almond; between the divisions, is a fine membranous substance, in which lies its violent emetic, and cathartic quality; for when that is taken away, the kernel is as innocent and pleasant as an almond.—Every part of this plant yields a greyish or milky juice, which will so separate the globules of quicksilver, that it is not easy to make them unite again.

SOONATULLA.

This grows to a pretty large tree. The leaves are of a bright green colour, grow on very long stalks, and look like those of green elder; they are triplicately pinnated, and on each pinna are three pair and one odd leaf. The flower is a club on a long peduncle, bearing a number of large purple campaniform monopetalous flowers. The seed-vessel is a large flat pod, four feet long, and five inches wide, but not quite an inch thick, and which very often grows single on the top of all the branches of the tree, when it gives the appearance of a scythe; this divides longitudinally on its edges, and contains a great number of very fine, thin, white, membranous septæ, about two inches wide, among which are numerous seeds inclosed in the same membranous coverings; the seeds are flat and brown, of the shape of two kidneys united by their concave sides, each lobe being separate.

A-CUNN.

This grows two feet high. Its bark is brownish, and wood very soft; the branches, before the leaves shoot, appear as a parcel of old stumps. The leaves are a pale green, very soft, fleshy, and succulent, without furrow or fibre except in the middle rib: the whole of this tree is full of a milky juice. I have never seen the flower or fruit of it. The *Gentoos* in *Bengal*, plant it by their *Pagodas*, and look upon it as a sacred tree.

RACKTA CAMULL.

This is the water lilly, with the deep red flower; they make use of the root with pepper, as a cure for the bloody flux.

RACALSUSSA.

This is our water arrow headed grass. The *Indians* use the root with ginger, as a great strengthner.

CHANDOOL.

This plant grows upwards to 20 inches or more. The root is of the size and colour of that of the *Gentian*, but is contorted, and throws out many fibres; from the root and fibres, three or four stalks are produced, which are robust, erect, and sometimes ramose. The leaves grow three at a joint by pedicles, which are half an inch long; they are of a pale green, somewhat fleshy, and of a lanceolated shape. It flowers like the honeysuckle, but is not so abounding in flowers as that is on the head.

DOOLACUR.

This is a tolerable sized tree. The bark is brown on the outside, then a whitish colour appears, but yellow within. The leaves grow two or three from one foot-stalk, they are of a light green, oblong and pointed. The fruit is a green husk with a shell, inclosing a large kernel. The bark of this tree when powdered, is given in rheumatisms.

CONTA COCHU.

This plant grows in mud-ditches. The root is an inch and quarter in circumference, running with the same thickness a long way into the mud, throwing out some fibres, and has at irregular distances, some rough annular prominences, which are green within, and white without. The stalks are numerous, and of the size of a man's finger; round, green, succulent, and three or four feet in length: on the top of each stalk, there is either a leaf or seed. The leaf is 16 inches wide, divided to the stalk in seven places, and some of those are still further divided, in two or three other places: the leaf is rough, and serrated. The whole root, stock, and stalks of the plant are spinous. The flower is four inches long, and two thick, and grows round the upper part of the stalks, like the *Indian* corn.

PAW PAW.

This tree rises to 20 feet, sometimes single, at other times it is divided into several bodies. The stems have the appearance of the cabbage stalks, but are not so easily cut through, as Doctor *Hill* apprehended. On the top of, and round each stalk arise, on strong and single pedicles of two feet, many very large serrated sharp-pointed leaves, which are of a bright green colour.

colour above, but paler and hoary underneath, the larger ones having the greatest number of divisions. The male flowers grow out of the top of the branches, and hang down in strings. Each flower is small, monopetalous, and cup-like, divided on top in five parts. The female flowers grow between the pedicles of the leaves, from the stock of the tree; they are of the same shape as the male, but larger, and grow on short peduncles. The fruit is yellow when ripe, somewhat of the shape of a pear, and many of them in their biggest part, are four inches in diameter: they are mealy, and rather an insipid fruit, but by mixing with them some lime juice or *Tamarinds*, they make tolerable good tarts.

SMALLOO.

This grows to a small tree. The wood is as pliable as the willow. The leaves grow in pairs on the small branches; and are soft, woolly, and of a pale green colour. The *Moors* bruise, and apply them to the temples, to cure the head-ach.

BAMBOO.

This grows to a prodigious height, topping almost all the other trees. The stalk is hollow, jointed, &c. and well known. The leaf is a bright green, has no petioles, but in part surrounds the stalk at its base. The stalk is very useful, being exceedingly strong, very hollow and light; with it they often build the frames of their houses; on this they carry their burthens, and when properly carved (which is done by art whilst it is growing) they arch, and carry their palanquins with it. Some, when highly, and most regularly arched, will sell at a prodigious price, especially on the coast of *Coromandel*, where 20 pounds sterling have been given for one of them.

YAM, or ALLOO.

This is the potatoe of *India*, and after being first boiled, and then well dried in hot ashes, eats very well. The root sometimes weighs 20 pounds: It is of an oblong shape, and of a blackish-brown colour on the outside, but within, it is a white mixed with red. The stalk runs up any thing it chances to lay hold of. The leaves are of a deep green above, with a mixture of the purple; but below, they are paler; the whole leaf is thick and rigid.

NAUTA.

This grows a little more erect than our bramble bush. The stalk, branches, leaves, and seed-vessels are armed with strong and sharp spines, which readily lay hold of any thing that is in their way; the pinnæ grow opposite each other, and on them also grow others in the same manner. The leaves are of a pale, but pleasant green; the flowers grow on a spike,

on top of each pinna, and are yellow. The fruit is a round compressed pod, containing four round, hard bluish seeds; the pod opens at its convex edge. The leaves mixed with salt and pounded, is applied by way of cataplasm to ruptures: the seeds bruised, and infused in milk, are given in the *West Indies*, (where the shrub is also to be found) as a purge: in the *East*, they powder and administer them as a cure for the itch: the seeds also are sometimes disguised, and sold for *Bezoar*.

NANJAROOTA,

Is a creeper like an ivy, and grows about *Anjengo*. The whole of this plant made into a syrup from a strong decoction, it is said, cures most kind of fevers. For further particulars, not having had an opportunity of seeing the plant, I was directed to enquire of *Salvadora de Ricas* at *Anjengo*.

COLUMBO-ROOT, Rad. India. Amar.

This is the root of the *Coculus Indicus*; when quite fresh it is an *emetic*, when dry a *cathartic*.

CHENDEROOS.

They sell it in *China* for amber, but it is truly the *Gum-Copal*.

BANG.

This is the stalk of the hemp-plant; the *Indians* smoke and chew it, until they are intoxicated.

BECCE.

This I am told is a root that grows near *Patna*; what was brought to me appeared like soft opium, but was rather whiter than opium, enveloped in a piece of skin; if it be truly a root, the bark of it is thin, and of a dirty grey colour, with a yellow cast; the root itself is soft and tough, or rather gummy. I could learn nothing concerning the growth of the plant. A *Gentoo* doctor told me it was a poison, but that when compounded, as below, he had administered it with success for curing the putrid fever, accompanied with bleeding at the nose, &c.—Take of it, the weight of one silver rupee, or 90 grains; of pepper, the weight of two rupees; of calcined cowrie-shells, half a rupee's weight; mix these, and with water make the mass into middling-sized pills, of which let the patient take one, with a bit of candied ginger every morning, and which may be repeated in the evenings, if the symptoms be alarming.

DATURA.

Datura, so called by Doctor *Hill*; *Stramonium ferox*, by Doctor *James*, who has given a full account of its inebriating and intoxicating qualities,

qualities, &c. It grows erect to four feet. The leaves are soft, and of a pale bluish green colour; the flowers, which are large, and bell-shaped, are sometimes white, and sometimes yellow. If the *Indian* women have possession of any secret poison, it is the seed of this plant.

PARRUL.

This is a volubilis, which runs up the highest trees. The stalk is round, whitish, and woolly. The leaves, which are very soft, grow single at the joints, are of a brownish green colour above, but whitish below.

AGUMHEE.

A volubilis, with numerous tendrils. The stalks are round, and hairy. The leaves are hairy too, and of a deep green colour. The flowers are yellow, in large green hairy cups, divided in five parts. The stamina consist of three very small filaments. The fruit is yellow when ripe, and of the size of a small gooseberry, but not with so much pulp; the seeds however are larger than those of the gooseberry. The *Gentoo* doctors say, that the juice of this leaf given in goats milk, cures putrid fevers.

FROGBOOTEE.

This is a volubilis. The root though tortuous, grows perpendicularly, and is as thick as a tobacco pipe, brown without, but paler within. The leaves grow alternately on the stalk, and are of a bright green colour. The powder of these leaves, is one of the many medicines the *Indians* give to cure a *Gonorrhœa*.

CHACULCA.

This too is a small volubilis. The root is fibrous. The leaves, which are thin, rigid, and of a pale green, grow at the joints of the stalks. The flowers grow on the top of the stalks, in squamous cottony heads, are very small, and of a bright purple colour. The juice of the leaf mixed with a little salt, and rubbed on the skin, relieves it from any itching disorder.

ANTIMOOL.

A small volubilis. The root is brown, small, tortuous, and grows perpendicularly. The leaf is of a deep green, with some white streaks. If the whole plant with its root be pounded, and made into pills, and a middling sized pill be taken morning and evening, the *Indians* say, that it will cure the itch.

GUNDY BEDELL.

Another volubilis. Its leaves grow in pairs, are thin, and of a deep green colour; they stink worse than a putrid cabbage. When pounded with ginger, it is administered as a cure for the flux.

CUTCHOO.

This grows like our *Aaron*, though its leaves are somewhat larger than the *Aaron's*: the stalks are either of a deep green, or deep purple colour. It grows in damp places. The natives eat of the root boiled, as a part of their diet; and externally use it as a repellent.

WIEN CHAMPOWE or GROUND-FLOWER.

The roots are whitish and tuberous, with several others hanging to them by small appendices. The leaves feel soft, and are of a pale green above, but purple below, they surround each other as they come out of the ground. I could not procure either the stalk or flower.

RANGCHITTA.

I could not see this plant, but the leaves I have had; they are of a deep green above, but paler below. When the leaves are bruised, and applied to an extravasation of blood, they will dissolve it.

THUSMICUNDY.

The root is of the nature of ginger, and tuberous, having a bunch of loose fibres affixed to the top, from which the plant grows. The root is brown on the outside, but yellowish within, and like the ginger feels warm in the mouth. The culm grows to five feet. The leaves are a pale green. On top of the culm are the flowers; they are four fleshy yellow filaments, in green cups. The root and leaf pounded with pepper, are given in colds.

EDDY.

This is a potatoe, eaten by the natives. The root is round, with several excrescences about its skins, from the size of an hazel-nut, to that of a walnut, which excrescences are pulled off, and planted. It is of a pale brown on the outside, and whitish within, but a good deal intermixed with red. It sometimes weighs 20 pounds or more. The leaves are of a pale shining green, fleshy, and frequently extremely large; so much like the *Rhubarb* leaf, that *Europeans* frequently mistake, and until they see the root, take it for that plant. The natives boil and eat this root in the same manner, as they do that of the *Cutchoo*.

ORRIOL.

This grows to a pretty large tree, which sends forth long branches almost from the ground. The leaves are rigid, and of a bright green colour; they grow

grow in pairs opposite each other, the whole length of the branches. The flowers I have not seen. The fruit, which is of an oblong figure, is about two inches in length, and three fourths of an inch broad, green, succulent, and contains some small seeds; they are also alated lengthways, and have four rows of membranes. The whole of the fruit is acid. They use the fruit in their curries and tarts, and say, they also give the juice of it in the gout.

AFRICAN PLANT.

This is the same as that which we have in *England*, and needs no description.

MOUSELLE.

This tree grows to a tolerable size, and makes an agreeable shade in walks and gardens, easily yielding to be cut into any form, that fancy shall dictate. Its bark is brown, the leaves of a deep green above, but of a paler below, they are rigid, very bright, shining and thick. Flowers are a radiated green calyx, on which is the pyramidal germen; the corolla is a short white tube over the germen, with its upper part radiated: these fall off in great plenty every day, are of an agreeable sweet smell, and the *Gentoos* are very fond of them, stringing and hanging them about their necks, arms, &c. The fruit is a pale red cherry, of the size and shape of our white heart cherry, but the footstalk is not quite so long: the cherry grows in the axæ of the leaves, and tastes like hips, containing a stone, whose shell is tender, brown, smooth, and somewhat longer than our cherry-stone, but in the shape of the almond's: the kernel is bitter and oleous. With the oil extracted from this kernel, the natives rub the part that has been bitten by the *Scorpion* or *Centipede*, and which it soon cures. The crows are very fond of this fruit.

CURRINGE.

This is a pretty large tree, but bushy; it is planted in some of the gardens at *Bengal*, but for what use I could not learn; the rigid leaves are of a dark shining green colour, and grow on woody pinnæ upon the limbs and branches; there are four pair and an odd one on each pinna; neither the flower nor fruit have I seen.

VOLUBILES.

These grow in such plenty, and there is so great a variety of them both in the hedges and gardens, that the natives have scarcely proper names for any, but those which are used in food or medicine.

SETT MOORGA.

This plant is of the *Aloe* kind. The root is double, and like a pair of horns, a foot in length, succulent, and as thick as a man's finger, reddish without,

without, and white within. The leaves are not spinous, and are 18 inches long; the base, is one inch broad, and of a deep green, spotted with a purple colour. The flower-stalk is near two feet long; the fruit grow round it from top to bottom, these are small berries, each containing one seed. The juice of the leaves sweetened is a great restorative.

BONCHURRILLY.

The root consists of several bulbs of a pyramidal form, and half an inch in diameter, with some long fibres, of the size of a goose-quill. The plant is grassy; the culm part is about 14 inches high; the leaves are oval, and 11 or 12 inches long. The flower-stalk is in the middle of the leaves, erect, green, and of the thickness of a large goose-quill. The flower grows like our Fox-glove. The fruit are seven or eight green oval pods, one inch long, and deeply divided in six parts. The root with salt in the form of a cataplasm, is applied to bruises.

ARRA CHITTA.

This grows five feet high, but must be supported; the perpendicular root is as thick as a man's finger, and sends forth five or six stalks, which cling to any thing they chance to meet with, and near their tops they divide. The leaves grow alternately on the stalk, or the branches; they are pinnated, and three pair and an odd leaf grow together; in shape they are oval and pointed, and two inches long. The flowers are blue, and of the shape of pea-flowers. The seed-vessel is a pod, four inches long, containing 10, or a greater number of kidney-shaped seeds. The juice of this plant, the old women give in the bleeding fever.

DULCAMUNDA.

The root grows perpendicularly, is in common 12 inches long, and two thick, but sometimes it is still much longer and thicker; it is brown without, and red within. The stalk is erect, and one inch thick, deeply furrowed, as are the petioles of the leaves. The plant grows to four feet in height; there are generally four leaves on the stalk, growing together in an alternate manner, and these are of a bright green, and cordated, 16 inches in length, 12 in breadth, and highly ribbed. The flower is an umbel, not unlike that of the elder before it is in full bloom. The root of it, with pepper, is given in pills to discuss swellings; and a cataplasm of the same applied to swollen parts, is used with the like intention.

BORA CONKRILL.

This is the largest of the species; it is a procumbent plant, and throws out roots at its joints. The leaves are angular, and of a bright green. The flowers I have never seen. The fruit is oval, and larger than an ostrich's

ostrich's egg; of a fine orange colour, armed with thick and strong spines, full of a soft white pulp, in which are the seeds, which are flat and black, of the size of sixpence, and as thick as a crown-piece. Those seeds ground on a stone with honey, are an excellent laxative in fevers.

TOBACCO,

Is too well known, to need a description.

OLE.

In the beginning of the rainy season, the leaves of this plant being folded together, rise out of the ground, and when they are gotten to the height of six inches, then the stem appears, soon afterwards the leaf unfolds, and divides in three several parts, and these go again into many other divisions; but there is a continuation of the leaf through every subdivision of the three first parts. The stalk grows to two feet or more, and is as thick as a man's wrist, succulent, and of a pale green; spotted very copiously with a deep purple colour. The leaves are of a pale, yet bright green. The root is a large ball of 10 inches diameter; and round, with several excrescences on its surface, each of which becomes a fresh root when planted: it is reddish on the outside, and red within, very pungent to the tongue; but yet the natives boil and make use of it, and also of the stalks, as a part of their food.

UMBEL COOTCHA.

This grows almost erect; the leaves on the pinnæ are much smaller, but more numerous, and of a finer green than those of the *Nauta* or prickly plant; in every thing else, as its manner of growing, its spines and flower, they are exactly alike; the fruit of this I could never meet with.

COLURE.

This runs up a great way on trees or hedges; the leaf is of a deep green, shining, smooth, and tender. The flower is white, monopetalous, and divided in six parts down the cup; the stamina are rough double filaments, in number six; the antheræ on top of the filaments, are bearded like an arrow. The fruit is an apple of the shape of a cucumber, and the seeds are like it: the fruit is first green, and afterwards of a beautiful bright scarlet colour, or between that and crimson; the parrots, and many other birds feed on them, yet it is not the bird pepper.—The leaf of this plant when young, is exactly like the leaf of the *Physical Cucumber*, when old, it is like the leaf of the *Dootra*.

DOOTRA.

This is a garden volubilis.

CARILLA.

CARILLA.

This is also a garden volubilis, and runs up stakes or trees, but not to a great height. A leaf and a tendril grow at every joint, that is to say, regularly at about the distance of four inches from each other. The leaf is of a deep green, and made like that of the cucumber. The fruit is about three inches long; sharp at each end, and more than an inch in diameter, with four ridges on its surface, running from one end to the other, rough, and serrated, like a cock's-comb. It is a cucumber, and eaten by the natives in their curries.

BURNEE.

This is a small plant, which grows to about eight inches in height; it is found in watery places. The stalks are single, erect, and succulent; the leaves grow thick on the plant, are suboval, and one third of an inch in length. The juice of this, they tell me, they give in *old fevers*, by which I believe they mean consumptions.

O G G.

It appears to me, that this is the Dogwort Cotton. This plant grows to six feet in height and more: it is bushy, and many stalks arise from one root, which stalks are slightly divided; yet sometimes I have seen only a single stalk to rise from the root, and then it has spread so much, as to give the appearance of the plant's being a small tree. The leaves are soft, and fleshy; of a pale shining green above, whitish, and cottony below; the limbs are also soft and spungy. The flowers grow in an umbel on the top, and on the divisions of the branches; there is no calyx, and the corolla is single, bell-shaped, with the upper part divided in six places, down to the tube; those lie horizontal, are fleshy, and of a fine purple colour. The stamina are six filaments, joined by a membrane in the center, on the top of which is a round, flatted, stellated anthera. The fruit is an oblong, fleshy pod, three inches long, containing some round black seeds, and is full of a cottony matter. Every part of this plant, on being broken, emits an hot pungent milk, which the natives mix with oil, and with it rub the hands for cure of the itch; I have seen them use it for the same purpose without oil.

GUALIA.

The root of this is very large, brown without, white within; soft and succulent. The stalk is round and woody, and runs a long way amongst bushes; the leaves grow at every joint, attended by a tendril, are hairy, and of a pale green colour. The root bruised, is used as a cataplasm to cure any pains of the joints, those proceeding from the gout excepted.

POT SAG, and LOL SAG.

These are the common greens which spontaneously grow all over *India*, very much resembling our spinach, and are by the *Europeans* called *Cullaloe*; of which mention was made in the first book.

DODMURDEN.

This is a shrub, which spreads considerably. The bright green leaves are pinnated; there are six pair on each pinna, whose ribs are of a black colour. The flowers grow on a thick spike, from the axæ of the pinnae, and are of a fine yellow: the calyx is a fine yellow rounded perianthum, and the leaves are affixed to the peduncle by a short slender unguis: the corolla is composed of six round concave petals, of half an inch broad, whose unguis are also very short and slender. The flower consists of ten short and slender stamina, whose antheræ are double, and coronated; two of the stamina are larger than the others, whose antheræ are not only double, but of a semicircular form, and nearly one third of an inch in length; another of the ten stamina, is longer and thicker than all the rest, but its antheræ differs not from the small ones. The style is short; the stigma triangular, and near an inch long. The leaves, when pounded, the natives apply by way of a cataplasm to the ringworm (which is a very troublesome and common disorder in the *East Indies*); it makes a hard crust over the affected part, and whenever any of this crust breaks, they lay on more of the pounded leaves, and continue so to do until the whole crust falls off, not neglecting to give at proper intervals cathartic medicines. This Mr. *Thomas* saw used with success, but he was also informed in *India*, that the late gallant Admiral *Boscawen*, when in that country, was cured of a vexatious and obstinate ringworm, by an application of the shoe-flower.

MUCKMULL.

This volubilis climbs up high trees; its stalk is round, and very woolly: the leaf which is also very woolly, is green above, and almost white below. The flowers are umbelliferous, campanulated, and of a fine purple colour. The limbs are much curled and extended. Stamina, are five, (anthera oblong, and erect) affixed to the upper part of the tube of the corolla. Style is single, and subulated. Stigma, oval, and double.

The green side of the leaves, digest; and the white, dry, old ulcers.

TURMERICK.

This is too well known, to need a description; as is also

GINGER.

R r r

BONADDA,

BONADDA, WILD GINGER.

This plant grows to five or six feet in height. The root is like ginger; the stalk a culm, pale green, and a little woolly; flower, a club of six inches in length, and formed like that of the other ginger.

BISNAGULLIE.

The root is tuberous and white; from which arises a single slender stalk, naked about two feet from the ground, then at alternate distances of half an inch, grow the leaves, which are of a pale green colour, and support themselves by the tendrils at their ends; they are continued to the height of 10 feet, growing in an alternate succession, as well on the divisions as stalk. Several flowers grow at the extremities of those divisions, on footstalks of five inches, three leaves forming a cup for them, which shut up in the day, and open at night; these are composed of six grassy flowers, one half inch long, of the shape and colour of the plant. The stamina are six green subulated filaments, of half an inch in length: antheræ are double, almost as long as the filaments, yellow, and affixed by their middle to the top of them. The germ is oblong, divided in three parts, and the style subulated and bifid. The root is esteemed a great cooler.

LILLICANT.

The root of this plant is tuberous, as warm as ginger, but more pleasant, of the length and thickness of a man's little finger; the outside is whitish, the inside of a beautiful blue, with a mixture of clear white. The stalk is a culm, surrounded by leaves, of a deep green colour, with some purple on their edges. This remarkable root grows at *Bengal*, and is given, mixed with pepper, in the form of pills for the sore throat in the small-pox, which they say it certainly cures. Mr. *Thomas* procured some roots, and carefully dried them with the design of bringing them to *England*, but the damp in the ship soon destroyed them.

MACCALFULL.

The root is fibrous. The stalk procumbent, and takes root at the joints. The leaves are of a pale green above, still paler below, and feel rough; they grow on petioles of three inches. The fruit is an apple, as big as a large lemon; of the lemon's shape, with a beautiful orange colour, containing a number of flat oval seeds, nearly half an inch in length, and a deep green pulp. The root pounded, and mixed with ginger, is given in fevers. There is another of the species, much like this in its leaves and fruit, and which runs up very high on walls, trees, &c.

RACTAGAROO.

The root of this creeper is near a foot long, one fourth of an inch thick, white and fibrous within. The stalk is round, procumbent, and green.

Leaves, of a deep green above, but paler below. The root bruised and mixed with pepper, they give in the gout.

BAWMANHUTTA.

The root grows perpendicularly, is an inch or more in diameter, brown, two feet long, white within, and woody. The stalk is woody, and jointed, growing in height to six feet or more, but naked nearly half way, then it divides into several branches. The leaves grow in pairs, on short pedicles, and are very thick together, of a bright green, succulent, and of tender make. The flowers grow on spikes, round the upper part of the branches, are of a pale yellow colour, and somewhat of the shape of our honey-suckle. Stamina, are four in number, but the style is single. They give the root powdered, in the most dangerous state of the small-pox, at the same time hanging a piece of it about the neck.

GETKULL.

This plant grows to three or four feet in height. The stalk is woody, erect, and spreads a good deal. The leaves on long petioles, are somewhat dusty, of a pale green, and feel harsh: the flowers grow in umbels, on top of the branches; they are of a deep red, or crimson colour, monopetalous, divided to the cup in five horizontal segments, which when in full bloom, close upon the fruit. The fruit is a soft berry, of the size of a large currant, and when ripe, is of a dark green colour.

JAMBLAN, or MIRABOLANS.

There are various sorts of these, which grow to middling sized trees, whose leaves are smooth, shining, and polished.

SEREECE.

This is a large spreading tree, which is planted in walks, and grows very tall. The bark is brown and cracked; the leaves are pinnated, grow along every branch, and are of a pleasant grassy green: the flowers grow on spikes at the ends of the branches, on short footstalks. The calyx is a thin perianthum. The corolla is also green, and very small, with numerous petals. The flowers have very long fine filaments, which are of a whitish green colour, and fine smell; and so numerous, as to give the flower the appearance of an hemisphere.

BONARANGA.

This is a very small, bushy tree; it grows sometimes to the height of 20 feet, but is full of branches from its very root. The leaves grow very thick, and alternately on the branches; above, they are smooth, and of a bright shining green, but below, they are paler, and ribbed. The limbs of the tree grow to a great length. The flowers I have not seen.

The fruit is a round husk of an orange colour, about an inch in diameter, and divided pretty deep into six lobes. When ripe it falls into three pieces, in each of which is a pulpy fruit, with a black nut containing a white kernel. The whole of the fruit pounded with pepper and made into pills, the natives give to patients in the small-pox accompanied with sore throats.

BERINGJOLE.

This is a robust spinous plant, which grows two feet high. The rough leaves are of a pale dirty green, with rough spines upon the middle and larger ribs. The flowers I have not observed. The fruit is oblong, of a pale green, mixed with a purple colour; sometimes the purple is the prevailing colour: at the bottom the fruit is larger than it is at the stem. The inhabitants of *India* in general eat of this fruit in their curries; they boil them also as we do turnips, but many persons prefer them when broiled and seasoned with pepper and salt.

PULSA.

This grows to a tolerable size. The bark is of the colour of our hazel, and indeed the tree looks like the hazel; the leaf is soft, woolly, and of a pale green colour. The flower I have not seen; the fruit is a kind of olive, of a red colour; when ripe a little downy, and of an agreeable acid taste. I never saw any of them but in *Bengal*, and there, only in a garden belonging to *Omichund* the *Gentoo* merchant.

PUNSHULEE.

This is a small tree or shrub whose limbs grow very long and are full of pinnæ. The leaves are a fine pleasant green, what the flower is I cannot say, having never seen it. The fruit is a small berry which grows at the stalk of every leaf; it is first green, then red, and when perfectly ripe, black. The boys paint their kites with these berries.

The GREGORIAN or WILD CUCUMBER, called in *Bengal* TEET-PULTA, and lately by some *Europeans* in *India*, the VOMITING BIRD-NEST.

This plant grows like our cucumber plant, and climbs high on trees; like the cucumber it also varies in its species, though I saw no very material difference amongst them. When the fruit is green it is made use of as an ingredient in *curries*, and cuts like our cucumber. When dry, it consists of a number of fine longitudinal and transverse fibres finely interwoven with each other, and forming three cells the whole length of the fruit, remarkable for having the longitudinal fibres more numerous on the inside, and the transverse ones on the outside, and which are full of roundish black seeds: those cells open at the end in one hole, whose circumference is that of a shilling, and which is firmly and exactly stopped by the ridged skin.

skin, rind, or coat of the fruit. In the center of this hole, is the pistil, which is a continuation of the stalk, and drops out just before the rainy season sets in, and then the seeds also fall; but before that season commences, the skin remains perfectly whole; which happy circumstance seems to be a peculiar care of providence for the preservation of this valuable vegetable; the fibres are what we commonly called, the *Birds-nest*, and when dipped in boiling water, and repeated to be dipped, until the water becomes of the colour of fine hyson tea, is certainly a powerful and safe emetic, not at all inferior in its virtues to the ipecacuanha root, or any other medicine whatever. It is truth, that wonderful cures to persons labouring under slow nervous fevers have been wrought by this cucumber, whose excellency doth not merely consist in its emetic and purgative qualities, but is also indisputably fraught with stomachic and restorative virtues: it is also a gentle sudorific, and the seeds are esteemed as a powerful vermifuge; 30 drops of a tincture made of the fibrous cells infused in French brandy, and taken in a glass of *Madeira* wine before dinner, seldom fail to cure the most violent pain of the stomach, which Mr. *Thomas* often experienced.

The virtues of this plant seemed to be totally unknown to our brethren of the faculty in *India*, until Mr. *Thomas* (who resided with me at the hospital) was informed of them by the black doctors of the country that we employed for collecting of simples, and of whom we endeavoured to get all the information we could relative to botany and the physical practice of the country. To me, this gentleman soon imparted his intelligence, and after repeated and satisfactory trials had been made, I collected a considerable number of the dried cucumbers, and made use of them with great success, as well in my private, as in the hospital practice. I shall only add on this subject, that the emetic quality contained in the cells of one of those cucumbers, is sufficient to serve for many vomiting doses; the person using it, has only to take care, that after having dipped the same in water, it be suspended in the air in order to its being dried, lest from the aqueous particles which may be remaining in the cells it should chance to become corrupted.

BOSNA, by us called SODOM and GOMORRAH.

This is a tolerable large tree, grows pretty thick, and is doubly pinnated. The leaves of the pinnæ are tender, of a fine green colour, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long. Some of the flowers are white, some red, whilst others are variegated; they are three inches or more in length and nearly two in width, of the shape of the pea-flower, with numerous stamina. The fruit is a pod of 14 inches long, flat, and no thicker than a goose-quill, containing from one end to the other, small seeds of the shape of a kidney.

CHUTTA,

CHUTTA, by us, COCK'S-COMB.

This is a shrub-like plant, and common to all the gardens in *India*. It grows to be 10 feet high, and is doubly pinnated. The stalk is robust and woody. The bark of a brown colour. On each pinna are 10 or 12 pair of fine green tender leaves, which are one inch in length. The flower is of a fine crimson colour. The fruit is a flat pod, four inches long, and $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch wide, containing six oval, flattened, greenish seeds.

This is the *Poinciana* of Dr. Hill.

WILD PINE-APPLE.

This grows on the sides of watery places, is often planted for hedges, and answers the purpose exceedingly well, it being thick, close, and full of spines. The root runs a great way under the surface of the ground; the branches of it, which are from half an inch to three or four inches in diameter, continue to be of the same thickness for a long way; these are hard, but not woody, of a greenish colour without, and white within. The plant grows in the same manner as other pines do, but the old leaves of this are somewhat longer than those of the other, and at the same time spinous; as these drop off, there is a kind of stock remaining which is five or six inches in diameter, and not unlike the *Bamboo*; and whenever these have been suffered to remain uncut for any length of time, if you lift upward the outer leaves, you will see a number of those stocks, or stems, and a large cavity in the middle of them, which is always proportionally corresponding to the height of the hedge, as there are no leaves but what are near the surface of the hedge. At *Madras* you see a remarkable high hedge of this kind, (originally planted for limiting to the northward the boundaries of that settlement,) which is nearly 20 feet high, and hollow enough for sheltering many hundred men, but their general height is no more than five or six feet. The flower is an erect spike, very thick and soft, of a brown colour, and like our grasses it grows in a double strong and fleshy spatha, yielding a sweet and highly perfumed odour; and which, if dried and put amongst linen clothes, will prevent their being injured by the ant, or any other destroying insect or vermin. The fruit, which is eaten by the poor people, resembles the other pine-apple, but is shorter than that.

COW-ITCH.

This is the down found on the outside of a pod, which is about the length and thickness of a man's little finger, and of the shape of an *Italian S*. The plant grows to a great height amongst trees and bushes; the leaves grow in pairs with a single one at the end, are of a deep green colour, cordated shape, about four inches long, with the main fibre running near the upper side of the leaf. The flowers grow thick on a spike which is nearly an inch in length, of a fine deep purple colour, and bilabiated in a green cup; after the flowers fall off the pod remains. The leaves bruised, are esteemed an excellent application for wounds in cattle.

GINGILLA

GINGILLA SEED.

This is the *Sesamum* of Dr. Hill. They use its oil to fry their flesh or fish in, and preserve the seeds as sweetmeats, and deem them to be strengtheners.

SAUMÉDE CHUTE.

This is a very pretty shrub-like plant, in height sometimes more than 12 or 14 feet. The bark is grey below, and green above. The leaves are very small and tender, of a pale but pleasant green colour; oval in shape, and half an inch in length; doubly pinnated, with eight or ten pair growing on each side-pinna. The flower is sometimes yellow, sometimes purple; grows on spikes, and is of the shape of the pea-blossom. The fruit is a slender pod, of the thickness of a pack-thread, containing oblong truncated seeds; they are first of a brownish black, but when ripe, are brown, and look on the tree, where they plenteously hang, like so many pieces of pack-thread. The leaves fried with *Ghee* are used as a suppurating cataplasm.

MARRICALLANGA. *Semen emeticum novum.*

I have never seen the tree, but they tell me that it is a large one. I had some of its branches brought to me, which were like the branches of our *Barberry*, and equally as thick; they are of a great length, and send forth but a small number of the smaller branches. The bark is greyish, the wood is tough; at the distance of two or three inches throughout the branches, there grow two very long sharp spines, which are opposite to each other, and under each of these, shoot out five or six small suboval leaves; the smallest end being elongated serves as a pedicle in the manner of our thorn. In the middle of those leaves on a short pedicle stand the fruit, which when green are oval, and have an eye like the pomegranate; when ripe, they are nearly round, and of the size and colour of a walnut; the skin is rough, but breaks almost as soon as it is bended; in the inside, the fruit is divided into three partitions like the walnut, and these are full of reddish seeds, that are oleous, and when first tasted, a little aromatic; in shape they are the 5th or 6th of a circle cut from the circumference to the center, and some of them are angular without the convexity. These seeds with the husks when powdered is in look, smell, and taste, like the powder of *Ipecacuanha*, and an equal quantity of each operates alike. They are to be had almost all over *India*, and are so cheap that the price is hardly worthy of mention, for a bushel will not cost more than a rupee. The black people have always been acquainted with their useful properties, and frequently use them in medicine. But the *European* surgeons, according to Mr. Thomas's observations, until he himself introduced them into practice (which was after that he succeeded me as surgeon to his majesty's hospital) seemed to be altogether unacquainted with them.

ALOES.

ALOE.

The *Aloe* is well known in most parts of the world, and therefore it is unnecessary to describe it. They grow all over *India*; and near *St. Augustine's Bay* at *Madagascar*, is to be found in great abundance, the right *Succotrine* sort.

AGOGHORSE.

This is a direct grass. The culm sometimes runs upwards of two feet, and is undivided. The leaves are pointed, of a fine green, rough, half an inch broad, and two feet long: they are of an aromatic taste, mingled with an agreeable bitter, yield a fine sweet-smelling flavour, and are used in cool tankards, &c.

DIET-PRODUCTIONS of the GARDEN.

It would be endless to attempt a description of the number and sorts which *India* produces of the creeper and volubilis kind, and that are by the *Europeans* and natives used in their curries, and soups; there are of them, whose fruit are from the size of a bushel measure to that of the gooseberry; and of every shape, such as round, oval, oblong, angular, &c. There is also a great variety of the bean kind, too tedious to mention here; but the one which they call *Try*, I cannot pass over: it is highly esteemed when stewed, by the *Europeans*, and when ripe and dry, carries with it the appearance of the *Wild Cucumber*, and is, as I was told, like that, of an emetic quality. Whether it is the same, has been a matter of dispute; however, by comparing the description already given of the *Teetpulta*, with the few particulars which follow relating to this, the reader will soon discover how mistaken those are who suppose them to be the same. This fruit when dry, is highly ridged, with five or six large fibres running its whole length, and without a piftil; neither are the fibres so distinct as in the other, but are pluffy, as if beaten.

In the markets of all our *English* settlements, you seldom meet with any other vegetables for sale than what are the natural productions of the country; whereas in those of the *Dutch* you find a plenty of the *European* cabbages, coleworts, carrots, turnips, pease, &c. &c. &c.

With pleasure, I acknowledge the aid I have received from the late ingenious *Mr. Thomas's* papers, which contain also branches or leaves of almost every one of the foregoing trees, shrubs, and plants; these enabled me to give so accurate an account of the vegetable productions of *Indostan*, and from them I have also transcribed the following recipe for the cure of putrid intermitting fevers, communicated to us by a *Gentoo* doctor during our being together in *Bengal*, and which I oftentimes successfully prescribed in the course of my hospital practice in that settlement: concerning it *Mr.*

Thomas hath left this opinion, "We have found it to answer better than the bark, in whatever quantity given."

Take of *Roman* vitriol, and burnt pearls, each, the weight of one rupee, (i. e. three drachms and seven grains;) orpiment half a drachm; furnamachy, (a metallic fossil) burnt 10 grains: wash the orpiment in chunam (Lime) water; powder them well together, and make them into a soft electuary with the juice of green aloes; then put it into a small unglazed earthen pan, and turn another shallow one over it, both which close well with clay, by surrounding both the pans with it, and at least half an inch thick. Then dig a hole in the ground 14 inches wide and a foot deep, into which put dried cow-dung and some bits of straw to the height of six inches from the bottom of the hole, then set the same on fire; put over the fuel the pans, taking care to cover them with cow-dung and bits of straw, till they are piled six or eight inches above the pit or hole, where let the pans continue till all the fuel is consumed by the fire, which will be about seven hours. When the medicine is taken out, it looks like a cinder; this you are to reduce to a powder, and give two grains with fugar every morning.

A List of *Indian* Drugs hath been given in p. 44.

A P P E N D I X,

N^o. III.

An Account of the DISEASES incident to GOMBROON,
contained in a letter from an ingenious physician who
resided several years in that settlement.

DURING my abode at *Gombroon*, autumnal and vernal *Intermittents* ranged in as various forms, as have ever been remarked in the descriptions given of these diseases by medical authors. The most simple of them often continued to harass the patient for a considerable length of time. Others were quite anomalous, the paroxysms frequently redoubling, and that not always in a regular order; which plainly evinced the malignity of their nature. I have known a regular autumnal *Tertian* (which never doubled the paroxysm, except upon some casual indiscretion of the patient), so obstinate as to continue twelve or thirteen months, and at length to occasion indurations in the spleen, liver, &c.

The obstinacy of these diseases, and the bad consequences arising from them, do, I believe, but seldom occur in other countries, and here, were by no means occasioned by bleeding, or other improper evacuations. Even when by the irregularities of the patient the fits were anticipated, or redoubled, the fever quickly assumed its first type, and so went on until the patient's want of strength and the dread of worse consequences, obliged me to put a stop to its career by the bark. A repetition of the same medicine afterwards, at intervals, according to *Sydenham's* method, did not always prove successful.

Other

Other *Intermittents*, were of a more malignant nature, and attended with such complicated and redoubled fits, as sometimes to terminate in a continual fever of the worst kind, to the great danger and often the destruction of the patient. *Continual Putrid Fevers*, appeared as the sun approached the winter, or summer solstice, but were by no means so frequent as to deserve the name of epidemics. *Bastard Peripneumonies*, also occurred from the middle of *October* to the middle of *November*, and might in some years be observed even in the succeeding months to the end of *February*.

But the various species of *Intermitting Fevers* already mentioned, were, at least while I was there, the most prevailing disorders at *Gombroon*.

The *Quotidians*, during the first days, by reason of their obscure intermission, were somewhat difficult to be distinguished from the rest: but by attending to the attack of the first cold fit, and the progress of the other subsequent symptoms, the case may be known. The chilliness in the beginning of this fever commences in the extreme parts of the body, such as at the tip of the nose, and the ends of the fingers, or toes: it never seizes with an universal rigor, or in all or most of the muscular parts of the body at once, as in the beginning of many *Continual Fevers*; neither does it rise to so great a degree as in a *Tertian*. The cold fit is often very slight at *Gombroon*, and I believe in most hot climates. Towards the end of the cold fit, a pituitous vomiting, with great drowsiness, often attacks the patient, and soon after, the pulse becomes quicker, having an undulating motion, but not so strong in its vibrations as in a *Tertian*, nor attended with that tensility and hardness as in acute *Inflammatory Fevers*: neither does the patient complain much of thirst, but is on the contrary frequently troubled with watery and frothy spittings. Moreover, the heat of the body during the increase or state, is accompanied with a moisture, and is very moderate when compared with the heat attendant on continual *Inflammatory Fevers*, or *Tertian Intermittents*, in the same state. If the face continues for any time pale, livid, and as it were a little bloated, with tense *Hypochondria*, danger is portended.

The patient in the first days hath seldom any truly critical sweat; nor are the intermissions for the most part perceptible. However, in five or six days these *Fevers* most commonly show their nature more plainly, by *Intermissions* of six or eight hours continuance, and, what I have not elsewhere observed of such *Quotidians*, they in about a fortnight afterwards terminate in *Tertians*. This *Fever* will by no means bear a hot regimen; by this it will soon be changed into a *Continual Putrid*, and more dangerous *Fever*. A cold regimen is also a dangerous extreme. At *Gombroon*, if I may be allowed the expression, it is of a phlegmatic and pituitous nature, in which a mean course between the two excesses of either of these regimens, is to be followed.

On its first attack, I usually gave a vomit, either of *Ipecacuanha*, or *Salt of Vitriol*, adding to the former a grain or two of *Tartar Emetic*, or two drachms of *Vinum Benedictum* for robust habits. Bleeding is seldom requisite in this fever; the pulse, joined with the state of other symptoms, must alone determine the expediency of that operation. The constitution, so far as I could find, in *Gombroon*, will not bear too smart, nor too great evacuations of any kind. For common drink, I ordered sack-whey, sage-tea, or orange-whey; and gave often some grains of *Sal Prunella* mixed with them, so as that the patient might take about the quantity of a drachm and a half of it in the space of twenty-four hours. I directed panado, and water-gruel, for their food, allowing some spoonfuls of rhenish, old hock, or other white wines, to be given when the fever was almost on the decline. I have sometimes, to ungovernable patients, allowed chicken broth, but cannot approve of flesh nutriment, even of the lightest sort, especially in the first days of a fever of any kind, as more easily tending to putrefaction than the farinaceous aliment. Sage, or other tea, I frequently allowed as a change of drink; but I found the sack-whey infinitely preferable, as supporting the spirits better, and also affording some nourishment, which the teas did not.

Sweats forced by art in the beginning of these fevers, as well as in most others, pervert the intentions of nature, and render the disease more malignant and irregular; but when occasioned by gently diluting and resolving medicines, they either bring the *Fever* sooner to an *Intermission*, or by gradually resolving and eliminating the morbid matter, restore the patient to health. In case the bowels are much constipated, a clyster of milk, oil and sugar, with two drachms of lenitive electuary dissolved in it, may be administered; but in most cases at the beginning of *Quotidians*, the stools are crude and watery, and an emetic will usually procure as much evacuation as is necessary this way. Where the drowsiness was so excessive as to threaten a *Coma*, and the languor of the pulse required the application of a blister, I have found benefit from applying it, but great care is to be taken, lest so powerful a *stimulus* should throw the patient into a *Continual Fever*; and indeed, although *Quotidians* are very troublesome, and often dangerous, as I seldom had occasion to lower the *Fever* with the lancet, so neither have I been often obliged to raise the pulse by the application of vesicatories. Such *Fevers*, by a prudent treatment, without running into any extremes, will often in a few days grant some hours truce daily to the patient, and provided his constitution holds out, may in a fortnight afterwards, form themselves into regular *Tertians*.

But where I have been apprehensive of the patient's succumbing under the fever before such a wished-for change, I have then taken the opportunity of the small intermissions, to give the bark, with as much caution and prudence as I was master of. You are sensible, no particular advice in such a case can be given; this must be left entirely to the judgment of the physician or surgeon who has attended the patient through the whole course

course of the disease. I have however observed, that on the first, second, third, or fourth perfect *Intermission*, if I had a mind to embrace that opportunity, I could always exhibit at least two drachms of the bark before the approach of the next fit, which I indeed observed to be somewhat higher than the preceding one, but without danger.

At the next *Intermission* I could generally make the patient take half an ounce, and on the third, six drachms, or thereabouts; which practice never failed to drive off the *Fever*, or change its type to a *Tertian*: nay, I have been sometimes forced to lay hold of *Remissions*, and it is to be done with safety when one is sure of the nature of the *Fever*. Sometimes you will gain your point in twice giving your bark as above-mentioned, thrice never failed me. In *Quotidians* I almost always observed that the bark occasioned watery stools, but never durst venture to check them by opiates; however I found by experience that notwithstanding the stools, a third exhibition of the bark seldom failed of success.

Tertians at *Gombroon*, as well vernal as autumnal, frequently imitate for some days the genius of *Continual Fevers*. They may be distinguished even in this state from the other species of *Intermittents*, in that the pulse, during the state of the *Fever*, is more full, and strong; the heat is more ardent, and dry; and the symptoms seemingly are more violent; the cold fit too is frequently more severe, though as observed above, this is not always to be relied on. As to their resemblance to the *Continual*, it is so very natural, that it is not easy in this period of them to make always a just prognostic, or judge truly what *Fever* one hath got to deal with. However, the setting in of the *Epidemic* may greatly assist one's judgment. It may likewise be observed in them, that the heat of the patient's body seems to the touch, of an equal temperature, not greatly increased, as in most *Continuals*. But notwithstanding all this, you are very sensible that Sydenham, and after him Boerhaave, have written, *Quin et sepe initio Autumnii mulantur exacte indolem continuarum, ob longiores et duplicatos paroxysmos, dum tamen indoles & curatio planè diversæ sunt*. The first part of which *Aphorism* shows, that at least in the beginning of Autumn, their appearances are as fallacious in other countries, as in *Gombroon*; and the latter part of it declares, that a very different method of cure from that of *Continual Fevers*, is requisite in these *Intermittents*.

I must confess, that notwithstanding two such great authorities, I have been frequently obliged to use the lancet to determine their *Intermissions* more speedily, lest greater mischief should have befallen the patient. Boerhaave, in another aphorism on *Intermittents*, says, *Venesectio nocet per se semper, prodest alias casu ut et tenuis exactaque Dieta*: Yet he soon afterwards adds, *Porro symptomati urgenti occuratur juxta regulas in acutis datas*. And I can with truth affirm, that in *Gombroon*, I often found moderate bleeding necessary, as well as the *tenuis exactaque dieta*.

In the beginning of these *Tertians*, as there are but few rules or precepts which will not admit of exceptions, I have in some very sanguine habits of body bled even a second time; and am of opinion that the probability of thereby protracting the fever's duration for a few months, at least in *Gombroon*, is not so hazardous as running the risque of its change into an *Unremitting Continual Fever*; in which last case it is always highly dangerous, and of a malignant nature. I am a living witness of an *Autumnal Fever*, which began and continued almost perfectly regular for thirteen months, in my own person, in spite of all the medicines I took to get rid of it; neither did it ever double the paroxysm, unless it was my own fault. I neither bled nor used any other severe evacuation, and I have known the like happen to several others; so that in *Gombroon* those *Intermitting Fevers* sometimes run much beyond the usual period of their duration in other countries; nay even where bleeding hath not been used, the *Vernal* often continues to harass the patient for six months.

But to return from this digression: I have often found the *Fever* by its continuance for a few days so to weaken the patient, that I was glad to administer the bark even on the first *Intermission*, and always have done it with safety and success; sometimes indeed, as was observed in *Quotidians*, on first giving this medicine it did not succeed, nay in such cases I have found the next paroxysm, as it were exasperated, though without danger to the patient; but the second exhibition of this noble *medicine* never failed to put a temporary stop to the fever, and often, if I might be allowed the expression, to make an entire conquest over it. When symptoms were not so urgent after *Intermission* from the *Fever*, I gave the patient a drachm of the *Sal Polychrest* evening and morning in a draught of bitters, and directed the bitters by themselves to be taken two or three times a day, especially during the *Intermissions* of the *Fever*. Care was taken not to overheat the patient, to prevent his disease being converted into a *Continual Fever*, of which (except some very great irregularities had been committed by the patient) he runs no great risque, after the *Intermissions* from the *Fever* have for some days been perfectly distinct.

I thus prepared him for the bark, as most practitioners in *Europe* do at this day. When once the *Intermissions* are fair and compleat, you are sensible there can be no danger from the bark. To say more to you upon the subject would be improper; I shall therefore only add, that I have sometimes seen these *Fevers*, without any reason that I could assign, double their paroxysms; and sometimes on the third *Intermission* that appeared, I administered the bark, and thus put a stop to their further progress. After these *Fevers* have been subdued by the bark, all evacuations become hurtful except a vomit, nor is even a vomit to be given, unless in cases of a relapse. Amorous dalliances with the fair sex, (of which I had several instances, as well in *Gombroon* as elsewhere,) infallibly cause a relapse, even where there hath been no enjoyment. Too great an application to business, too much thoughtfulness, and all sorts of exercise, even only in such a degree as on other occasions might

be deemed salutary, will produce relapses, especially during great heat of the weather.

Quartans are not near so frequent at *Gombroon* as the above-mentioned *Fever*, nor have I ever observed a *Vernal Quartan* either here or any where else; and those which occur in *Autumn* have nothing particular, but what I shall remark afterwards among the complications of these *Fevers*. Neither did the *Quartans* at *Gombroon*, as far as came within my observation, ever imitate *Continual Fevers*, or double their paroxysms, or require a different treatment from what they do in other countries. As to the *Complications* of these *Fevers*, I must own I never met with a *Double Quotidian*, unless the patient by interrupting the sweat at its beginning, brought back his fever before the wonted time.

Double Tertiars at *Gombroon*, are frequent, and easy to be distinguished from *Quotidians*, by the paroxysms being equal on equal days; for instance, if the access happens to-day at noon, to-morrow it will happen at six at night, next day at noon, and the day following at six in the evening, but often the fits anticipate each other. When the *Fever* was of the *Tertian* kind, thus redoubled, I used in the first, second, or third *Intermission* to reduce it to order by the bark. When it appeared in this form from the beginning, after a vomit and a few days treatment as in the *Quotidian*, I commonly took the first fair opportunity to give the bark in small quantities, which seldom failed of reducing the disease to a simple *Tertian*, but I never used to be in too great a hurry.

A *Semi-tertian* sometimes happens, and yields, so far as I have found, to the treatment of the *Quotidians*; but be very cautious with regard to the bark. I have sometimes seen a *Tertian* afflict the patient for two days together, and intermit the third; and sometimes continue for two days, and intermit the two following days; both which cases do however but seldom occur; but among those *Fevers* you will find more irregularities than even what I have mentioned. When you are fearful of using the bark in the mixed or complicated kinds of those *Fevers*, or even in the more regular *Intermittents*, the *Elixir of Vitriol* is an admirable medicine, joined to bitters. It is also excellent to prevent relapses.

I never observed at *Gombroon*, the *Simple Continued Inflammatory Fever*: and *Putrid Continual Fevers* seldom occurred, unless such as were of a periodical disposition.

As to bleeding in such *Fevers*, it must chiefly be determined by the pulse; this evacuation however in the same species of fever during some times of the year, may be proper in some persons, but in others not so necessary, or even adviseable; in general I found the nature of these *Fevers*, and likewise of the air, admitted of bleeding, if not carried to too great an height.

height; I never omitted giving a vomit as early as possible, and if the vomit did not pass downwards, I the same evening administered an emollient clyster; after which carefully attending to the genius of the *Fever*, I prescribed a cooling antiphlogistic regimen, with attenuating salts, and julaps acidulated with the *Elixir of Vitriol*, being, as careful as I could, of *a ne quid nimis*. Violent attenuants or resolvents, when too plentifully used, may dissolve the *Crafsis* of the blood in too great a degree, and thereby contrary to their antiseptic nature, produce in the human body, effects quite different from the intention with which they are given, by even converting the animal fluids into a putrid *latex*, altogether unfit for the functions of life. These also too freely indulged, frequently bring preposterous sweats in the beginning of the *Fever*, before nature hath sufficiently concocted the febrile matter. To prevent or correct both which inconveniencies, I never found any thing equal to the *Gas Sulphuris*, or spirit of vitriol, frequently given either in julaps, or in the patients common drink. Orange-juice, and distilled vinegar, are good medicines, and the last is found in plenty in *Gombroon*. In *Fevers* the spirits are more apt to flag at *Gombroon*, than at any other place I ever knew, especially during the heats, and in the foggy damp weather; yet I never had recourse to any of the heating cordials, but found the acidulated julaps answer my intentions very well.

I rarely ordered emulsions, finding they curdled on the stomach, either through the heat of the weather, nature of the patient's stomach, or perhaps by means of the acidulated julaps so necessary in those *Fevers*; I therefore generally advised whey for common drink, in which I could dissolve what resolvent salts I thought fit, and could acidulate to what degree I thought proper, without accumulating a numerous farrago of medicines upon the patient, which in such cases usually becomes nauseous; by this beverage I found the patient's spirits better supported than by emulsions or teas, altho' I frequently allowed the latter, especially that made from sage, by way of variety. I sometimes indulged the patient with a cool tankard made with rhenish, old hock, or in want of them with any other white wine; which if not acid enough, I sharpened with orange juice, or spirit of vitriol; but I think it not so well to allow the patient this draught quite cold, as they usually desire, for fear of occasioning obstructions by its chilness. I preferred the farinaceous food, such as water-gruel, panado, *Congee*, &c. to the lightest flesh nourishment, which in these fevers is still more to be prohibited, than in the beginning of any of the intermitting kind.

A cooling clyster is sometimes necessary, especially if the fever much affects the head; and by this gentle treatment, these *Fevers* in five, seven, nine, eleven, or fourteen days, used to go off by a gradual resolution; a very beneficial way to nature, and by no means hazardous.

Few of them run a great length; most of them last not above seven or nine days; few arrive at fourteen, and some were terminated in five, nay a very few but very violent in three days: what seemed to me somewhat remarkable, was, that a few of these *Fevers* terminated in *Intermittents*; and others of them were succeeded in about a month's time by an *Intermittent*. Whether this was owing to any particularity of the air, so naturally disposed to produce this last *Fever*, especially in weakened bodies; or whether it was owing to nature's not bringing on the first fever to a copious and critical ejection of the morbid cause, I shall not take upon me to determine. Yet notwithstanding this consequence, (which was not however very frequent) I always preferred a gradual resolution of the *Fever*, when critical, to the risque which too often attends an imperfect crisis. After these fevers, I used to purge the patient at least twice, with the *Decoctum Amarum cum Senna*, adding some drops of the elixir of vitriol in each dose. Sometimes, instead of a decoction of bitters, I ordered an infusion of them in white wine. By this method I judged that the patient was not so liable to a subsequent *Intermittent*, but I found that even this did not absolutely prevent it. With regard to *Blisters*, where the pulse was strong and full, I rarely or never made use of them, on account of a simple *delirium* in these *Fevers*; but when the pulse sunk, and where nervous twitchings or coma supervened, I always applied them.

There is likewise to be met with at *Gombroon* a *Low Fever*, attended with great depression of the spirits, wherein blistering is absolutely necessary: this I take to be what is called in *Europe* the *Nervous Fever*.

Blisters in general are more advantageously used in periodical fevers, whether mild or putrid, than in those fevers which are continual.

For nervous symptoms, *Sal. Succini*, *Tinct. Castor. Russ.* and other warm medicines, become necessary.

The *Bastard Peripneumony* at *Gombroon*, requires strong blisters, as well as every where else; and bleeding in proportion to the patient's strength once in the beginning, I found for the most part was necessary, with a diluting regimen. Balfamics, especially of the heating kind, do often more harm than good. I have sometimes used a little of the *Oxymel Sciliticum* with success.

While I was at *Gombroon*, there were none of the *Morbi acuti febriles* which could be called *Epidemics*, and as *sporadic* they observed their usual tenour.

The *Small-pox* is by the country people, generally speaking, reckoned *epidemic*, and fatal, and observed to return among them about once in seven years; but I had not a patient in that disorder all the time I was

in the place. In all *Acute diseases*, as well as *Intercurrent*, I made it my care, as much as I possibly could, to preserve the *Vis Vita* in that just *moderamen*, that the patient might not be carried off by the disease arising to too great an height; nor nature on the other hand, be so weakened, as to be unable to bring about the purpose either of benign resolution, or critical evacuations: you know this is the true golden mean to be observed in treating *Fevers*.

As you must be sensible that the particular genus of an *Acute* disease, with the symptoms peculiar to different *Idiosyncrasies*, can only be learned from personal and attentive observation; so with that assistance, the foregoing remarks, I hope will be found serviceable and useful.

F I N I S.

